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ENGLAND'S BATTLE

BY SEA
AND LAND



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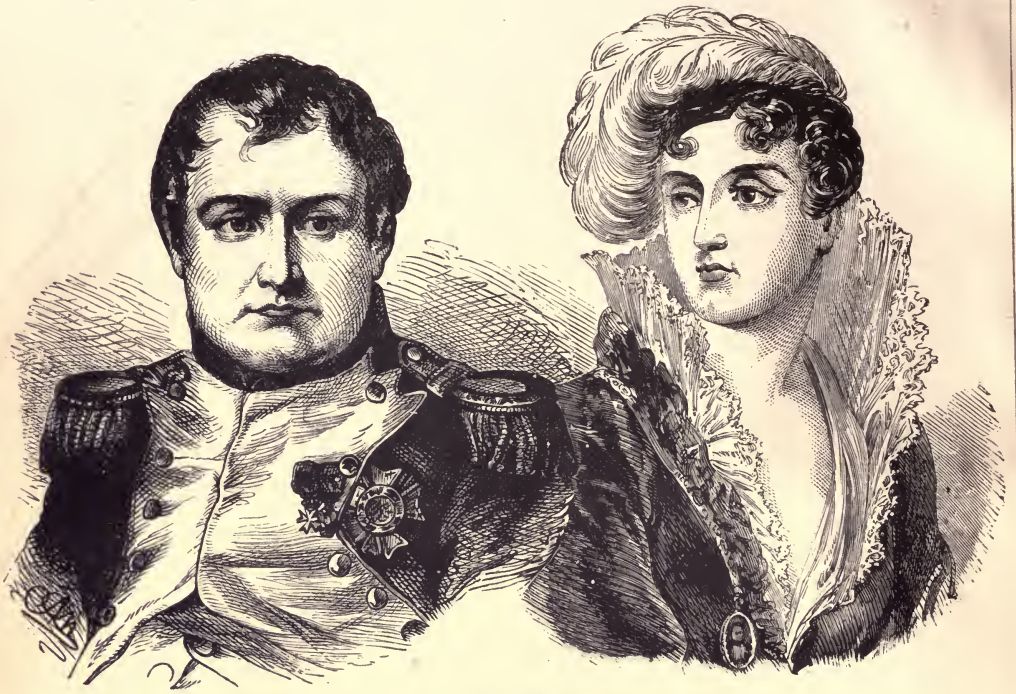
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NAPOLEON I. AND THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.



GENERAL BONAPARTE AT TOULON.

ENGLAND'S BATTLES

BY

SEA AND LAND;

A COMPLETE RECORD

OF THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY CONFLICTS

OF THE BRITISH NATION,

WITH THEIR LABOURS, TRIUMPHS, AND DISASTERS.

*REPRESENTING THE STRUGGLES IN WHICH THE NATION HAS BEEN
ENGAGED, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.*

VOL. II

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THE BRITISH BATTLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN INDIA

WITH THE
RISE, PROGRESS AND COMPLETION

OF
THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY IN THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE ANCIENT FAME OF INDIA; EXTENT OF BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA; THE THREE PRESIDENCIES; TERRITORY ACQUIRED SINCE 1848; TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS, ETC.; PRODUCTS; CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, MADRAS; THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS; THE RELIGION OF THE HINDOOS, ETC.; MERIAH SACRIFICE, SUTTEES, ETC.; EARLY WEALTH AND CIVILISATION OF HINDOSTAN; GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HINDOO PEOPLE; THEIR LANGUAGE; THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S POWER AND SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT; CHANGES INTRODUCED FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; TRANSFER FROM THE COMPANY TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE; GREAT PROGRESS AND IMPROVEMENT.

In no part of the world has British valour been more persistently and more successfully displayed than in the vast Peninsula now brought under the sovereignty of Queen Victoria, who rules over her Eastern possession as Kaiser-i-Hind or Empress of India. Within little more than a century the conquest of the Empire of India was accomplished; and of this conquest, its battles and vicissitudes, we have now to give an account. For the sake of completeness we shall preface it with—1st, a brief geographical description of the country and its inhabitants, and a sketch of the present government and of its results; and 2ndly, with as brief a sketch of the ancient history of the country, which will prepare the reader for many of the subsequent events.

India—as it was called by the ancients—the Al-Hind of the Arabs, and the Hindostan or Land of the Hindoos of Persia—has always been a country of great celebrity; and its ancient fame has not decreased since the establishment of the British government over that vast region. The Indian Empire of Great Britain has been termed “the most extraordinary political phenomenon that ever existed:” and when we look at the extent of country that owns its sway, and the events which have led to the supremacy of the Red Cross of St. George over the territory where the Crescent was once in the ascendant, the term is not at all misapplied.

The entire peninsula of Hindostan, with exceptions hardly worth naming, is now directly or indirectly subject to Great Britain. That peninsula forms a huge triangle, whose base is the “snowy Himalaya” in the north, and its apex Cape Comorin in the south; its area comprising upwards of 1,649,000 square miles, and containing a population of about 271,000,000 souls. It produces within itself the means for supplying, most abundantly, all the wants of man; and, as a popular writer observes, its position is “unparalleled, not only as regards the dependencies of the British crown, but as regards the whole world. There is no state holding subject to it a country at all resembling in extent of territory, in natural wealth and fertility and in populousness, the magnificent peninsula now included under the name of British India.”

Hindustan extends from Attack on the Indus, in lat. 34° N., to Cape Comorin, lat. 8° N.; and from the eastern limits of Assam, in 96° E. long., to the Soliman mountains, west of the Indus, in long. 67° 30' E. The extreme length, from the north of Cashmere to Cape Comorin, is about 1,900 miles; and its breadth, in the widest part, from the western border of Scinde to the eastern extremity of Assam, is 1,800 miles. It is bounded on the north by the Himalayan mountains and the western prolongation of the Hindoo-Koosh, a mountainous range of

Affghanistan; on the east by the valley of the Brahmapootra, and the Bay of Bengal; on the south-east the Bay of Manaar divides it from the island of Ceylon; Cape Comorin juts into the Indian Ocean on the south; the same ocean extends along the western coast; and, on the north-west, the ranges of the Hala and Soliman mountains divide it from Beloochistan and Afghanistan. In this extensive territory there are two small independent states—Nepaul, a narrow strip of country, extending along the southern slope of the Himalaya; and Bootan, also a long narrow slip to the east of Nepaul. The Dutch hold Goa, and about 1,000 square miles of territory on the west coast, at the northern extremity of the western Ghauts; and the town of Jafferabad, lying on the Gulf of Cambay, in the province of Gujerat. The French still retain possession of the towns of Mahé, on the Malabar coast; and of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Carical on that of Coromandel: but all their territory does not cover 200 square miles. Tranquebar, the last settlement held by the Danes in India, was ceded by purchase to England in 1846. With the exception of certain small tracts: including trifling French and Dutch possessions, the peninsula, therefore, consists of states under the direct government of Great Britain, or dependent upon that government for support and assistance to maintain tranquillity and peace; and they are distinguished as the British Territory, and the Tributary or Protected States.

The British territories are divided into three presidencies:—1. Bengal, by far the largest, as it embraces the northern portion of the peninsula. 2. Bombay, which takes the western side from lat. 16° N. as far as the Gulf of Cambay, where it meets the boundary of Bengal. 3. Madras, which takes in the Coromandel coast, from 20° 18' N. lat.; and its boundary inclining to the south-west, crosses the peninsula to 14° N. lat. on the Malabar coast; the whole of the southern portion to Cape Comorin being included in this presidency, as well as the island of Ceylon. Since 1848, considerable accessions of territory have accrued to these presidencies, chiefly to Bengal; four kingdoms, and some smaller states having passed under the sceptre of the Queen of England. Of these, the kingdoms of the Punjaub and Pegu were acquired by right of conquest: the first in 1849; the second in 1853. The kingdom of Nagpore became

British territory by the lapse of heirs to the last rajah, who died in 1793; and in 1855, the government of Oude was assumed in consequence of the incapacity, licentious life, and disorderly rule of the dependent and tributary sovereign. The principality of Sattara was included in the British territories in 1849, by right of lapse, the rajah having died without a male heir: that of Jhansie reverted to the possession of the Indian government in the same manner; and, in 1853, by a treaty concluded with his highness the Nizam, the ruler over the most extensive of the dependent states, that sovereign assigned to the East India Company the province of Berar, and other districts of his states, "for the permanent maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent, for the payment of certain debts which he had incurred, and for the termination of those transactions which, for many years, had been the fruitful source of disputes, and had even endangered the continuance of friendly relations on both sides."* The acquisition of these territories added £4,000,000 sterling to the revenue of the Indian empire.

The policy of annexation pursued by Lord Dalhousie in India excited some amount of discontent and much hostile criticism. Soon after his return to England, occurred the great calamity known as the Mutiny of 1857. It was fortunately confined to a part of the Bengal Presidency and was ultimately put down by the dauntless courage of the leaders and troops sent out from England. But British rule in India was imperilled. Delhi, the ancient capital of the Moguls, was for many months in the hands of a rebel force and thousands of valuable lives were lost before the country was once more reduced to submission. This brought about an entire change in the form of government. The East India Company was abolished, and on the 1st. of November, 1858, a proclamation from the Queen of England to the princes and peoples of India, announced that the territories in India until then "administered in trust by the East India Company would be ruled directly by Her Majesty. The policy of Lord Canning, who was an unswerving advocate of peace, justice, and conciliation, was continued by several of his successors; Lord Elgin's plans and activity for India were cut short by his untimely death; but under Lord Lawrence, one of the heroes of the great mutiny of 1857, and under Lord Lytton, a son of the celebrated novelist, great progress was made.—The vastly improved administra-

tion showed itself in the successful combating of one of those terrible famines by which India, especially the northern part, is sometimes visited. The issue of the second Afghan War also greatly strengthened the position of the British in India, and it was at this time that Her Majesty, by the advice of Lord Beaconsfield, assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind or Empress of India. Upper Burmah and the Shand States were added to the British Rule. An idea of the great progress of India may be obtained from the estimate made in the Imperial Gazetteer of India of the commercial growth during the 18th and the present century—"At the beginning of the last century," says this record, "before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce £1,000,000 a year of staples for exportation. During the first three quarters of a century of our rule, the exports rose slowly to about £10,000,000 in 1834. During the half century since that date, the old inland duties and other restrictions on Indian trade have been abolished. Exports have multiplied by six fold. In 1880, India sold to foreign nations £66,000,000 worth, and in 1884-85, upwards of £80,000,000 worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had raised, and for which he was paid. In 1884-85 the total foreign export and import trade of India was, including treasure and government stores, nearly £155,000,000.

This vast territory is watered by some of the finest rivers in the world—the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahma-poetra, the Irrawaddy, and their tributaries; besides the smaller, though important, streams of the Godavery, the Kistnah, the Cauvery, the Nerbudda, the Taptee, the Mahanuddee, and various others. The face of the country, south of the Himalayas, consists, for the most part, of extensive plains; but the Vindhya mountains cross the peninsula from east to west, joining, on the one side the eastern, on the other the western Ghauts. The Himalayas themselves—the *Immaus* of the ancients—are situated between lat. 27° and 35° N., and long. 73° and 98° E. The length of the range is estimated at 1,500; the breadth varies from 100 to 350 miles; and some of their acclivities are upwards of 28,000 feet above the level of the sea, being the highest in the world. Their summits are constantly covered with snow; but wheat grows at the height of 13,000 feet: whilst at an elevation

of 5,000 feet most European plants can be cultivated; and at the base the vegetation is of a tropical character.—There are glaciers to be found in all those parts of the Himalayas which are covered with perpetual snow; and in a paper contributed by Captain R. Strachy to the Journal of the Geographical Society, an interesting account of these glaciers, and the best description of the entire mountain range, will be found.

The climate is very various. In the south and middle regions the heat is great; in the north, the elevated tracts of the Himalaya have a temperate climate. The monsoons, or periodical winds, which prevail on both sides of the peninsula, bring periodic rains, and the year has three seasons—hot, rainy, and temperate. The hot season commences in March, and continues till the beginning of June. Then comes the rainy season, which lasts, with occasional intermissions, from June to October; the temperate season succeeds from October until the end of February. Much of the country is subject to volcanic agency, and earthquakes are of frequent occurrence: at times, the injury done by these convulsions of nature are very great.

In every class of the earth's produce, there is in India a great variety—mixed, in the vegetable kingdom, with great magnificence. The forests are on an extensive scale; the larger trees, Captain Strachy informs us, are almost restricted to the plains, "and to the more level valleys that intervene between the outer hills and the higher ranges within." "The sheltered and confined beds of the rivers where the two great requisites for tropical vegetation, heat and humidity, are at their maximum, often afford the finest specimens of forest scenery, varied by an admixture of the temperate forms of vegetable life, which here descend to their lowest level. Here the traveller's eye may rest on palms and acacias, intermingled with pines; or oaks or maples, covered with epiphytal orchidæ; while potthos and clematis, bamboos and ivy, fill up the strangely contrasted picture." Besides the trees mentioned in the above extract, the teak, the yypress, the poplar, the yew, the elm, the birch, the deodar (which resembles the cedar), the palm, and the banyan abound. The latter, called also the peepul tree, has a varied character, and the Hindoos plant it near their temples. Its branches spread out many feet from the

body of the tree, and stems bend down from them to the ground, where they take root, forming

“A pillar'd shade,
High over-arched, and silvery walks between.”

One of these trees on the banks of the Nerbudda, we are told by Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, sheltered 7,000 men under its shade. The fruit are as numerous as the timber trees. The mango grows wild in almost every district; the cocoa-nut tree is also common; and most of the fruits which are found in Europe are met with in the northern part of the peninsula. Wheat, barley, millet, rice, maize, cotton, the sugarcane, indigo, tobacco, opium, ginger, and other spices, sarsaparilla, hemp, and flax, are amongst the other vegetable productions; of rice, which forms the principal food of the natives, between twenty and thirty various kinds are raised. The rhododendron is grown in India in great perfection; the rivers and still lakes abound in curious aquatic plants: water-lilies of different hues are very common; one of which, the *Cyamus Nelumba*, produces the sacred bean of the Hindoos. Its “splendid flowers, of a full rose colour,” are described as being “embosomed in large pinnate leaves of the tenderest green, which, as well as the flower-stalk, rise considerably above the surface, not floating like the water lilies of our country.”—In zoology we find the tiger, the leopard, the panther, several varieties of the elephant, the one-horned rhinoceros, the boar, the black bear, the monkey, the jackall, that singular little animal the ichneumon, the camel, the buffalo, and the four-horned antelope, which latter is peculiar to India. It is a graceful, wild, and agile being; about twenty-and-a-half inches high. It is generally of a bright bay colour, except the belly, which is white. It has two pair of horns, the largest being about three inches, and the shortest three-quarters of an inch in length. The East Indian buffalo is a powerful beast, six feet high, and of proportionate length, with wide spreading horns. As a contrast, the neighbourhood of Surat breeds an ox which is not larger than a good-sized mastiff. Besides these animals there are the horse and the ass; the former being used chiefly for riding, the latter as a beast of burden. Of the reptile tribe, the serpents are numerous. One writer on the natural history of Hindostan, Dr. Patrick Runell, enumerates no fewer than forty-three species which are

found on the coast of Coromandel. The bite of the boa-constrictor, the cobra di capello, the cobra manilla, and the black snake, are the most to be dreaded. Insects—from the variegated beautiful butterfly, in almost all its variety of species, to those that are most troublesome and loathsome—breed in myriads: birds are also numerous; but there are few that are peculiar to the country. The peacock is mentioned as the “glory of Indian ornithology;” it grows to a much larger size than with us. Apart from those used for domestic purposes, the adjutant-bird, which grows to a height of from five to seven feet, is the most useful, and destroys the venomous insects, as well as snakes and other reptiles. In the ichthyological tribes we find the seal and the porpoise, the alligator and the sword-fish, the tiger-shark and the flying-fish, in the Ganges, and in the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Several of the species of fish used for culinary purposes in Europe are also found; but the fish which the natives most esteem for the table is the mango-fish. It is about a foot and a-half long, and its flesh is considered a great delicacy.—The mineral products are of the “rich and rare,” as well as of the useful species. Diamonds, and most of the precious stones known under the term “jewels;” gold, silver, tin, and copper, are amongst the native productions; marbles and building stones, with numerous valuable clays and earths, are met with in almost every part of the peninsula. From surveys instituted in 1853, it is ascertained that iron also exists in the peninsula; but researches for coal have not as yet been so successful.

The presidency of Bengal embraces some of the richest, most fertile, and most populous provinces in India. The principal are—Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Rohilcund, Kumaon, Simla, Arracan, Tenasserim, the island of Penang, the towns of Malacca and Singapore, and the more recently-acquired territories of Assam, the Punjaub, and Pegu.—Bombay is the smallest of the three presidencies, and comprises the provinces of Guzerat, part of Kandeish, North and South Concan, Ahmednugger, Poonah, and Sattara. The Madras presidency extends over the northern Circars, the Carnatic, Coimbatore, Malabar, and Canara. There is not much that is peculiar to any of these districts; most of the products and animals mentioned being found in them.

all; their chief cities are Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras: the first being the principal residence of the governor-in-chief, and the capital of British India. It stands on the Hooghly, one of the tributaries to the Ganges, in lat. $22^{\circ} 35' N.$, long. $88^{\circ} 30' E.$ Its stationary population, in 1881, was nearly 433,000, and comprised European Christians, Armenians, Hindoos, Jews, Mohammedans, and Chinese. Besides these residents, it was computed that upwards of 333,000 persons daily frequented the city from the vicinity.

Calcutta stands about a hundred miles from the sea, and extends for four or five miles along the banks of the river. It has been called "the city of palaces," and its first appearance well justifies the epithet; for, like the approach to Constantinople, it is beautiful and attractive in the highest degree. A recent traveller says—"On arriving at Garden Reach, the stranger may begin to imagine that, not wholly without reason, Calcutta has acquired the title of the 'city of palaces.' From the lower part of this Reach, on the right, the river-bank is laid out in large gardens, each with a handsome mansion in its centre; and the whole scene speaks of opulence and splendour. On approaching the head of Garden Reach, the stranger all at once beholds Fort William and the town of Calcutta spread out before him; and a splendid view it is. Should he arrive in the month of November or December, he will behold, perhaps, the finest fleet of merchant shipping the world could produce." This is the European quarter of the town, and it is called the "Chowringhee," or fashionable part. It lies on the south; and passing through it, to the north, the "Black Town" is entered, which is chiefly occupied by natives, who use the lower part of their houses as bazaars, and live in the upper rooms. The streets in this part of Calcutta are little more than dirty lanes; the houses are mean, and the odour from most of them, as well as from the streets, is anything but agreeable. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between Chowringhee and the Black Town, in every respect. Few Europeans reside in the former who are not wealthy, keeping numerous carriages and servants; their houses being splendidly furnished, and supplied with every necessary and luxury. These houses, all having a garden in front, consist of three stories: the dining-room and offices are on the ground-floor; above are the drawing and

sitting-rooms, which open into balconies covered with verandahs, and usually decorated with plants and flowers. The sleeping apartments are in the upper story. Walking and bathing are usually practised before breakfast, baths being attached to every house. After breakfast the business of the day proceeds, interrupted by "tiffin," or luncheon, about the middle of the day. Towards evening, the ladies drive out; and at eight o'clock they dine. In the winter season, from November to February, boar-hunting and horse-racing are the out-door sports; whilst the drama, music, or dancing furnish the evening's amusements.

The city of Bombay (which name is derived from the Portuguese *Buon-Bahia*, meaning a good harbour) stands upon a narrow neck of land, forming the extremity of the island of Bombay. It has not only the best harbour in India, but extensive docks, warehouses, and bazaars; and is the second city of Hindostan for trade, Calcutta being the first. It is situated in lat. $18^{\circ} 13' N.$, long. $72^{\circ} 51' E.$, its population being, in 1716, 16,000; in 1816, 161,356; and, in 1849, 512,656; in the census of 1881 it was returned at 773,000. About one-half the inhabitants are Hindoos, the rest chiefly Mohammedans or Parsees, the Europeans being very few. The Parsees, we are told, "still observe the ancient form of adoration paid to the solar luminary, and also the old ceremony of exposing their dead as food for the fowls of the air." The city is very unhealthy, from the swamps and marshes in the vicinity, and Europeans who reside there are always short-lived. Recently, sanitary measures of improvement have been adopted, from which the most beneficial effects are expected.—Madras, on the Coromandel coast, lies in lat. $13^{\circ} 4' N.$, long. $80^{\circ} 14' E.$; and the population in 1881 came to 405,000. The situation is bad, as nothing can be landed except from rafts or "catamarans;" the ships anchoring in the opposite roadstead. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, Madras carries on a considerable trade. The wealthier classes of inhabitants, whether Europeans or natives, live chiefly in the suburbs, which are extensive. There also are the residences of the governor and of the Carnatic nabob.

It is not known whether the Hindoos were the first inhabitants of Hindostan; but they are certainly the earliest people whose residence can be traced. They point to the north as the origin alike of their race

and of their religion; but it would appear, however, "both from the tradition of the Hindoos, and the similarity of the Sanscrit to the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages, that the nation from which the genuine Hindoos are descended, must, at some period, have inhabited the central plains of Asia, from which they emigrated into the northern parts of Hindostan. Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the origin of the Hindoos, that people never regarded the southern part of the peninsula as forming part of Aryavarta, or 'holy land,' the name of the country inhabited by genuine Hindoos."* This holy land was bounded on the north by the Himalaya, and on the south by the Vindhya mountains; but the boundaries on the east and west are not ascertained. The inhabitants of this district became divided into numerous tribes, and their descendants, still divided and distinct, are now scattered over the country. Five small aboriginal tribes inhabit the Nilgherry hills; they are more numerous in the Ghauts; and others are dispersed over the plains extending from the rivers Godavery and Ganges, in the east, to the valleys of Tapy and Nerbudda in the west. The principal of these tribes—all of whom are in a lower state of civilisation than the Hindoos proper—are the Gonds or Goands, the Beels, Nairs, Jauts, Sontals, the Kamusis, and the Coolies; the latter of whom are a labouring people, inhabiting the western Ghauts. The various conquerors of the country (the Scythians, the Greeks, and the Persians) have all, to some extent, no doubt, been mixed with the aborigines; and numerous descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors form a distinct class of the present population.

From the earliest ages, the Hindoos have been divided into four distinct classes or *castes*, called by themselves, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Their tradition carry the origin of these castes back to the Creation, when they say, that Brahmanas proceeded from the mouth of Brahma; Kshatriyas from his arms; Vaisyas from his thighs; and Sudras from his foot. Each had his female; and as they referred themselves to Brahma for their occupation, he decreed that the first should rule and instruct; the second protect; the third trade and cultivate the earth; and the fourth serve his brethren. This they did, as did their descendants for many years,

forming the classes of priests, soldiers, husbandmen and traders, and labourers. Till lately, these distinctions were rigidly observed; those of one class were not suffered to mix or marry with the other: if such marriage did take place, the couple and their descendants were held in a state of the greatest degradation, having no lawful employment, or means of subsistence; they were Pariahs, with whom no one would associate. As a consequence, each man found his "class stationed between certain walls of separation, which were impassable by the purest virtue and most conspicuous merit;"† his "station was unalterably fixed; his destiny irrevocable; and the walk of his life marked out, from which he must never deviate."‡ Since their intercourse with Europeans, the division of castes has been much weakened; and for some time back, the vast majority of the Hindoos have been found ready to engage in any occupation.

The Hindoos believe in three gods, or a triune godhead—Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the preserver or sustainer), and Siva (the destroyer.) They did not, generally, recognise in the first an object of worship, but merely one of devout contemplation, though they erected temples to him; and, in some places, a particular form of worship to the deity was observed. He was considered as the great source from which sprung the visible universe, and all the individual deities of mythology; and into which all the latter will ultimately be reabsorbed. Their system of theology is found in the Vedas, or Indian scriptures; and their original worship appears to have been addressed to the elements. "In the Mantras, or prayers," we learn, "which form the principal portion of the Vedas, Indra (or the firmament), fire, the sun, the moon, the air, the spirits, the atmosphere, and the earth, are the objects most frequently addressed. The mythology of the Vedas personifies the elements and the planets; and thus differs from the more legendary poems, which inculcate the worship of deified heroes." Notwithstanding, the Vedas taught the unity of the deity. Though, as Mr. Colebrooke remarks, "the deities invoked appear, on a cursory inspection of the Veda, to be as various as the authors of the prayers addressed to them;" yet, "according to the most ancient annotations on the Indian scriptures, these numerous names of persons and things are all resolvable into different titles of three deities, and, ulti-

* *National Cyclopædia.*

† Dr. Tennant.

‡ Dr. Robertson.

mately, of one god"—Brahma. At the present day, however, each religious sect of the Hindoos seem to worship a distinct deity, who, they contend, unites all the attributes of divinity in his person. Few educated Brahmins will admit that they belong to any of these popular divisions of the Hindoo faith, some of which, no doubt, sprung out of an opposition to the Brahminical order. The teachers of these sects are frequently chosen from the lower castes, and the distinction of caste is found to be in a great degree lost in the similarity of schism. The Brahmins themselves acknowledge the Vedas, Puranas, and Tantras as the only orthodox ritual, and regard all practices, not derived from them, as profane. An important article in the Brahmin faith is the transmigration of souls. It is the great object of Hindoo worship to secure for the worshipper a state of future existence; and this, it is supposed, will be effected by the reunion of the spiritual nature of man with that primitive spirit which pervades all nature, and which, according to the Hindoo belief, receives the souls of men, when they have been purified, into its essence. By adopting an ascetic mode of life, and subjecting the body to sufferings and privations in this state of existence, it is believed the longed-for blessed futurity may be obtained. They have various systems of philosophy, all of which they deem orthodox; and their professed design is, "to teach the means by which eternal beatitude may be attained after death, if not before it."

Some horrible practices prevailed amongst the Hindoos when their intercourse with Europeans commenced; most of which existed till within a comparatively recent period. One of them was connected with the worship of Vishnu, called also Jugger-naut, in honour of whom an annual festival was held in many parts of India, when the ignorant natives prostrated themselves before the car which bore the image of their deity, and suffered the wheels to pass over their bodies. But this was a venial practice compared with the Meriah sacrifice; which consisted in the offering up, with every circumstance of atrocity, young victims for the propitiation of the special divinity which presided over the fertility of the earth. This practice chiefly prevailed among the hill and jungle tribes of the province of Orissa; and was attended with

* On the *Philosophy of the Hindoos*. See Mr. Wilson's paper, "On the Religious Sects of the Hebrews," in the *Asiatic Researches*.

great enormities. The burning the wives of a deceased Hindoo was also a part of their religion. The suttee was considered as a solemn sacrifice, acceptable to the gods; and such was the influence of their evil faith, that females frequently went to the stake with joy, thinking they were doing God service.

Socially—Thuggism and Dakoitee were organised systems of murder and robbery, which prevailed through a great part of Hindostan. The Indian government were ignorant of these practices for a long time. "We had been nearly two centuries connected with them," remarks Mr. Kaye, "by ties at least of commerce, before we knew very much more about the natives of India, than that they were a race of black people, with bare legs, carrying the greater amount of their apparel piled up on the top of their heads." It is not much more than half a century since what has been truly styled, "the hideous crime of Thuggism," was revealed in all its enormity; though, as far back as 1810, we find the sepoy's commissioned, in a general order from the then commander-in-chief, to proceed "against a description of murderers denominated Thugs." These murderers by profession, for such they were, formed a brotherhood, bound by secret ties, strengthened by oaths, and confirmed by the belief that the horrible life they led, was in conformity with the precepts of their religion. They lived in villages, occupying themselves, apparently, in industrial pursuits; and there they left their wives and children when they went upon a murdering expedition; and, their purpose accomplished, they dispersed, and, from their knowledge of the country, and the inefficiency of the mere police arrangements (where such arrangements existed at all), escaped detection. They bred up their children to their horrible profession. "I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations," was the boast of one of them; and they communicated to each other by means of signs, and a language known only to themselves. Thus, Thuggism had become quite an old-established Indian institution when its practices became known to the Indian government; and many in high places, hereditary landowners, chief officers of villages, and others, held a private connection with the Thugs, affording them every facility for carrying on their horrible trade.—The "Dakoitee, or systematic gang robbery," was a crime less in degree than that of

Thuggism—after long intercourse our government discovered “that Dakoitee was the normal condition of whole tribes born and bred to the profession; that there were robber-castes in India, just as there were soldier-castes or writer-castes; and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows—and, if need be, on their lives—with strict religious observance of sacrament and sacrifice.”* The Dakoites, like the Thugs, abode in villages, and were apparently engaged, like them, in honest and praiseworthy pursuits for a livelihood. Like the Thugs, too, they were not unknown to the police; on the contrary, the latter, with the head men of their villages, are said to have shared in the spoils of the Dakoitee.

Notwithstanding the degrading and terrible superstitions, and the deep and horrible criminality which we have mentioned, there is no doubt, not only that wealth abounded in India, but that civilisation was extended far and wide, and that the people, generally, exhibited good dispositions, and a capacity to cultivate the highest arts of life. We have evidences of literary and philosophical genius in their remaining epic poems, their metaphysical, mechanical, and scientific treatises. Many very excellent laws are preserved in their various codes; and they brought several industrial arts to great perfection. They raised vast, magnificent, and not inelegant edifices; manufactured rich and costly fabrics; and long before our forefathers had merged from their rude simplicity, “the princes and nobles of India already dwelt in splendid palaces, and, clothed in the gorgeous products of its looms, glittering with gold and gems, indulged a corresponding luxury in every act and habit of their lives.”†

Very surprising are the discoveries which the Indians made in the art of dyeing. They “extracted, oxygenated, and precipitated the colouring matter of the indigo plant” many centuries before other countries knew anything of its qualities. They were equally distinguished for manufacturing iron and steel; and Dr. Royle expresses astonishment that “a primitive people could have overcome the difficulties of smelting the one, and forging the other, of those metals!” It is only lately that it has been discovered “that the once celebrated Damascus blades were

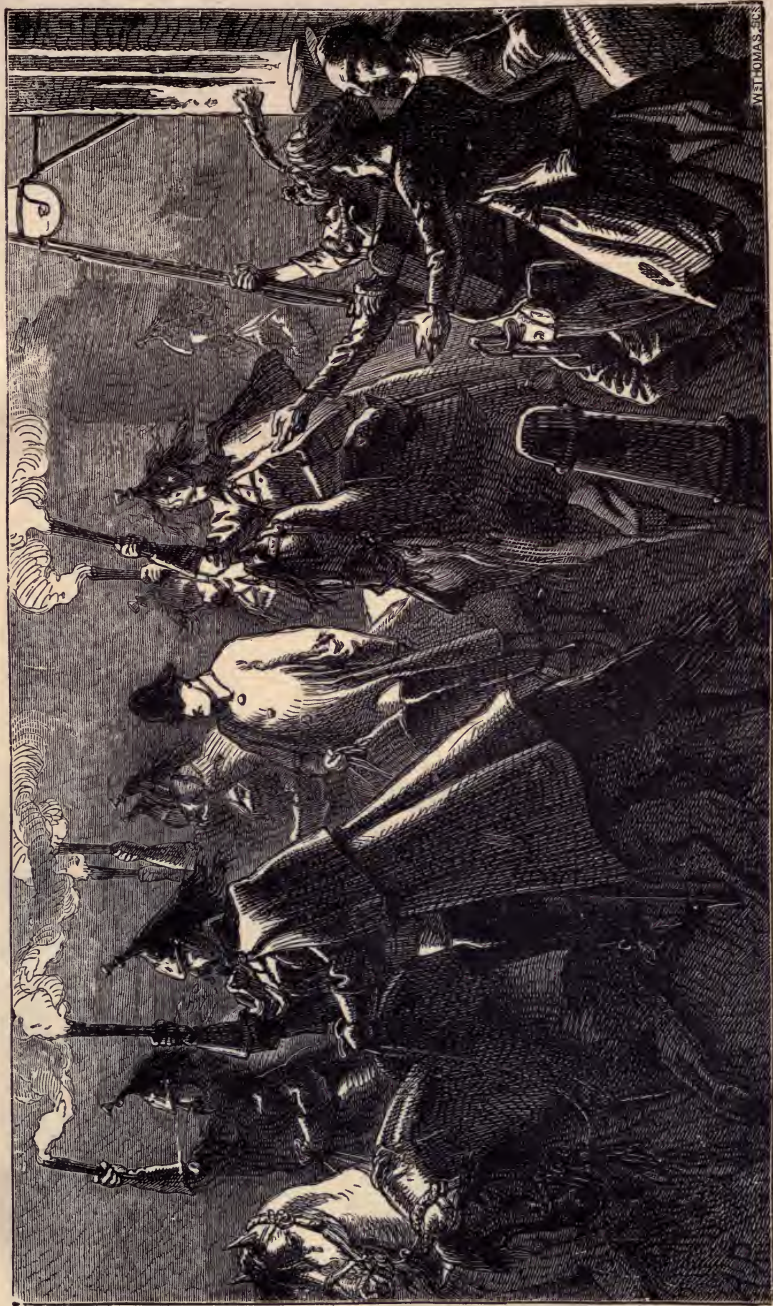
made from steel manufactured in the west of India;” and still the Hindoos evince great knowledge in the art of dealing with these metals. Mr. Heath informs us, “that iron is converted into cast-steel by the natives of India in two hours and a-half; while at Sheffield it requires at least four hours to melt blistered steel.” Their curious workmanship in steel was exhibited at the Crystal Palace in 1851; some of the most beautiful specimens of arms exhibited there were sent by the Rajah of Pattiala, which is a Seik principality within the province of Delhi.‡ “In another art,” says Mrs. Spiers, “the granite rocks, in the now silent quarries of Bijanagur, still show distinctly the marks of the chisels that hewed out the huge blocks with which the grandest of old Indian cities was constructed.”—In the science of astronomy, also, they excelled. “The lofty dial,” says the same accomplished lady, “and extraordinary mural instruments for astronomical purposes, near Delhi, immortalise the memory of the rajah Jeyor Jaya Sing, who reigned from 1690 to 1743.”

The remains of ancient Hindoo architecture, which are found in the old cities of Hindostan, show that a strong affinity existed between it and that of Egypt, more especially in “their hypogæa, or subterranean cavern structures, hewn out of solid rock.” The one, like the other, exhibited works “more properly of extraction than of construction, and to which, no doubt, ought to be ascribed the chief peculiarities of the style originating in them, namely, extraordinary massiveness of bulk and proportions, coupled with no less singular capaciousness of form.” In both we find a frequent “use of caryatid figures, or such as serve as columns; and either entire animal figures, or the upper parts of them, both human and brute, enter abundantly into the composition of Hindoo columns and capitals.” The Hindoo, like the Egyptian temples, have generally an open court, leading to a covered vestibule or nave; and in both we meet with a number of small chambers, the use of which—unless they were set apart for purposes of worshipping distinct deities, as the Lady and Saints’ chapels in Roman catholic cathedrals are devoted to the honour of the Holy Virgin and the saints—it is difficult to imagine. The age of the Bhuddist temples is long anterior to Christianity; and that at Ajmeer, which Colonel Tod considers “to be, with the exception of the cave temples, probably one of the oldest now existing in India, is remarkable for the

* The Dacoit Bands of Upper Burmah have recently given great trouble to the British.

† Thornton's *History of India*.

‡ Mrs. Spiers' *Life in Ancient India*.



NAPOLEON I. ON HIS RETURN FROM ELBA, 1815.

elegance and sienderness of its columns, so very different in their character from those of the excavated works, and which might, therefore, be thought to indicate a totally different period of art; they are about forty in number, and partake somewhat of a candelabrum in shape, although no two are alike. The ceiling is highly enriched with square panels or coffers, containing others in the form of lozenges, enriched with foliage and sculpture not very much unlike the *cinque cento* of the Italians."—The architecture, introduced into Hindostan subsequent to the Mohammedan conquest at the close of the ninth century, is not dissimilar to the Gothic style. Describing the mosque at Chunar Ghur, on the Ganges, Mr. Hodges notices the similarity between its architecture and that introduced into Spain by the Moors, from whence it spread over the rest of Europe. "All the minuter ornaments are the same; the lozenge square, filled with roses, the ornaments in the spandrels of the arches, the little panelings and their mouldings, so that a person would almost be led to think that artists had arrived from the same school, at the same time, to erect similar buildings in India and in Europe."—At the present day the Hindoos are no mean architects, as we may learn from the description given of one of their temples by Mr. Forbes:—"It consisted of two edifices, the furthermost of which was surmounted by a lofty spire, composed of cupolas gradually diminishing to the summit, with appropriate ornaments."

The early government of the Hindoos was, like those of all Eastern people, despotic. Whether under native or Mohammedan princes, the will of the ruler was law to a great extent; and that seems to be pretty nearly the rule which is followed now. Yet municipal institutions appear (according to Mrs. Spiers, who has devoted much time and research to enable her to illustrate "ancient life in India") to be intimately connected with Hindoo manners. Each village was a distinct, and nearly an independent, community; it had its own chief or headman, who represented the superior authority of the district; and the institution has come down to the present day.

"The headman of the village still receives a certain allowance from the king or government; but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers. This system is supposed, by General Briggs, to have accompanied the Hindoos into every settlement they have made, whether in India, or beyond its confines. There are three things

which he considers inseparable, viz., the Sanscrit language, serfdom, and municipal institutions; and although the system is no longer found in Malwa, or in great part of the Madras presidency, yet there is reason to believe, that it did once exist throughout the country; each village having its own registrar, watchman, cartwright, washerman, barber, goldsmith, and poet, who also served as school-master. And in further evidence that the institutions travelled with the language, we have the statement of Sir Stamford Raffles, that Bali, an island to the east of Java, possesses municipal institutions, the Sanscrit language, and the Brahminical religion; and again, in Java, there are village associations, bearing the Indian name Nagri, which Mr. Crawford mentions as corporations, governed by officers of their own electing. This system is still characteristic of India, where 'village communities' are noted 'as the indestructible atoms from which empires are formed.' 'Village communities,' says Sir Charles Metcalfe, 'are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves; they seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down. Hindoo, Patan, Mongul, Mahratta, Seik, English—are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble, they arm and fortify themselves; collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages; but when the storm is passed over, they return and resume their occupations.'*

The Hindoos have always been regarded as a peculiar people: they are of the same family group as the slaves; and, as has been remarked, "many centuries have elapsed since they appear to have been stationary in all that relates to the progress of civilisation, the elevation of moral sentiment, or the peculiarities of their religious belief." There are still various tribes dispersed over the peninsula—Jauts, Bheels, Nairs, Ghonds, Moplahs, Santals, and others. Generally, the Hindoos are of graceful, slender figures, agile in their movements, and with complexions varying from a dark olive (sometimes quite black) to a light transparent brown. "The face is oval, the forehead moderately large and high, the eyes and hair black, the eyebrows finely turned, and the nose and mouth generally of a European cast."† Their dress is simple. The men wear, some of them, three pieces of cotton cloth—one fastened round the waist, falling down to the knee; a second wrapped round the upper part of the body; and a third tied round the head: this is the ancient costume. Others adopt a pair of cotton drawers coming down to the ankle; a long robe, crossed on the breast, and tied round the body with a scarf, and a turban. A universal article of female dress is the shalice—of silk or cotton,

* *Life in Ancient India.* † W. Hughes.

wrapped round the body, and falling so as gracefully to cover one leg, while part of the other is exposed. To this is added, by those who can afford it, a jacket with half-sleeves, and fitting tight to the shape. The hands and feet are adorned with rings and other ornaments, and sometimes a jewel is worn in the nose.

With kindly dispositions, the Hindoos have little moral nonesty; and they hold the crime of perjury as venial. With great ingenuity, they are extremely indolent. Their wants are few, and they care for nothing beyond supplying them. One of their maxims is, that "it is more happy to be seated than to walk; it is more happy to sleep than to awake; but the happiest state of all is death." This illustrates one phase of their national character, as the following does another:—"From poverty a man cometh to shame. Alas! the want of riches is the foundation of every misfortune. It is better to dwell in a forest haunted by lions and tigers, than to live amongst relations after the loss of wealth." Yet, though they esteem wealth highly, they will make few exertions to acquire it. They consider marriage as a religious duty of the highest order, and deem, that when a man marries, he "enters on the second state of existence, and takes his place in society." They regard it as a misfortune to be without male issue, as only males can perform the obsequies to the *manes* of their ancestors. Females are held in less estimation. Not unfrequently female infants were, in former days, murdered, to save the expense of supporting them; and it is to be feared that the practice is not yet quite extinguished among the Hindoo hill tribes. As they grow up, there is not much inducement to cause the Hindoo women to wish for long life. Their situation is both dependent and degrading; they have no choice in their destiny; their father disposes of them as he pleases till they reach the age for marrying, and for three years after, if they are not taken off his hands by a husband. After marriage, the man is literally woman's lord and master; and, at his death, till within the last few years, one of his wives was sacrificed to his *manes*. The Hindoo practice as to women, may be thus summed up. "By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling-place, according to her mere pleasure. In childhood, a female must be dependent on her father; in youth, on her

husband; her lord being dead, on her sons: a woman must never seek independence." A wife must not even eat in the presence of her husband, who can break the marriage tie, and turn the unfortunate female out of his house, almost at his pleasure; for so numerous are the pretences under which the man is permitted to sever the nuptial tie, that he has no difficulty in finding one for his purpose, whenever he wishes. On the other hand, whilst he chooses to afford house and home to the wife, nothing—no ill-treatment—can enable her to separate herself from him; and she is taught, under all and any circumstances, to revere her husband as a superior being. With the man, though as we have stated, marriage is regarded as a religious duty, there seldom is any love or regard for the woman he marries. "The object," it is said, "for which a Hindoo marries, is not to gain a companion to aid him in enduring the evils of life," or to share its joys and pleasures; "but a slave, to bear children, and be subservient to his rule." Men are seldom unmarried at twenty-five, nor girls at fifteen years of age: the latter are frequently married at from seven to nine. The marriages are contracted with many ceremonies; and the gods are besought to be propitious to the newly-united pair. There are also many ceremonies connected with childbirth and infancy; and others are observed at funerals. They are, however, dying away under the progress of civilisation; and soon will only afford matter for history.—The Hindoos, it may be added, are fond of amusements. Sometimes poets recite to them tales and histories; at others, dancing-girls display their attitudes and activity before them (the Hindoo is forbid, by his religion, to dance himself); then wrestlers, jugglers, and snake-charmers, do their best to entertain those by whom they are paid; and there is chess, cock and quail fighting, with athletic sports. Their athletes, jugglers, and wrestlers, are very expert.

There are two classes of languages spoken in India—those derived from the Sanscrit, and which are spoken in the northern and central provinces, are included in one; and those which are not so intimately connected with that language, in the other. There are more than thirty different languages spoken in the peninsula; the Hindoo or Hindee, Bengalee, Punjaabee, Mahratta, Guzerattee, Cutchee, Boondela, Brig, Bhakkur, Ooriga, and Auxmere, being included in the first class; the Tetoogoo, the Tamul, Canarese,

Malayala, and Cingalese, in the second. The Sanscrit is not now spoken; but it is studied by the Brahmins, and other educated classes, who hold it in great veneration; all their sacred books being written in it.—The Bengalee language is one in general use; but that most extensively prevalent, and which the British government make the medium of communication with the natives, using it in their official documents and in courts of justice, is the Oordoo or Hindostanee. It is a compound of Hindee, the primitive language of the Hindoos, with Persian and Arabic, the language of their Mohammedan conquerors. This language is now used from Madras to Bombay, and from the Ganges to Cape Comorin.

As we shall hereafter show, the British territory in India was originally acquired by a company of merchants, who obtained their first charter in 1600, and in whose

hands the government and administration of their acquisitions was vested. The nucleus of our now vast Indian empire, was a small spot scarcely five miles square; in 1653, their government was transferred to Madras; a settlement at Hooghly was the origin of the second (the Bengal) presidency; and in 1687, Bombay was formed into a third.—In 1702, a new charter was granted to the “merchant adventurers,” under the title of “The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.” The management of the affairs of this company was placed in the hands of proprietors of a certain amount of stock, and directors chosen by them. The business was arranged to be carried on in various departments; the three presidencies were each placed under a president assisted by a council; each being independent of the other, but all three under the control of the higher authorities in England.

CHAPTER II.—INTRODUCTION—(concluded.)

ANCIENT HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN; ITS COMMERCE; KNOWLEDGE OF HINDOSTAN BY THE GREEKS; THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS; SELEUCUS; HINDOSTAN, FROM THE TIME OF SELEUCUS TILL THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASION; THE TARTARS AND AFFGHANS; MAHMOOD OF GIUZNI; THE FAMILY OF GHOR; ZENGHIS KHAN; THE KHILJIS; THE TOGHLAKS; TAMERLANE; THE HOUSES OF SEYED AND LODI; BABER; THE MOGUL EMPIRE; THE HOUSE OF TIMOUR; THE AFFGHAN SHEER KHAN; AKBER KHAN; JEHANGHIR SHAH JEHAN; AURUNGZEBE; THE MAHRATTAS; AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS; THE SIKHS; THE ROHILLAS; NADIR SHAH; DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE; EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA; RISE OF THE BRITISH POWER IN THAT COUNTRY; THE FRENCH AND DANES IN THE EAST; STATE OF HINDOSTAN IN THE EARLY PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It is not our intention to go minutely, or anyway in detail, into the ancient history of Hindostan. For many centuries after the country was well peopled, that history is enveloped in fable; and the *Puranas*, with the two ancient epic poems of the Hindoos, the *Râmâyana* and the *Mahâbhârata*, contain only legendary traditions, intimately connected with their mythology. Brahma and Vishnu—the Devas, or heavenly sages—the Rakshanas, or evil genii, and the supernatural monkeys—figure largely in these productions; but they are entirely void of the information necessary for even an outline of authentic history. The traditions speak of two ancient empires, of which the provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Allahabad, formed the chief portions. Ayodha or Oude, and Pratihthana or Vitora, were the names of the capitals; and two families, called the children of the Sun and of the Moon, whose origin is ascribed to Oude, ruled over them;

the former at Ayodha, the latter at Pratihthana. A third kingdom, called Magadha or Bahar, was subsequently founded; and that learned orientalist, Sir William Jones, in his *Essay on the Chronology of the Hindoos*, gives a list of the kings of the three states, compiled from the sources above mentioned. Those who are curious in the matter, will find this paper in an early volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Still later, three other kingdoms—Pandya, Chola, and Chera—were founded in the southern part of the Deccan (the name given to the country between the rivers Nerbudda and Krishna.) Of these kingdoms, Pandya was the most powerful. When the first really authentic history of Hindostan begins, with the invasion of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, there were many other independent states, under their respective chiefs.

Though of the history of Hindostan in these early periods we know nothing with

certainly, we learn, from various sources, that it was frequently visited for commercial purposes. It appears certain that, before the time of Moses, a communication with that country was opened. The Sabeans and Phœnicians carried on a considerable traffic between the ports on the Malabar coast, and those in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The Arabs took the produce of the country from the same coast, and that of modern Scinde, to Hadramant, in the south-western part of Arabia, or to Gerra, on the Persian Gulf; from those places it was taken by caravans to Petra, and by that route Europe was first supplied with the luxuries of the East. The Greeks had some knowledge of Hindostan several years before the Christian era. They called it India, from the Indus (black or blue) river, as is generally supposed. But, as Mr. Montgomery Martin observes, "the wide application of the word, renders it more probable that it was employed to denote the country of the *Indi*, or Asiatic Ethiops; for the ancient Greeks used the words Indian and Ethiop as convertible terms." The Greek historian, Herodotus, who was born 484 years B.C., is the first writer who describes the country and the natives; and it is remarkable how nearly the customs and manners of the early inhabitants correspond with those of modern times. He tells us that they lived on rice, would not take the lives of animals, and clothed themselves in cotton. Ctesias, another Greek historian, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth, and the commencement of the fourth century before Christ, also describes the manners and customs of the Hindoos, mentioning their war elephants, and giving particulars of the natural history of the peninsula.

It is probable that the Greeks derived their first knowledge of Hindostan from the Persians. Darius I. (surnamed Hystaspes), having previously sent Scylax, his admiral, who was a Carian Greek, to explore the Indus, on his return, marched with an army into the country, and is said to have conquered the greater part of India Proper, imposing upon the chiefs he subjugated, ac-

ording to Herodotus, an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold. It is, however, doubtful whether the Persian authority ever extended beyond the Punjaub. Nearly a century and a-half after the first Persian invasion, we find that Alexander the Great, of Macedon, having defeated the Persians, invaded India (B.C. 327); and an Hindoo writer informs us, that he did so to levy the tribute imposed by Darius, and to make the Indian princes acknowledge his supremacy. According to Arrian,* however, he penetrated to the East in pursuit of Bessus, a rebellious Bactrian satrap, two of whose attendants assassinated Darius; and he himself, assuming the name of Artaxerxes, fled to Bactria,† where he put on the tiara, and took upon himself the sovereign authority. Alexander's further advance was also stimulated by a friendly message from Taxiles, an Indian prince, whom the Greek writers term Omphis, or Mophis, who had heard of his gallantry, his successes, and his generous character. The route by which the Macedonian advanced has never been satisfactorily ascertained. It is supposed he took the great caravan route between Bactra‡ and Candahar, crossing the Hydaspes,§ where the town of Attock|| stands, in N. lat. 33° 45'; E. long. 72° 25'. He entered the territory now known as the Punjaub, where, according to Arrian, he met with a robust, large-limbed, tall people, with a swarthy complexion, and great skill in arms. There, too, he encountered Porus,¶ a chief or king of some of the Hindoo tribes, who offered a stout resistance to the invaders. Porus was defeated, and taken prisoner; but the conqueror, pleased with his heroism, restored his dominions, and entered into a treaty with him. This prince must have ruled over a territory of some importance, if his army was of the magnitude described by Arrian, who gives the number of men as 30,000, with 4,000 horse, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants. A second victory was gained by the Macedonians over a large Indian army collected at a city called Sangala, which has long since been dilapidated, but whose ruins are to be still seen in an exten-

* A native of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, who flourished in the second century. He wrote several historical works, but the *History of Alexander's Campaigns in Asia* is alone preserved. It was founded on the histories of Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, and of Aristobolus, both of whom accompanied Alexander, but whose works are now lost.

† The modern Bokhara.

‡ The modern Balkh, and the chief town of ancient Bactria.

§ The modern Indus.

|| The ancient Tafila.

¶ This is supposed to be a family, and not an individual name. According to Colonel Tod, it is a corruption of Poone—which was the patronymic of a branch of the Sons of the Moon.

sive forest about seventy miles west of Lahore. Alexander took Sangala, and then directed his march upon the Ganges, intending to penetrate still farther into the interior. But the season was unpropitious; and his men, disheartened by the hardships they had undergone, on reaching the Hyphasis,* refused to advance any farther. The conqueror was compelled, therefore, to retrace his steps. Before he turned his back, however, upon the territory which he had hoped to add to his conquests, he erected twelve immense altars, to mark the limits of his progress. He also founded, on the banks of the Hydaspes, two cities, naming them Nicæa and Bucephala; the latter after his favourite horse, which had borne him through several campaigns, and there expired. He embarked, with his light troops, on board some vessels which had been built during his campaign, and descended the Hydaspes to the Indian Ocean, leaving his army to follow by land. Thus ended the Indian expedition of Alexander, of which, though we have what may be considered an authentic, it is only a very meagre, account.

After the death of Alexander, India fell to the lot of Seleucus Nicator, one of his generals, and the founder of the family who figure in ancient history as the Seleucidæ. He penetrated to the Ganges, and defeated a chief called by the Greek historian Sandacothis, king of the Prasii—another name for the people of the East. An historian, Megasthenes,† describes his capital, Palibrotha, as being eight miles long by one-and-a-half broad. "It was defended by 510 towers, and a ditch thirty cubits deep, and entered by thirty gates." His army, by the same authority, is said to have comprised 400,000 men, including 20,000 cavalry, and 2,000 chariots. Notwithstanding much has been written on the subject, the site of "Palibrotha" remains undecided. Rennell thinks it is identical with Pata: D'Anville fixes it at Allahabad; and Wilford at Rah-mehal.

Little certain is known of Hindostan from the time of Seleucus till the Mohammedan invasion. The cities or military stations, founded by Alexander, soon languished after his death: but the impulse given by him to

commerce, and the variety of its products, caused the country to be still frequented for commercial objects. After the foundation of Alexandria, the merchants of that city appear to have obtained possession of almost the entire Indian trade, they being supplied with the produce of India by the Arabs. After the discovery of the monsoons, vessels sailed first from Berenice, a port on the Red Sea, to India; and then direct from Alexandria. While the trade was carried on solely from Berenice, we learn, from Pliny, that the merchandise was conveyed from that port to Koptos, a distance of 258 Roman miles, on canals. There was a canal from Koptos to the Nile, and by that route it was carried on to Alexandria. When Egypt was conquered by the Romans, the produce of India was conveyed in the same manner to Alexandria, and from thence to Rome. There was also an overland communication with China. Ptolemy tells us, that two roads were known from China to India, "one leading through Bactria to Barygoza, supposed to be the modern Broach, or Barigoshā, in Guzerat; the other, called the Royal or Nyssaen road, from the Indus to Palibrotha." In the fourth century of the Christian era, the seat of empire was removed from Rome to Constantinople; and then the latter city became the great emporium for the Indian trade. The principal articles brought from that country were precious stones of every description, ivory, cotton, and silk manufactures, fine gums, rich spices, and the most beautiful dyes. These were exchanged for the precious metals, in the shape of coin; which the Indians melted down, for the purpose of enriching their palaces or their temples, or decorating the shrines of their false gods.

From the incidental mention of the countries of the East by the classic historians, we find that the trade of Palibrotha was extensive; and that the kingdom of Magadha, in the provinces of the Ganges, was also the seat of a considerable traffic—its merchants forming a peculiar and a privileged class. We read also of the Greek kingdom of Bactria—of its overthrow by the Tartars or Scythians, 126 B.C., who remained in possession of the north-western

Indica—which is, unfortunately, lost; but we have extracts in Strabo, Arrian, and Ælian. He was the first who described Trapobane, or Ceylon; and he asserts, that India or Hindostan, contained, in his time, 118 independent states.

* The modern Gharra.

† Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus—with whom he was contemporary—on an embassy to Palibrotha, and he remained in India several years. After his return he wrote a description of the country called

provinces of Hindostan, till 56 B.C.; of the expedition of Antiochus the Great,* who is said to have overrun an extensive tract of country, and levied a tribute in elephants and money; of the planting of Christianity in India, by St. Bartholomew, according to some writers, and by St. Thomas, according to others; but few events are recorded in connection with these historical epochs, and imagination is left to fill up the blank. In the seventh century, the incursions of the Affghans and the Arabs commenced. The former people are said to be Copts of the race of Pharaoh, who, after the destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea, left their country, travelled eastward, and settled in the Soliman mountains, retaining their ancient idolatrous faith.† They were distinguished by a love of savage independence; but, in the eighth century, some portions of their territory were conquered by the Khans of Bokhara, and annexed to the Tartar principality of Khorassan. This district fell under the dominion of the Samanian dynasty,‡ which ruled in the eastern provinces of Persia. The Persian princes were enabled to exact only a nominal obedience from the rude mountaineers; and for nearly a century we have no accurate account of the state of Affghanistan. Toward the end of the tenth century, we learn, that a Tartar chief, named Sebuctaghi, a man of extraordinary talents, who had risen from the condition of a slave to a high rank in the army, was governor of Ghuzni.§ He succeeded in incorporating several Tartar and Affghan tribes under his rule; and rendered himself independent of the Samanian chiefs; and crossing the Indus, invaded the kingdom of Lahore, where he defeated Jeipal, the king, in several engagements, and that monarch was obliged to resign a large part of his dominions to the conqueror. "The causes of the success of the invaders, were the discipline of their soldiers, and the weight of their horses. Hindostan was, at this time, apportioned among various tribes

* Antiochus reigned in Syria, from 223 to 187 B.C.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*.

‡ This dynasty was founded by Ismael, the first who had the title of Padishah, or king of Persia, which was given him A.D. 900. He conquered Amru Laith, the governor of Khorassan, Fars, and Irak; and his descendants held the kingdom for upwards of a hundred years, till they were superseded by Mahmood of Ghuzni.

§ Spelt, also, Ghuznee, Ghazni, Ghizni, and Ghisni; as the chief's name is varied into Sabaktekin, Subuktügen, and Sobcktegin.

of Rajpoots, who were bound to perform a kind of feudal service for their lands. But the Rajpoot vassals were an ill-equipped and worse officered body of national militia, suddenly called into the field on moments of emergency; whilst their horses were the feeble race of steeds peculiar to the country, untrained to act in concert. The Tartars, like their predecessors the Saracens, had been particularly attentive to the breeding and training of their horses; and hence the Hindoos used to describe the dread charge of the Ghuzni cavalry as the burst of a whirlwind."||

Sebuctaghi had been recognised as the undoubted possessor of all his acquisitions by Noah, his Samanian suzerain, who made his son, Mahmood, governor of Khorassan. The two chiefs died about the same time, A.D. 997; and Mahmood established himself at Ghuzni, by imprisoning his brother Ismael, who sought to supplant him. The successor of Noah refusing to confirm him in the government of Khorassan, he seized the province for himself; ordered the prayers for the Samanian dynasty to cease, and supplanted that family in the rule and authority it had exercised for more than a century. He was thenceforth styled sultan—an old Arabic word, signifying king. In 1001 he invaded Hindostan, and repeated his incursions fourteen times. Enormous masses of plunder were the result of his Indian wars; and the details which Ferishta¶ gives of the riches of the country at this period, border on the marvellous. In one fortified temple, situated on a steep mountain, connected with the lower Himalaya, called the Fort of Bheem,** there were found 700,000 golden dihuars, with at least 6,000 lbs. weight of gold and silver plate, gold ingots, silver bullion, and jewels. The various articles had been accumulating for many years; and when Mahmood and his officers entered the temple, they were struck with amazement at the magnificence of the display. On his return to Ghuzni, the sultan had golden thrones and tables manu-

|| Taylor's *British India*.

¶ Mohammed Kasim Ferishta was born at Astrabad, in 1570. When very young he went to India with his father, where he spent the remainder of his life—filling various high positions, being engaged in several military expeditions, and devoting his leisure time to the composition of a history of Hindostan; which is the most trustworthy of any written by an orientalist, and of which a good English translation was published by Colonel Briggs, in 1829, in 4 vols. 8vo.

** Now Nagarcot.

actured from the ingots. These were placed in a spacious plain; and his other acquired treasures were displayed upon them. For three days this exhibition continued; during which time the poor were relieved, rich gifts were bestowed on Mahmood's friends, and sumptuous banquets were provided, of which the spectators partook. It was a time of general rejoicing; and the sight of the riches, which were the result of the campaign, stimulated both prince and people for other enterprises.*

The tenth expedition of Mahmood was the most important. It was undertaken in 1024, for the express purpose of destroying the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat—the richest and the most popular in the country. It was dedicated to Siva, under his title of Swayan Nath, or “the Self-existent:” it encased a large stone idol, to wash which water was brought from the sacred Ganges, 1,000 miles distant; and many smaller ones: different princes had appropriated the revenues of 2,000 villages for its support; its priests, dancing-women, and musicians were numbered by hundreds, and princes devoted even their daughters to its service. Its priests had boasted that “the sins of the people of Delhi and Kanouje had led to their being abandoned to the vengeance of the Mohammedans, whereas their God would have blasted the whole army of Mahmood in the twinkling of an eye.” It was partly to prove the insignificance of this threat that the expedition was undertaken; and it was one of no small daring. Independently of the difficulty of access, and the troops having to march nearly 400 miles through a desert of mixed sand and clay, which was destitute of water and forage, the temple stood on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a fortified isthmus; and it was constantly guarded by armed men, who confidently believed that the large force under Mahmood had only been suffered to reach the spot, for the purpose of being offered up as an atonement for the shrines which had been desolated in the sultan's previous campaigns. Twice were the followers of Mahmood, who advanced under the cry of “Alla hû Akber!”† hurled back, and the followers of Siva were exulting in the power of their idol. But the third assault was successful; the Hindoos were driven from the walls with great slaughter—a general rout ensued, and

those who were not killed or disabled took to the boats, many of which were intercepted and sunk, and those on board drowned. When Mahmood, his sons, and chief nobles entered the temple, they were amazed at the magnificence around them. The sultan was soon surrounded by Brahmins, who implored him to spare the idol, but he refused; and the figure was battered to pieces with the maces of himself and his attendants. It was hollow, and the interior contained an immense treasure in diamonds and other jewels. The spoil of this temple exceeded that acquired on any former occasion, and the building was destroyed—its splendid sandal-wood gates, 16½ feet high, and 13½ wide, being conveyed to Ghuzni.‡

Mahmood died in the spring of 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was interred at Ghuzni, where a splendid mausoleum was erected to his memory. The gates of the temple of Somnauth were affixed to the entrance to this tomb, and there they remained till 1842, when they were removed and carried back to India by order of Lord Ellenborough, the then governor-general. The empire of Mahmood extended over a wider territory than had been governed by any Asiatic prince before his time. From the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, from Georgia and Bagdad to the Ganges, owned his sway. During his reign we first read of the rajahs of Delhi, or Indraput, the founders of a dominion which afterwards became known as the Mogul Empire, or, as it was sometimes termed, the Empire of the Great Mogul.

On the death of Mahmood, his son Mohammed ascended the throne. After a reign of five months he was deposed by his brother Masaud, who put out his eyes and threw him into prison. Masaud was successful in the early part of his reign: he completed the conquest of Persia, which his father had begun—the province of Fars alone escaping him. He also made three successful expeditions into India; but a power was collecting in his rear which interrupted his triumphs. A warlike sept of Tartars, pressed forward by other tribes, had crossed the Oxus in the lifetime of Mahmood, who had given them leave to settle in Khorassan, where there were many unoccupied tracts, like the prairies of North America. They were called Seljuks,‡ from Seljuk, the son of Dekak, a brave and built on the site of a mosque, which succeeded the temple destroyed by Mahmood.

* Ferishta.

† “God is great.”

‡ A Hindoo temple now stands at Somnauth,

‡ Also, Seljukides, or Seljukians.

confidential officer of Bigú, the chief of a khan of the Kipchak Tartars, who inhabited a plain north of the Caspian. For some reason Seljuk was banished by Bigú: he fixed himself in the neighbourhood of Samarkand and Bokhara; and three of his sons commanded the Tartars settled in Khorassan. Masaud, instead of protecting these men as his father had done, would have expelled them; and this was the origin of a war between the Seljuks and the Affghans of Ghuzni, which continued at intervals, for many years, with alternate success. Ultimately the Seljuks established their empire over all the country between the Euphrates and the Jaxartes, and so pressed the successors of Mahmood, that, in the year 1100, they transferred their residence from Ghuzni to Lahore, though the former city still remained in their possession.

Another family was now coming into note—that of Ghor. This family took its name from the territory of Ghorí, lying to the south-east of Khorassan—its original possession. It was connected with the royal family of Ghuzni by intermarriages; but these alliances did not prevent quarrels and wars, which still further weakened the Ghuznives. In 1118, a prince of that family, Behram, was on the throne, and he reigned for thirty years in peace and prosperity. A prince of the Ghor family married his daughter, and a quarrel taking place between the father and son-in-law, the former had the latter put to death. A brother of the prince, taking arms to avenge him, was also defeated and slain; but another brother, Ali-oo-deen-Soor, repeatedly defeated the armies of Behram: he took Ghuzni, which was devoted to pillage for several days, and Behram died from the united effects of fatigue and disappointment. His son Khosru established himself at Lahore in 1152, and he was succeeded by Khosru Malik, Shahab-oo-Deen being then the head of the Ghor family. His brother, Mohammed Ghor, or Ghorí, was sent against Khosru, whom he defeated and slew, and thus put an end to the race of the Ghuznives, A.D. 1171. He continued to reside at Lahore, as the viceroy of his brother, and was almost constantly engaged in wars with the Hindoos. In 1193, twenty-two years after the death of Khosru, Cuttub-ud-Deen—originally a slave, but whom Shahab had made governor of a province—took

Delhi from the Hindoo prince who then reigned over it, and was the first of the Affghan sovereigns who, for upwards of 300 years, ruled over that large and increasing empire. The following year, Jaya Chandra, the rajah of a Hindoo province called Kanouj, alarmed at the progress of the Mohammedans, and enraged at their cruelty, led an army against Cuttub-ud-Deen, Mohammed being at the time at Ghuzni. The latter speedily assembled his troops, crossed the Indus, and having effected a junction with Cuttub, marched against Jaya Chandra. There was some preliminary skirmishing as the armies approached each other, and at length the main bodies met on the banks of the Jumna. A severe battle was fought, in which the Hindoos were defeated, and Jaya Chandra slain. The holy city of Benares soon after fell into the hands of the conquerors; and in 1195, Gwalior, in Bundelcund, with several other strong places in that province and in Rohilcund, were taken. Thus Hindostan, with the exception of the Deccan, was subjugated as far as its eastern boundary; and the power of its Mohammedan rulers was completely consolidated.

Delhi now became the seat of government; and shortly after the Mohammedans had established themselves, and when a sultan named Altamsh, or Shums-ud-Deen Altamsh, was on the throne, Zenghis Khan* first became celebrated in Asia. This warrior, the son of a Mogul chief, from small beginnings gradually united under his authority all the various hordes of Central Asia, over which he was proclaimed khan in 1206. He invaded Scinde and Moulton, and made himself master of much of the original possessions of the Ghor family. Altamsh succeeded in preserving his Indian territories from the ambition of Zenghis, and “employed the last six years of his life in completing the conquest of Hindostan Proper; that is, in bringing the principalities into partial dependence, in which state they continued during the whole period of Tartar supremacy; the degree of subjection varying greatly with the character of the reigning prince, and being occasionally interrupted by isolated attempts at freedom on the part of native rulers.”†

In 1288, a new dynasty succeeded!—Kei

* The name of this great Eastern conqueror is, like all oriental names, spelt in different ways—Jenghis Khan, Gengis Khan, Zenghis Khan, and in several other forms. It is derived from two Persian

words, *jung-ees*, war-exciting; and means the war-exciting lord—a name exceedingly appropriate to this chief.

† Montgomery Martin.

Kobad, the last sultan of the race of the Ghors, being assassinated. His successor was Jelaloo-Deen, one of the Khilji family, a Tartar race, long settled in Affghanistan. He was, when elevated to the throne, seventy years of age; and was soon after assassinated by his nephew, Ala-oo-Deen, in whose reign parts of the Deccan were conquered and united to Delhi.—The ascendancy of the Khiljis continued only for a short term, and it was marked by great turbulence. In 1321, they were supplanted by Toghlak, the son of a Tartar slave by an Indian mother, who founded a new dynasty; he himself being one of the best sovereigns that Delhi had seen. There were several sovereigns of the Toghlak family in succession, during whose reigns most of the Deccan was subjugated; but Bengal, the Carnatic, and some other provinces, regained their independence, which they maintained till the seventeenth century. When Mahmood, the fourth sultan of the house of Toghlak, was on the throne, Hindostan was invaded by Ameer Timour—better known as Timour Bey or Tamerlane,* who is celebrated in Eastern history, as “the Fortunate,” “the Axis of the Faith,” “the Great Wolf,” “the Master of Time,” “the Conqueror of the World;” and has also been designated as “the Firebrand of the Universe,” and “the Apostle of Desolation.” His father claimed to be a descendant of Zenghis Khan, and was chief of the Turkish tribe of the Berlas; and he was born in 1335, at Kesh, a town to the south-east of Samarkand. Succeeding to the chieftainship of his father, his ambition prompted him to extend his territory, originally very limited; and he successively conquered Balkh, Khorassan, and the whole of ancient Persia. He turned his attention to Hindostan, it is said, from religious motives; being desirous of emulating the fame which Mahmood of Ghuzni had acquired, by establishing Islamism amongst the “idolaters,” as the Hindoos were termed by the followers of Mohammed. He sent an army into that country, in the first instance, under his grandson, Peir Mohammed, by whom Candahar, Ghuzni, and Cabool, were taken; but his career was arrested at Moultan, which kept him for more than six months

before its walls. Learning the position of his troops, Timour went himself, in 1398, to the assistance of his grandson. He took the usual route; effected the passage of the Hindoo-Koosh with great loss and difficulty; and crossed the Indus at Attock. Moultan having fallen, the two armies were united on the Sutlej, and Timour advanced upon Delhi, his route being marked with massacre, desolation, and the most horrible excesses of every kind. Delhi was taken, and given up to pillage; the booty in gold, silver, and jewels, being so large, that Ferishta declines to mention the amount, which, he says, exceeds all belief. Mahmood fled to Guzerat, and Tamerlane was proclaimed Emperor of India, where he remained till 1400. Rebellions in Western Persia then caused him to quit Hindostan; but he had made its fairest provinces a desert before he departed.

Mahmood, on Timour's departure, returned to Delhi; and after his death in 1412, the families of Seyed and Lodi furnished rulers of the empire for some years; till, in 1526, Doulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjaub, encouraged probably by the dissensions in the then reigning family of Lodi, revolted, and solicited the aid of Baber,† sultan of Ferghâna, a province situated upon both banks of the Sir, or Jaxartes; and who had, for the previous twenty years, made repeated marauding excursions into the Punjaub. Baber readily gave his aid. He marched an army into India; and his course was one of almost uninterrupted triumph. He defeated all the armies which were brought against him; rapidly acquiring possession of the whole country from the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. He made Delhi the seat of sovereignty, and was the founder of what was so long known as the Mogul empire, Baber being connected through his mother with the Mogul or Mongol Tartars. He was also the founder of the dynasty of the house of Timour in India; but he died in 1530, before he had been enabled properly to organise and cement, in a firm bond of union, the extensive countries he had conquered.

Baber was succeeded by his son Humayan, who had to maintain a long and arduous

* In one of his early wars, he received a wound in the thigh, the effect of which was continued lameness. Hence he was called Timur-lenk, or the lame Timur, which the Europeans corrupted into Tamerlane.

† Baber, on his father's side, was the great-great-grandson of Timour; and by his mother's side was descended from Zenghis Khan. He wrote an autobiographic narrative of the events of his life, which proves that he possessed great literary abilities.

contest with an Affghan named Sheer Khan, and also to withstand the rebellions of his brothers. Sheer Khan headed a formidable insurrection of his countrymen; and, though defeated at first, he compelled the sultan to retire from Delhi, and ultimately to quit India altogether. In 1540, Sheer assumed the sovereignty of all the territories which had been subdued by Baber; and Humayan retired to Persia, where he resided for several years. At length, aided by an army furnished to him by the Shah Tahmasp, the second of the Saffair or Sophi kings of Persia, he returned to India, and succeeded in winning his way back to his throne, though he had his brothers to contend with, as well as the troops of Sheer Khan. The matter died before the contest was concluded, and Humayan's path was rendered easier by the dissensions of his enemies, the empire being divided into five distinct states, whose rulers were at variance with each other. At length, in 1555, after fifteen years of banishment and strife, the sultan re-established himself in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. He did not enjoy his recovered dignity for more than six months, his death being occasioned by a fall; and his son Akber succeeded him, in the fourteenth year of his age. His reign forms a new epoch in the history of India; for although soon after he ascended the throne he was deprived of all his dominions except the Punjab, and during the greatest part of his reign of fifty years he had to contend with enemies abroad and revolutionary movements at home, yet he succeeded in again consolidating India into one formidable empire, and in organising its government on a firmer foundation than it had ever before occupied. He was not only the greatest, but he was one of the best, monarchs that ever reigned in India. He encouraged trade and commerce, reduced taxation, and made his subordinate officers observe strict justice to his people. He also evinced a great spirit of toleration, encouraging his Hindoo as well as his Mohammedan subjects; and, assisted by his grand-vizier, Abul Fazl, he was indefatigable in promoting the prosperity of his empire. He died in 1605, of grief for his favourite son Daniel, whose intemperance had brought him to the grave; and very general was the regret evinced by his subjects for his loss. When he died, he left the Mogul empire divided into the following soubahs or vice-royalties:—Agra, Ahmednuggur, Ajmere, Allahabad, Behar,

Bengal, Berar, Cabool, Candeish, Delhi, Guzerat, Lahore, Mahé, Moulton, and Oude. A complete survey of the empire had been made during his reign by Abul Fazl, which contained ample details of every thing pertaining to the extensive dominions of Akber, from the highest affairs of state, down to the breeding of partridges and the training and feeding of hawks.

The successor of Akber was his son Selim, to whom was given, on his accession, the title of Jehanghir, or "Conqueror of the World." The most remarkable event of his life was his romantic passion for a beautiful woman—who was already a wife—but whom he subsequently married, and for whom he erected at Agra the most exquisite monument the world ever saw, the *Taj Mahal*. This female—first known as Nourmahal, "the Light of the Harem;" then as Nour Jehan, or "Light of the World"—has been immortalised by Moore. During his reign, Jehanghir had to contend against the rebellion of his own son: nevertheless he extended his empire; and when he died, in 1627, that son succeeded him as Shah Jehan, or "King of the World." He also extended his dominions considerably to the south. The powerful states of Bejapoor and Golconda were rendered tributary to him in 1636; and in 1655, Aurungzebe, his younger son, obtained several successes in the Deccan. The magnificence of his court exceeded that of all his predecessors: a famous throne, known as the Peacock throne, constructed by his orders, was so magnificent, that the jewels which adorned it were valued at £6,000,000. In 1657 he was seized with a dangerous illness; and his eldest son, Dara-Shekuh, placed him in confinement, assuming the government himself. He was first opposed by his next brother, Sujah, and then by his youngest brother, Aurungzebe. The latter was successful; and keeping his father in prison, he was proclaimed emperor in 1658, assuming the title of Alumgeer, "the Conqueror of the Universe." Shah Jehan was removed from Delhi to Agra, where Aurungzebe also imprisoned one of his brothers, Morad, who had assisted him in his contest with Dara-Shekuh. The unfortunate shah lingered in prison till the 21st of January, 1666, when he died.

Aurungzebe was not suffered to occupy his usurped authority in quiet. First his brother Sujah, and then Dara-Shekuh, endeavoured to drive him from the throne;

but the latter was defeated and put to death; and the former was imprisoned by the Rajah of Arracan. This insurrection subdued, Aurungzebe reigned for some years in peace and tranquillity, during which he evinced considerable talents for government. But soon a new enemy sprung up in the Mahrattas—a people whose origin is involved in much obscurity. They inhabited a territory “lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Beder to Chanda on the Wurda; that river being the eastern, and the sea the western boundary.”* We know very little indeed of this people; they are scarcely mentioned till the reign of Aurungzebe, when we find a chief, Sevagee, in possession of considerable power. It is supposed that, prior to his time, “the Mahratta country, like the other parts of the Deccan, was divided into little principalities and chieftainships; many of which were dependent on the neighbouring Mohammedan princes, but never completely brought under subjection.”† Sevagee appears to have united these various tribes, and to have attained the supreme authority over them. He commenced hostilities against Aurungzebe, entering the territory of Golconda with 40,000 horse, and placing Mahratta governors in the towns and fortresses. He died in 1682, when his dominions were about 400 miles in length, and 120 in breadth. His son, Sambagee, extended the conquests made by his father; but, unfortunately, falling into the hands of Aurungzebe, he was put to death in 1689. This did not induce the Mahrattas to remain quiet. On the contrary, a great number of the chiefs, availing themselves of the natural facilities of the country, issued from various points in the mountains, and kept up a predatory warfare in the neighbouring provinces, plundering and devastating wherever they penetrated during the remainder of the reign of Aurungzebe, who found ample employment for his time in repelling these intruders, and settling the Deccan. Notwithstanding these troubles, the sovereignty of the Mogul empire attained its climax under this prince. After he had subdued the kingdoms of the Deccan, his territories embraced nearly the entire peninsula of Hindostan, with Afghanistan

* Montgomery Martin.

† Hamilton.

‡ Elphinstone's *History of India*.

and Assam: the number of his subjects was estimated at 80,000,000; and his treasure at £32,000,000—a sum equal in value to perhaps £80,000,000, or £90,000,000, in Europe. Having acquired this dominion, and amassed this treasure, Aurungzebe died at a good old age (eighty-nine), at Ahmednuggur, in the province of Dowlatabad, on the 21st of January, 1707; and with him terminated the brilliant epoch of the Mogul empire.

The seeds of decay were sown before his death. He had intrusted the government of the various provinces of the peninsula to men perfectly incompetent to the task, both in character and ability, except in the Deccan, where a policy equally shortsighted was pursued. “The districts were farmed to the Desmookhs, and other zemindars, and were governed by military leaders, who received twenty-five per cent. for the expense of collecting—sending up the balance, after paying their troops, to the emperor; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a series of years, for the payment of other chiefs.”‡

Thus the people were oppressed, and rendered dissatisfied with the government, which received only a very small proportion of the large sums that were levied upon its subjects. The result of this system is forcibly depicted in a letter which was addressed by the Raj Singh of Oudipoor to the emperor. After some introductory remarks, showing the prosperity of the country under the mild rule of former emperors, the rajah says—

“Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate.”

* * * * * “The soldiery are murmuring, the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hindoos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day, in want and destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced.”§

It does not appear that this strong appeal produced any change of policy in Aurungzebe; but in his decline, and on his death-bed, he seems to have been influenced by care for the future welfare of his people. He ordered the empire, by a will which was found beneath his pillow, to be divided amongst his three sons: Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west, being

§ Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*.

left to Azim, the second; Bejapoor and Golconda to Kaumbuskh, the third; and the empire to Mauzim, the eldest, who assumed the crown at Cabool, with the title of Bahadur Shah. He would have confirmed his brothers in the peaceable possession of their territories; but Azim claimed the empire, and in contesting the right of succession with his elder brother, he was defeated and slain, with his two grown-up sons. Prince Kaumbuskh also refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Bahadur Shah, and after the death of Azim, he raised the standard of rebellion. He shared Azim's fate, losing his life in battle; and his three children, with Azim's youngest son, fell into the hands of the emperor, by whom they were tenderly and carefully reared—a trait in his character which deserves honourable mention. His reign was short and turbulent. In its course, we first find the Sikhs coming prominently forward in the wars of Hindostan. They were a religious sect, of which a Hindoo named Nanac or Nanuk was the founder, about the end of the fifteenth century. He was educated by a learned and wealthy Seyed;* and as he grew in years, he drew up a creed, from the dogmas of those of Mahomet and the Hindoos, relative to the divinity, its essence being pure Deism. He collected a number of followers, who were called Sikhs, or “the Instructed;” and they gave their teacher the name of Gúrú, or “Spiritual Chief.” Their doctrines were collected by Arjoonmal, the fourth “Gúrú” from Nanac, into a volume called *Adi Grant'h*, or the Sacred Book; and their original seat was the neighbourhood of Lahore. Driven from this locality on account of what was considered their religious heterodoxy, they fled to the northern mountains about 1606, where they remained for seventy years. They then returned under Gúrú Govind, the tenth from Nanac, who new-modelled their government, giving them the name of Singh, which signifies a lion; and ordering them not to cut off their hair or shave their beards. He also abolished all distinction of caste, and all restrictions upon food and drink, except as to the flesh of the cow, which they were forbidden to eat; they were also forbidden the use of tobacco. Whilst the religion of the Hindoos and Brahmins was respected, all forms amongst themselves were set aside; converts to their

faith, of whatever tribe or nation, being admitted to terms of perfect equality. Their government was essentially a theocracy; and in course of time, “the Acalies, or ‘immortals,’ a class of devotees, under the double character of fanatic priests and desperate soldiers, usurped the sole direction of affairs.”† Gúrú Govind is supposed to have died about 1708, at Naded, in the Deccan. In the last year of his life, and subsequent to his death, “during the confusion which took place in Hindostan on the death of Aurungzebe, the Sikhs increased in strength, and devastated the country, under the command of a bairaggi, or ‘religious mendicant,’ named Banda, who was at length taken prisoner by the emperor’s orders, and executed.”‡

The death of Bahadur, which took place in 1712, was followed by another civil war, his sons contending amongst them for the vacant crown. The eldest succeeded. He took the title of Jehunder Shah, and commemorated his triumph by putting to death all the princes of the blood who were within his reach. His nephew, Ferokshere, in the following year (1713), drove him from the throne, and ordered him to be slain, and his body to be dragged through the streets of Delhi, denying him even a grave. He was proclaimed emperor, and reigned six years, being then barbarously put to death by two brothers, Abdallah Khan and Hassan Khan, who claimed to be Seyeds, and who had been mainly instrumental in placing him upon the throne. These persons, who, like the Earl of Warwick in English history, were termed “king-makers,” made a nephew of Bahadur Shah, in the female line, emperor, who died of consumption or poison, in three months after he had assumed the imperial dignity. They there proclaimed as their sovereign a grandson of Bahadur’s, whom they named Mohammed Shah. He was in his eighteenth year, and was advised by his mother to obey, without murmuring, the two Seyeds. Their tyranny, however, disgusted the nobles. The first who evinced signs of opposition was Cheen Kilich Khan, the governor of Malwa, better known as Asuf Jah, the Nizam-ool-Moolk, (Nizam signifying “regulator of the state”), and whose descendants were the Nizams of whom mention will be frequently made in the subsequent narrative. Other chiefs also joined in opposing the two brothers, and the emperor himself evinced a desire to throw off their yoke. The brothers raised

* That is, descendant of the prophet.

† Hamilton

‡ *Ibid.*

an army, and sent it against the Nizam, under Hassan, who took the emperor with him. He was assassinated, and his brother raised a fresh army to avenge his death. The troops of the first, however, adhered to Mohammed, who was also joined by a party of Rohillas, a tribe of the Affghan or Patan race, who had recently emigrated from Cabool. There were several independent tribes of Rohillas, who, on pressing emergencies, acted in concert, and were distinguished by a fierce and steady hatred of the Mahrattas. The distracted state of Hindostan about this time enabled them to establish themselves in a territory named Rohilcund, situated between 28° and 30° of N. lat., and 78° to 80° E. long.

With the aid of the Rohillas, Mohammed defeated Abdallah, who lost his life in the struggle, and the emperor returned to Delhi in triumph. He was soon, however, involved in war with the Mahrattas, and in differences with the Nizam; and, in 1738, his empire was invaded by the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah. This celebrated sovereign was originally a freebooting chief, who, first by aiding the Persian monarch to expel the Affghans from that country, and then by his victories over the Turks, became so popular with the Persians, that having imprisoned their feeble sovereign, they offered him the throne, which he, with mock humility, accepted, assuming the title of Nadir Shah, *i.e.*, "the Wonderful King." His first expedition after his accession to the throne, in 1736, was against Afghanistan. He took Candahar, and obtained other successes; thousands of Affghans flying before him into the northern provinces of Hindostan, where they were hospitably received. Some historians say, that Nadir resolved to make war upon Hindostan, because of this shelter given to his enemies. Others affirm, that he was invited by the Nizam. To whatever cause it is owing, it is certain that he did cross the Indus, and when he encountered the army of Mohammed, he totally defeated it. The Nizam was with that army, but took no part in the action. Nadir Shah then advanced upon Delhi, and entered that city without resistance—established himself in the palace, and distributed his troops through the place. The second day a rumour was spread that Nadir Shah was dead, when the citizens rose and slew about 700 Persians. He took a fearful revenge. The city was given up to pillage, the citizens to massacre; and

it is impossible to describe the desolation and the blight which fell upon the fair place, or the misery of the inhabitants who survived. Many thousands were killed; and it is stated by one authority, that "about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive after being there two or three days." Delhi was taken on the 15th of February, 1739, and the conqueror remained there fifty-eight days. When he left he took with him all the treasure of the place, in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades, jewels, camels, elephants; indeed every element in wealth. The money alone is variously estimated at from fifteen to thirty million pounds sterling; and the whole amount of the pillage at £70,000,000.

This expedition put an end to the power of the Mogul emperors, though that dynasty nominally filled the throne till 1760; the emperors, after Mohammed, being Ahmed Shah (1748); Alumgeer (1754); and Alum Shah (1760.) Dissensions and civil wars, and attacks of enemies from without, were the principal occurrences which marked these reigns; and whilst the Sikhs and the Rohillas made permanent settlements, the Nizam-ool-Moolk, and the governors of Bengal and Oude, rendered themselves independent. The Mahrattas also penetrated to the imperial provinces of Delhi and Agra; and although they sustained a serious defeat in the reign of Alumgeer, the empire was so weakened that his successor, Alum Shah, became tributary to the English merchants, who only a few years previous had obtained a footing in the country.

The Portuguese preceded the English in their connection with India; an expedition, under Vasco de Gama, having crossed the Indian Ocean, made the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498; and a second, under Alvarez Cabral, succeeded, in 1500, in obtaining leave to establish a factory at that port. The Portuguese intercourse with India was marked with insolence and violence, and they acquired these possessions by the "strong hand;" the pope having given them the sovereignty over all the territories they discovered in the East which were in the possession of infidels. Spain had joined Portugal in her descents upon the East; and, before the close of the sixteenth century, the two powers held the following possessions in India: the forts of Diul, on the Indus, and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damaun; the town and castle of Choul; a

factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette; the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort of Goa; the port of Cochin; the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, with factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkseylon; several commercial posts in Bengal, with stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliapor. They also established themselves on several commanding points on the island of Ceylon.—The Dutch, also, after they had achieved their independence, directed their attention to the East—first endeavouring to discover a north-east passage to India; in which they failed. But in 1598 the Amsterdam merchants sent a fleet of eight vessels from the Texel; and another of five from Rotterdam; and in that year the spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas; in 1599, with Sumatra and China; and in 1600, with Ceylon.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the advantages of trading direct to the East Indies were first pointed out to the merchants of England by one of their number—Robert Thorne; who, having resided for some years at Seville, had become fully aware of the profits which the Portuguese derived from their commercial intercourse with that country. He memorialised the king on the subject; and the result was, that, in 1527, two vessels were sent out by the king, and two by private merchants. One of the former was lost, and the others returned without effecting anything. Several attempts were made in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, to discover a north-west passage to the Indies, which ended in disappointment; but in 1591, one vessel out of three, dispatched by some London merchants, and which took the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, reached Sumatra. The other two were lost on their outward voyage; as was the third, on the voyage home. In 1596, three more vessels were fitted out for the East by Sir Robert Dudley and other gentlemen. Disaster and disappointment, however, were still the fate of the enterprise; for the ships were lost, and the crews perished, chiefly from disease. In 1599, stimulated by the success of the Dutch, the merchants of London, headed by the lord mayor and aldermen, held a meeting at Pouncers' Hall, on the 22nd of September, at which the English East India Company

was formed;* its capital—thought a large one for those times—being £30,000, divided into 101 shares. Under its first charter this company was formed into a corporation for fifteen years, under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies." After the grant of the charter, much time was lost by a negotiation which was carried on with Spain, and many of the original subscribers either could not, or would not, pay up their subscriptions. A public appeal raised another body of adventurers, but in connection with the company, by whom £88,773 were subscribed: with this sum five vessels were fitted out, the command of which was given to Captain James Lancaster, who sailed from Torbay, April 22, 1601, and reached Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, on the 5th of June in the following year.

The sovereign of Acheen received the English very cordially, and gave the adventurers leave to erect a factory, and to make exports and imports free of duty, promising them every protection. Captain Lancaster completed his cargo for home at Bantam, in Java; and there he established a factory, which was the first possession of the British in the East Indies. The ships returned home safely, having made a prosperous voyage; and it led to several others, with the same results. The profits were somewhat diminished by the expense of arming the vessels, which frequently had to contend with the ships of the Portuguese and the Dutch; both those people being desirous of excluding all others from the traffic which they had already found to be so lucrative. The attempt to do so, however, was vain; and the "English adventurers" had no reason to complain of want of success.

In 1609, the company obtained another charter from James I.; it conferred the exclusive liberty of trading to the East, upon the governor and members, for ever, instead of for fifteen years, the term stipulated in that originally granted. In 1612, the English obtained leave to establish a factory at Surat, by a treaty concluded with the governor of Ahmedabad, which was confirmed in 1613. This was the first possession they acquired on the peninsula of Hindostan; and it became for many years the seat of the chief government, under the East India Company. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was dispatched as ambassador to the Great Mogul Jehanghir, by James I., for the pur-

* See *ante*, p. 11.

pose of concluding a commercial treaty with that sovereign. He took with him several presents to the emperor, a coach and some pictures being amongst them. The chaplain of this envoy has left us a narrative of his embassy; and we derive from it some curious accounts of the then state of Hindostan, and of the magnificence of the court of Delhi. Sir Thomas remained in the East for two years; but though treated with great courtesy, and permitted to accompany the king on his expeditions, he appeared at the end of that time to be no nearer concluding the treaty than when he first arrived. A bribe to Asuf Khan, the brother of Nour Jehan,* was the means of procuring the accomplishment of his wishes; and he left India, on his return home, in 1618. The year previous to his return, the capital of the company was increased by a new fund, amounting to £1,629,040, raised from 954 individuals, amongst whom were "dukes, earls, and knights; judges and privy-councillors; countesses and ladies; widows and virgins; doctors of divinity and doctors of physic; merchants and tradesmen:" so general was the desire to share in the riches which the New Eldorado promised to confer upon those who adventured there.

Notwithstanding the English company had to contend at every point with the Portuguese and the Dutch (the latter of whom, in 1622, seized, tortured, and massacred the members of an English factory settled on the island of Amboyna), and the subsequent rivalry of the French, the Indian traffic flourished, and the East India Company gradually acquired a footing in the land. In 1624, that company first exercised the functions of civil government, the king investing it with an authority to punish its servants abroad either by civil or by martial law. About this period a trading establishment was formed at Armegum, or Armagon, a town on the Coromandel coast; and the factory erected there is described, in 1628, as being defended by twelve pieces of cannon, mounted round it, and a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. In 1639, on the 1st of March, Mr. Francis Day, the chief at Armagon, obtained from the Hindoo government of Chandergerry a grant of land on the same coast, sixty-six miles to the southward, extending five miles along the shore, and one mile into the interior, on which he built Fort St. George, which was soon environed by a populously-

* See *ante*, p. 18,

inhabited town, the present city of Madras. It remained under the government of Bantam till 1653, when it was created a presidency.—In 1652, Mr. Gabriel Boughton, a physician, was sent from Surat, at the request of Shah Jehan, to attend his daughter, who had been fearfully burnt by her dress catching fire; and having succeeded in effectually healing the serious hurts the princess had received, the emperor desired him to name his reward. He wished for nothing for himself; but, with almost singular disinterestedness, requested extended privileges for the East India Company. These the emperor granted, giving them free leave and license to trade through his dominions, with permission to erect factories, and an exemption from custom duties, except at Surat. A settlement was soon after made at Hooghly, about twenty-three miles higher up the river Ganges than Calcutta, which was considered subordinate to the presidency of Surat; but in 1682, an independent agency was established there. In 1698, the factory was removed to Calcutta, then a small village; and Fort William—so named in compliment to William III.—was built; and in 1709, the seat of the chief government was removed from Surat to Calcutta.—The island of Bombay was ceded by the Moguls to the Portuguese in 1630. In 1662, it was made over by the government of Lisbon to England, as part of the marriage settlement of the infanta Catherine, who that year became the queen of Charles II. The king permitted officers in his service to trade with this settlement; and as they paid no freight for the goods which they received from England, and consequently were enabled to sell them at a lower rate than that at which they could be obtained from the factories of the company, great dissatisfaction was occasioned. On the other hand, Charles found that the expenses of maintaining the island amounted to a larger sum than the revenue which he derived from it. The desire of the company, therefore, to obtain the territory, and thus put an end to the system of favouritism to the officers, was responded to by the monarch; and in 1668, it was made over to the former. At that time the island yielded scarcely any other produce than cocoa-nut trees, many of which had to be cut down to make room for the fort and town. In 1684, the factory and establishment at Bantam having been taken by the Dutch, Bombay was made an independent settlement, and

the chief seat of the English power and trade in that direction; and, in 1687, the seat of the presidency was transferred to Bombay from Surat. Sir John Child was the first president of Bombay; and his bad government and dishonest policy, which, among other results, caused a brief war with Aurungzebe, involved the company's affairs abroad, reduced their dividend at home, and led to the formation of a new East India Company. The two were, after a year or two's contention, united, and the new charter already mentioned* was granted.

We have stated, that besides the active hostility of the Portuguese and Dutch, the English merchants and settlers had to contend against the rivalry of the French, whose first adventure to India was made in 1601, when two ships were fitted out at St. Malo for the East, but were wrecked before they reached their destination. In 1604, the first French East India Company was incorporated by Henry IV.: it met with little success; and it was not till 1672, that M. Martin purchased from the King of Visiapoor, a village on the Carnatic coast, called Pondicherry, with a small tract of land adjoining. Here he effected a settlement, and the village was soon transferred into a populous and flourishing city, which became the capital of the French possessions subsequently acquired. In 1693, the Dutch took Pondicherry, the fortifications of which they greatly strengthened; restoring it, four years after, thus improved, into the hands of the French. Chandernagore, on the west bank of the Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, was another settlement possessed by the French, whose Eastern trade, early in the eighteenth century, became of considerable importance.

The Danes and Swedes were induced to turn their attention to the East, by the successes of the Dutch and Portuguese. The latter met with very little temporary, and no permanent, success. In Denmark, an East India Company was established at Copenhagen, in 1612; and a vessel arrived on the coast of Coromandel, from that country, in 1616. The strangers were kindly received by the Rajah of Tanjore, from whom they purchased the village of Tranquebar, with the small adjacent territory. They erected there the fort of Danesburgh; and though the company was unsuccessful, and surrendered its charter in 1624, the sovereign retained possession of this settle-

ment, the revenues of which were made to pay its current expenses.

The French and Danes held the territories they had acquired in the early part of the eighteenth century and at the same time, the Portuguese, Dutch, and English possessions comprised the following cities, towns, factories, forts, and settlements:—

PORTUGUESE.—City of Goa; the fortresses of Damaun, Bassein, Choul, and Diu. The islands of Timor, Solor, and Macao.

DUTCH.—(For the most part, conquests from the Portuguese.) The town of Negapatam, in Tanjore. The factories of Chinsura, Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and some others, in Bengal. The posts and stations of Ahmedabad,† Agra,‡ and Baroach. On the Malabar coast, Cochín, Cranganore, Coulan or Quilon, and Cananore: with governments or factories in Ceylon, Java, Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Surinam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, and Japan.

ENGLISH.—The *Presidency of Bengal* comprised, in its jurisdiction, the factories of Surat, Swally, Baroach, Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow. On the Malabar coast, the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, and Anjengo; and the factory of Calicut. On the Coromandel coast, the establishments of Jinjee and Orissa.—In the *Madras Presidency* were the city of Madras, the Fort of St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam.—In the *Presidency of Calcutta* were the factories of Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna; the city of Calcutta, and Fort William.—On the island of *Sumatra*, there were the factories and settlements of York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, and Sillebar, with dependant stations.

Of all the possessions of the English, Madras appears, at this period, to have been the most important as a commercial and populous city. Charles Lockyer, writing in 1711, describes it as “a port of the greatest consequence to the East India Company, for its strength, wealth, and the great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins.” It was divided into the English city and the Black city, both being strongly fortified; with “plenty of guns, and much ammunition;” which rendered it “a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it,” whose “singular decorum” Mr. Lockyer praises highly.

The Mogul empire, at the opening of the century, was already diminished by the loss of many important provinces: Cabool, Scinde, and Moultan; Cashmere, the Punjab, Malwa, and Oude, were severed from the empire, and governed by independent chiefs.—The Rajpoot states of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Oodipoor, were tributary to the emperor.—Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa,

† Abandoned in 1716. ‡ Abandoned in 1744.



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were united under one chief, Ali Verdi Khan; as were the six provinces of the Deccan, under the old Nizam-ool-Moolk. The Rohillas were establishing their dominions firmly in Rohilcund; and the Mahrattas—who, “under various pretences, went plundering and burning, on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi”—were planting themselves in various directions.—

Thus the native powers were weakened by divisions, when the struggle for supremacy between England and France commenced—a struggle which ended in the triumph of the former, not only over her European rival and their enemy, but over both the Mohammedans and Hindoos of the peninsula; the Mogul empire and the smaller states alike coming under her sway. The chief events of that struggle we shall now proceed to narrate.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY TENDENCY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO ACQUIRE TERRITORIAL AGGRANDISEMENT; INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR SERVANTS IN INDIA; WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; DUPLEIX; BOURDONNAIS; CAPTURE OF MADRAS; SHAMEFUL CONDUCT OF M. DUPLEIX; SIEGE OF FORT ST. DAVID; FAILURE OF THE ATTACK ON CUDDALORE; ARRIVAL OF MAJOR LAWRENCE; SECOND ATTACK ON CUDDALORE; ARRIVAL OF ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN; SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY; RETURN OF PEACE; MADAME DUPLEIX; CONTEST FOR THE RAJAHSHIP OF TANJORE; CAPTURE OF DEVI-COTTAH; THE CARNATIC; DISPUTES FOR THE NABOBSHIP, AND FOR THE SUCCESSION OF THE NIZAM-OOO-MOOLK; THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH ESPOUSE DIFFERENT SIDES; SUCCESSES OF THE FRENCH; SIEGE OF TRICHINOPOLY; THE CAPTURE OF ARCOT; ATTEMPTS TO RETAKE IT DEFEATED; FURTHER SUCCESSES OF CLIVE; MAJOR LAWRENCE; CLIVE'S DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND; HYDER ALI; BATTLE OF THE GOLDEN ROCK; CONCLUSION OF PEACE; SUBSEQUENT EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF 1755.

HAVING thus given a brief *résumé* of the events which marked the advent of the East India Company in India, and shown its position in the early part of the eighteenth century, we shall not, in the following pages, advert to the commercial, mercantile, and civil transactions of that company, except so far as it is absolutely necessary to explain and connect the history of those campaigns in India which led to the acquisition of the vast territory now under that company's authority. The character of territorial sovereigns seems to be at variance with that of peaceful merchants, seeking profit from the interchange of the products of various nations: but there is reason to believe that the East India Company contemplated, at an early period, the union of the two characters. In a despatch sent from London, in 1689, as an instruction for their servants in India, the court of committees says:—

“The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his majesty's royal charter, but only to trade where nobody of power think it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their

revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.”

The Dutch seems to be the type upon which the London merchants formed themselves; and as the distance was great, and despatches between the East and the seat of authority at home, could not then be interchanged with the rapidity that marks their transit in the present day, considerable powers were allowed to the president and council at Surat. They were authorised “to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants;” to take such measures of defence as they deemed necessary; and to follow, in a great measure, their own discretion as to the acquisition of territory, the establishment of factories, and the erection of forts. By the allowance of this discretion, “the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the native princes and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants.”* So says Bruce: it does not appear, however, that the company acted unfairly to those servants, when they had embroiled themselves with the Mogul,

* *Annals of the East India Company.*

or any subordinate authorities, for the purpose of advancing what they conceived to be the interest of their masters.

The differences between the governments of England and France, which commenced in the support extended by the latter to the Stuart family, and were increased by the wars of the Spanish succession, after a peace of some years, broke out again upon the question connected with the right of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria, which was contested by the Elector of Bavaria. England supported Maria Theresa; while France took the side of Charles Albert; and in 1744, the government of Louis XV. declared war against England, "on the ground that her sovereign had violated his neutrality, and had dissuaded the court of Vienna against acceding to an accommodation."—This war, momentous in many of its consequences, gave rise to hostilities in India, which continued for about half a century, and ended in the complete triumph of the English over their antagonists.

When this war commenced, Joseph Dupleix, who had originally gone out to India in a mercantile capacity, and had raised the factory of Chandernagore to a great pitch of prosperity, was governor-general of Pondicherry, and director-general of the French factories in India. The French had proposed, that a system of neutrality should be observed in that country; but the terms they offered were rejected; and a small English squadron of three ships of the line and a frigate, was sent out, under Commodore Barnet, which, in the summer of 1745, made captures of several richly-laden French ships, on their voyage home from China. Commodore Barnet shortly after died, and the command devolved on Captain Peyton, who showed himself deficient in enterprise, if not in courage, and proved unequal to the emergency. At this time, Pondicherry, though its fortifications had been greatly improved by the Dutch, was far from impregnable; and its European garrison was little more than 400 in number. Before a bold and determined effort the place must have fallen: this Dupleix apprehended would be the result; and he solicited assistance from the nabob of the province, Anwar-oo-Deen. This prince appears to have entertained a wish to be considered the protector of both parties; for whilst he ostentatiously informed the English governor of Madras, that he would avenge any injury offered to

the French, he also told M. Dupleix that he would not allow him to take any offensive steps against the English stations. The interference of the nabob, aided by the inactivity of Captain Peyton, preserved Pondicherry for that time; and in June, 1746, a French squadron arrived in the Indian Ocean, under Bernard Francis Mahe de la Bourdonnais, an officer of great talent, who had been for some years governor of Mauritius. Shortly after his arrival, he encountered the English force under Captain Peyton, and an engagement took place, which appears not to have reflected honour on either party, and to have been quite indecisive in its results. Shortly after, Captain Peyton sailed into the Bay of Bengal, leaving Madras, which was much more indefensible than Pondicherry, to its fate, should the French determine to attack it.

If there had been an English commander in India at that time, at all adequate to the services required of him, the fate of the French fleet, and of Pondicherry also, would have been soon decided. The ships of La Bourdonnais were ill-manned and ill-provided. It was his desire to attack Madras; but he was unable to do so without a fresh supply of guns, which Dupleix, out of a feeling of jealousy, it is said, refused to furnish him with. However, he managed, by patience and perseverance, to get his crew in better order; also to obtain a meagre supply of ordnance and ammunition, with a small military force of Europeans and sepoys; and on the 3rd of September he arrived before Madras. He did not land till the 14th; and, as there was no means of defence, in less than a week the place capitulated. The terms granted were generous; for, though all the property in the company's warehouses was seized, La Bourdonnais pledged himself to surrender the place, if a ransom, to be fixed at a moderate amount, were paid. The nabob, Anwar-oo-Deen, was greatly enraged at the capture of Madras, and dispatched a messenger to Dupleix, to inform him that he would send an army to retake that town, if it were not immediately restored. Dupleix acted with great duplicity. On the one hand, he promised that the town should be given up when the ransom was paid; on the other, he refused to ratify the terms of capitulation agreed to by La Bourdonnais; and insisted that Madras should either be retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. As the terms of the capitula-

tion were not kept, the British officers and civilians, who were at liberty on their *parole*, conceived they were not obliged to observe it. Several of them succeeded in making their escape, and went to Fort St. David: amongst them was Robert Clive, afterwards the celebrated Lord Clive, then a writer in the company's service. Before the two French commanders had settled their dispute, a violent storm inflicted such damage upon the fleet (reinforced, since the fall of Madras, by the arrival of three ships of the line from Europe), that its commander, to avoid the consequences anticipated from a change in the monsoon, returned to the Mauritius. He was obliged to leave his troops behind him; and, on his departure, Dupleix—having also received an accession of strength from other quarters—found that he had 3,000 men at his disposal. He soon after defeated a much larger force, which the nabob, in conformity with his threat, sent against Madras; and this was the first time that a small European army had defeated a native one three or four times as numerous; and the native chiefs appear to have been struck with the effect of discipline over mere numbers, of which that defeat was an example.

The defeat of the nabob's force was the signal for a very unjust proceeding on the part of M. Dupleix. He immediately annulled the capitulation to which M. La Bourdonnais had agreed, and ordered all the property of the inhabitants of Madras to be seized, except "their wearing apparel, household furniture, and the jewels of the women." His commands were unhesitatingly obeyed by his troops; and the inhabitants were reduced to great distress. These events occupied the winter. In the spring of 1747, with a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, Dupleix laid siege to Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry. The garrison consisted only of 200 Europeans and 100 native troops; but the advance of a large force, sent by the nabob, compelled the assailants to retreat, with the loss of twelve killed and 120 wounded. When the French appeared before this fort, Robert Clive enrolled himself as one of its defenders: he shouldered a musket, took his turn of duty with the rest of the garrison, and received an ensign's commission for the good service he rendered.—Driven from St. David's, M. Dupleix planned an expedition against Cuddalore, a town situated about a mile from Fort St. David, where the prin-

cipal Indian merchants, and many natives in the employ of the company, resided. A force of 500 men was embarked in boats, and ordered to enter the river on which Cuddalore stands, in the night. As soon as day dawned they were to commence the attack; but a storm arose, dispersed the boats, and the enterprise was not at that time resumed.

In January, 1748, Major Stringer Lawrence arrived at Fort St. David. He held a commission to command all the company's forces in India; and was the first officer who introduced a regular discipline among the British forces in that country, and trained the natives in an European manner. An English squadron arrived about the same time, which remained in the neighbourhood till June; when, it having sailed for Madras, M. Dupleix determined again to attack Cuddalore. A force of 800 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy was dispatched against that place from Pondicherry, and they arrived at the hills of Bandapolam, within three miles of it, on the morning of the 17th of June. Their intention being to take the town by surprise, they halted till night; and Major Lawrence, having been made aware of their design, withdrew the garrison, and removed the guns to Fort St. David, with the view of inducing the French to believe that he did not think the place tenable. As soon as the shades of night came on, the men were marched back, and the cannon replaced; and when the French advanced at midnight, with scaling-ladders, and were about to place them against the walls, they were received with such a fierce discharge of musketry and grapeshot, that their advance was at once arrested: a panic ensued, and they made a precipitate retreat. The gallant band who thus repulsed these 1,800 men, did not exceed 400 in number.*

On the 29th of July, Admiral Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David, having under his orders the most powerful marine force that any European power had ever had in the East Indies. It consisted of more than thirty ships, none of which were less than 500 tons burthen. A land force was joined with this naval expedition; and the admiral received a commission from the king as general and commander-in-chief of the army, as well as admiral of the fleet. The great object of the expedition was the capture of Pondicherry; and the troops being

* The *East India Military Calendar*.

landed, they marched towards that city on the 8th of August. The town of Ariancopang, now a small place on the sea-coast, but then a fortified town, lay in their way, and the admiral resolved to take it first. The French made a formidable defence; erecting a battery on the north side of the river, which completely enfiladed the approaches from the south side, from whence the English were advancing. The English erected one on their side, with the view of silencing that of the enemy, throwing up an intrenchment before it, in which a detachment of soldiers and sailors was posted. They were attacked by a body of French cavalry and infantry, and the sailors unexpectedly took panic and fled, the soldiers accompanying them. They retreated into the battery, followed by the French cavalry, who were soon repulsed by the fire from the guns. Major Lawrence, who commanded in the intrenchment, would not retreat with the troops, and, with several other officers, was taken prisoner.—The same day an explosion took place in the enemy's battery, and blew it up; on which they set fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications of Ariancopang, and having destroyed the greatest part of the walls and cavaliers, they retreated to Pondicherry. Admiral Boscawen immediately invested that town; but, unskilled in military matters, and deprived of the assistance of Major Lawrence, he was obliged, on the 30th of September, to raise the siege, having lost in the trenches 1,065 of his European troops.

This result was the occasion of much triumph to M. Dupleix, and it greatly lowered the *prestige* of the English with the natives. Their entire expulsion from the Coromandel coast was contemplated; but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded on the 9th of October, it was stipulated that Madras and any other possessions of the English in India which might have been occupied by the enemy, should be given up; and the governor of Pondicherry was obliged to abandon the town he had occupied for some months, by an undisguised breach of good faith. There had been no hostilities in the other presidencies, Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, having obliged both nations to keep the peace in his dominions; and he exacted from both a contribution for what he termed his "protection." A few years after, and the Mogul, Ali's supreme lord, was glad to avail himself of the protection

of England. On reoccupying Madras, Admiral Boscawen took possession of St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town four miles from the English city. It had been occupied by the Portuguese (who found there a number of Nestorian Christians, whom they brought into subjection to the Roman catholic church), and subsequently by the French; the latter gave it up to the Dutch, who, in their turn, surrendered it to the King of Golconda. The Roman catholic inhabitants, it was ascertained, made themselves acquainted with what was passing in Madras, intelligence of which they conveyed to M. Dupleix. To put an end to this system of espionage the English occupied the place, and expelled the friends of the French, who were obliged to retire to Pondicherry. It was also ascertained that the Indian interpreter retained by the English had been false to his employers. M. Dupleix was married to a creole, who had been educated at Bengal, and called herself Jân Begum.* This lady possessed great talents for intrigue; and the interpreter kept up a constant correspondence with her in the Malabar language. Some of the despatches addressed to her were found: the interpreter and a Hindoo messenger were arrested and tried, and being found guilty, both were hung.†

The intelligence that peace was restored in Europe, caused the direct war in India, between the English and French, to cease; but they were soon again engaged in hostilities as partisans of opposing native princes, who sought their aid. In the first hostile outbreak, however, the English only were engaged. At this period the sovereignty of Tanjore was disputed by two members of the same family. This petty state is situated between 10° and 12° N. lat., being bounded on the north by the river Cauvery; on the east and south-east by the Bay of Bengal; and on the south-west and west by Madura, Poodocottah, and Trichinopoly. Its ancient name was Chola Desa—which became corrupted into the word Coromandel; and hence the term Coromandel coast. Originally part of the Hindoo kingdom of Madura, the Mahrattas had conquered it; and in 1741, Pertab Sing, a grandson of Venkagee, half-brother to Sevagee,‡ succeeded in gaining possession of it, to the exclusion of Syagee, or Sahugee, an elder grandson of the same Mahratta leader. Pertab Sing had

* The Princess Jeane.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*. ‡ See *ante*, p. 25

ruled at Tanjore eight years, and his title had been recognised by the English authorities at Madras, when, in 1749, Syagee presented himself at Fort St. David, and solicited the aid of the governor to replace him in the possession of that throne from which he had been unjustly driven, offering, as a reward for that assistance, to make over to the English the fort of Devi-Cottah,* situated at the mouth of the Coleroon river, forty-two miles to the southward of Pondicherry, and 127 miles south-west of Madras, with the territory immediately surrounding it. There is no question that Syagee was the right inheritor; but, as the English had acknowledged the title of Pertab Sing, it was highly inconsistent in them now to take the part of his opponent for "a consideration," valuable though it might be; and Devi-Cottah was valuable, as affording the best harbour between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. However, they assented to the request of Syagee; and a force was sent into Tanjore, under Captain Cope, consisting of 100 Europeans and 500 sepoys, to take possession of Devi-Cottah. They met with no support from the inhabitants, and found no party formed in favour of Syagee, as he had informed them was the case. The main part of the artillery, and the provisions, for this expedition were sent round by sea; but, when Captain Cope arrived before the fort, nothing was to be seen of the ships. He took up his position there for a few days, and threw some shells into the fort; but the troops, having suffered from ambuscades of the Tanjorians, he retired somewhat precipitately, without producing the slightest effect. Another expedition was immediately dispatched under Major Lawrence, in which 800 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys were engaged. In this expedition Robert Clive† went as a lieutenant; and to him may mainly be attributed its success.

Major Lawrence found the fort, which is situated on a marshy ground, covered with wood, surrounded by the army of Pertab Sing. The English batteries were erected

* The "Fort of the Goddess."

† Robert Clive, whose name is so intimately connected with subsequent events in India, was the son of Richard Clive, solicitor, who was lord of the manor of Styche, in the parish of Moreton Say, near Market Drayton, Shropshire. His mother was Rebecca Gaskill, daughter of Mr. Gaskill, of Manchester. Robert was born at the manor-house of Styche, September 29th, 1725. In his early years he resided at Hope Hall, near Manchester, with an uncle named Bayley, who had married a sister of Mrs. Clive. His temper is described by his uncle as

on the opposite side of the river, and, in three days, they made a practicable breach in the walls. Before it could be made available, however, the broad and rapid stream of the Coleroon had to be crossed, and that in the face of the enemy. This difficulty Major Lawrence was enabled to overcome by the daring ingenuity of a ship-carpenter, named John Moore. He constructed a raft capable of taking over 400 men; and, in the night after it was completed, he swam across the stream to the opposite shore (the attention of the garrison and of the army being directed from that spot by the manœuvres of the artillery), and fastened one end of a rope to a tree, the other end being attached to the raft: by this means the latter was warped across without difficulty, and the troops were landed on the opposite bank. A platoon of thirty-four Europeans, with 700 sepoys, was set apart as the storming party, and Lieutenant Clive volunteered to head it. He led the Europeans briskly on to an intrenchment thrown up by the enemy, which it was necessary to take, with the intention of attacking it in flank. This little body was not followed by the sepoys, as it ought to have been; and it was assailed in the rear by a party of horse, concealed, till that moment, between the projections of the towers; and only four, of which number Clive was one, escaped. On reaching the sepoys, he found them drawn up in order; but they had not advanced a step in support of the platoon. Major Lawrence then attacked the intrenchment with the entire force of Europeans; and, as soon as the grenadiers reached it, the infantry stationed there fled. The Tanjore horse again showed themselves from behind the tower; the platoon reserved its fire till they got within fourteen yards, when a discharge of musketry was poured in upon them, which put *hors de combat* so many men, that the rest turned and fled. The English soldiers then rushed at the breach, and, on entering it, found the garrison making their escape from a gate on the opposite side of the fort, which thus fell into their hands fierce and imperious—qualities which distinguished him, more or less, through life: and, from childhood, he was very fond of fighting. He made little progress in his scholastic pursuits: this induced his father, when he was eighteen years of age, to procure for him a writership in the service of the East India Company; and, in 1743, he embarked for Madras. We have already seen how he left the civil for the military service. He returned to the former after the fall of Devi-Cottah; but he soon rejoined the army, for which he was far better fitted than for the more peaceful profession.

without any further loss.* Finding that they had been completely misled by Syagee, with respect to the disposition of the Tanjorians being in his favour, the English shortly after concluded a peace with Pertab Sing; and, they agreeing to renounce the cause of his rival, he secured Devi-Cottah to them, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas.

The French soon became engaged in transactions of much greater importance, in which the English also were ultimately involved. As rival chiefs had contended for supremacy in Tanjore, so others were striving to obtain authority in the Carnatic—of which territory we must say a few words. It is a division of Southern India, extending along its east coast, between 8° 10' N. lat., and 77° 20' E. long. From its northern boundary to Cape Comorin, it extends 560 miles in length, its average breadth being 75 miles. It is divided into the Northern, Central, and Southern Carnatic. The former, extending from the Guntoor-circar and the Gundezama river to the river Pennar, includes a part of Nellore, Ongal, and some smaller districts, the chief towns being Ongal, Carwar, and Sangaum.—The Central Carnatic reaches from the Pennar to the Coleroon, and comprises part of Trichinopoly, Volconda, Palameotta, Jinge, Wandewash, Conjee, Vellore, Chingleput, Chandgherry, Serdamilly, and part of Nellore. The chief towns are Madras, Pondicherry, Arcot, Wallajahbad, Vellore, Cuddalore, Jinge, Pulicat, Chandgherry, and Nellore.—The South Carnatic lies south of the Coleroon, and is divided into Madura, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Marawas, and the remaining part of Trichinopoly. The chief towns are Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tranquebar, Negapatam, and Tinnevely.† It was in this district that the great struggle between the English and French, for supremacy in India, took place.

From 1310 till 1717 the Carnatic had been partially or entirely subject to the Mogul emperors. In the latter year, the Nizam-ool-Moolk, soubahdar of the Deccan, extended his authority over it; but he found the nabob appointed by the Mogul, Sadut-Oollah Khan, so popular, that he was afraid to interfere with him, and he remained at his post till his death, in 1732. He left no sons; but a nephew (Dost Ali) succeeded him as nabob, notwithstanding the opposi-

tion of the Nizam; who, however, had influence enough at Delhi to prevent the Mogul from sending him the formal commission of appointment. Another nephew, Bûkir Ali, was governor of Vellore. The new nabob had several sons (the eldest named Sufder Ali) and daughters: one of the latter was married to a distant relative, named Chunda Sahib, who first brought himself into notoriety—and an infamous notoriety it was—by his acquisition of Trichinopoly. Really independent, though nominally subject, first to the Mogul, and then to the Nizam, Trichinopoly found itself, in 1736, by the death of its king, with an infant sovereign, whose mother was defending his right against a rival claimant. Chunda Sahib joined the party of this lady (Minakshi Amman), and was admitted by her into Trichinopoly, having sworn on the Koran, as she imagined, that he would be true to her cause. What was taken to be the Koran, was a brick enclosed in a cover; and Chunda, contending that he had not taken an obligation which he was compelled to observe, took possession of the place, and exercised the government in his own right, imprisoning Minakshi, who soon died of grief.—The Nizam and the nabob, and the Hindoo princes, were equally offended and displeased with the conduct of the new ruler of Trichinopoly; and his usurpation was followed by a war which broke out against him, and was chiefly sustained by the Mahrattas, under a chieftain named Rugogee Bhonslay. In the result, Chunda Sahib was taken prisoner, and carried by the Mahrattas to Sattara; and the nabob, Dost Ali, was killed. His son, Sufder Ali, succeeded him; but he was shortly after assassinated by his cousin, Murtezza Ali, who had succeeded his father Bûkir Ali, as governor of Vellore. The infant son of Sufder was proclaimed nabob; and the Nizam, afraid to interfere with the popular feeling in his favour, intimated his intention of confirming him in the nabobship when he had attained the proper age; and, in the meantime, appointed one of his followers, Khojeh Abdulla, as his governor. He died very soon, and was succeeded by Anwar-oo-Deen, in 1743. This person, who was strongly suspected of having poisoned Khojeh, soon contrived, with the assistance of Murtezza Ali, to get up an angry feeling amongst the Patan soldiers who formed the nabob's guard, on the ground—real or pretended—that some arrears of pay, due to them from

* *East India Military Calendar.*

† *Hamilton's East India Gazetteer.*

Sufder Ali, had not been discharged. This feeling reached such a height, that the young nabob was stabbed by one of the soldiers at a public festival; and notwithstanding the representations of his relatives and friends, the Nizam confirmed Anwar-oo-Deen as nabob

Anwar was certainly a remarkable man; for when he was thus made ruler of the Carnatic, he was 102 years of age. He was never popular: the people still longed to see the family of Sadut-Oollah restored; and notwithstanding the disgraceful breach of faith of which Chunda Sahib had been guilty, public attention was turned to him, as the only member of that family possessed of sufficient talent and energy to contest the supremacy of Anwar-oo-Deen. But he was a captive; and this fact seemed to preclude all possibility of making him useful in the cause. And so it probably would, but for the assistance of the French. His wife and family had resided at Pondicherry since his imprisonment. They were noticed by Madame Dupleix; and through her M. Dupleix obtained a knowledge of the position of affairs. With her assistance he kept up a correspondence with Chunda Sahib, and with several discontented Hindoo chiefs; and he also obtained the liberation of the former in 1748, on payment to his Mahratta captors of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000) as a ransom. Shortly after the Nizam died. He left several sons; but a son of his favourite daughter, named Moozuffer Jung,* came forward as a competitor for the succession, under the authority of a will of his grandfather, which his enemies say was forged. His cause was taken up by Chunda Sahib, and the French sent 400 Europeans, 100 Kaffres, and 1,800 sepoy to his aid. Anwar-oo-Deen supported the sons of his deceased patron; and a battle took place near a fort called Amboor, about fifty miles west of Arcot, in which the nabob was defeated and slain, his eldest son taken prisoner, and his second son, Mohammed Ali, who was governor of Trichinopoly, with difficulty escaped to that town, accompanied by the wreck of the army. The victors gave their French allies eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and then marched to Tanjore. Before anything was effected with Pertab Sing, the announcement that Nazir Jung,† the second son of the late Nizam, was on his march with a

considerable army to attack the allied force, compelled them to retreat precipitately to Pondicherry.

There were now (1749) two claimants for the soubahdarship of the Deccan—Nazir Jung and Moozuffer Jung; and two for the nabobship of the Carnatic—Mohammed Ali and his elder brother. Nazir Jung pretended that his elder brother, Ghazi-oo-Deen, who held an important position at the court of Delhi, had yielded his pretensions to the Deccan to him. This was not the case: nevertheless, the English supported his claims, and those of Mohammed Ali, the French espousing the cause of the rival candidates for power. At first, success seemed to be against the latter; for Major Lawrence having joined Nazir Jung with 600 Europeans, and the two armies being encamped within a short distance of each other, they drew up, the day after Major Lawrence arrived, in order of battle. A cannonade ensued with little result, and ceased in the evening. It was not renewed. Dissensions had arisen among the French auxiliary troops, the officers complaining that they had not been sufficiently paid for their previous services; and thirteen of them threw up their commissions. M. d'Auteuil, who commanded the French, determined, in consequence, to retreat to Pondicherry; and Moozuffer Jung, despairing of success, and having received a solemn promise of good treatment, gave himself up to his uncle, who kept his word by putting him in irons. Chunda Sahib, more fortunate, escaped to Pondicherry with his troops.

Thus far, Nazir Jung was completely successful; and nothing but a little prudence, and some energy and courage, were wanting, to place him permanently in the seat of his father. But the new Nizam did not possess one of these requisites. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the harem and the chase; quarrelled with three of his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor); refused to keep his agreement with the English, to give them up a tract of land in the neighbourhood of Madras, which occasioned Major Lawrence to quit the camp in disgust; and so weakened his army, by the disaffection of some, and the bad discipline of all, his troops, that Dupleix and Chunda Sahib had no difficulty in recovering the advantages they had lost, and gaining more. The united armies took Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles from

* "Victorious in war."

† "Triumphant in war."

Fort St. David); whilst the French, under M. Bussy—one of the best commanders they ever had—captured the fort of Jinge, situated at the top of an almost inaccessible rock; and which was deemed impregnable. Nazir Jung, alarmed, wished to treat with the French, who sent emissaries into his camp—but it was to tamper with his disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence, though he had withdrawn from the camp, heard of this treachery, and endeavoured to warn the Nizam, but in vain. He concluded a treaty with the French, who treacherously encouraged the disaffected nabobs and their Patan troops to attack him the very next day; and whilst endeavouring to rally the men who remained true, to repel the attack, he was shot through the heart by the Nabob of Kudapa. The army now went over to Moozuffer Jung, who, released from prison himself, became the custodian of his three uncles, and found himself at the summit of his wishes. And so was M. Dupleix; who was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin; Masulipatam and its dependencies, with other territories, being ceded to the French in perpetuity. The Nizam having made Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot, went to Pondicherry to be installed: Dupleix, in the costume of a pacha, entered the city, borne in the same palanquin with the soubahdar; a high military rank was conferred upon him, and he received permission to bear on his banners the insignia of the *Mahi*, or “Fish;” whilst the patronage of the court and the army was at his disposal. Nor were honours unaccompanied by wealth. Large sums of money were transmitted to France; and Dupleix received, as his share of the spoil, £200,000 in money, with jewels, and rich robes of silk and tissue, the value of which was immense.—Up to this time, the English had done little or nothing to arrest the triumphant career of their rivals. We have seen that Major Lawrence left the camp of Nazir Jung, because that prince would not keep his engagements; and a similar result attended a force sent in June, 1750, to the aid of Mohammed Ali. Captain Cope, with 400 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy, proceeded to Trichinopoly at the request of Mohammed, who promised to pay their expenses. When the money was required, however, it was not forthcoming; and Major Lawrence, who was then the senior military officer, and temporary gov-

ernor of the settlement, ordered them to withdraw to Fort St. David.

Moozuffer Jung did not long enjoy the dignity he had acquired. In the midst of his triumph, discontent again broke out among the nobles, who were dissatisfied with their share of the spoil. After some stay at Pondicherry, he left with his followers for Hyderabad, M. Bussy accompanying him with 300 Europeans and 2,000 sepoy. Their presence did not prevent the Patans from breaking out in open rebellion. They left the army, and took possession of an important pass, where they opposed the progress of the Nizam, the troops that remained faithful to him, and his allies. The French artillery was brought into play, and soon opened a passage for the horse and foot, who dashed on in pursuit of the retreating rebels. The Nizam himself was in advance; and, riding on an elephant, came in contact with the Nabob of Kurnoul, who was also on one of those massive beasts. The Nizam challenged his rebellious nabob to single combat; but he was immediately struck by the javelin of his opponent, which pierced his brain. The nabob was instantly cut to pieces; and the chiefs of Kudapa and Savanoor also perished—one on the field, and the other of wounds received in the contest. Victory thus remained with the friends of Moozuffer Jung and the French; but there was no Nizam—he was slain. M. Bussy undertook to find a new one. The three uncles of the late Nizam were in the camp; and liberating them, the French commander took the eldest, Salabut Jung, and proclaimed him the soubahdar of the Deccan. He was at once acknowledged by the army and by the people, and signalised his inauguration to his new dignity by confirming all the honours and privileges granted to the French. This was the culminating point of the progress of the latter: very soon after they had thus accomplished the object of M. Dupleix’s ambition, by giving a soubahdar to the Deccan and a nabob to the Carnatic, they commenced that downward career which, in India, they never were enabled to reverse. M. Dupleix did not bear his honours meekly; and he displayed his exultation in a manner which drew forth all the latent indignation of the English, who had hitherto been too indolently regarding the advances of their rivals.

“The inhabitants of Fort St. David and Madras, who had observed nothing out of the way in the vicinity of these settlements over-night, awoke one

morning to observe that a number of white flags had been planted close to their bound hedges, and here and there within them; an unmistakable token that Dupleix claimed, as the property of France, all the fields which lay on his side of these epitomes of the Bourbon standard. This was indeed to add insult to injury: and the authorities of Fort St. David could no longer resist the conviction, that the consolidation of French supremacy in the Deccan was incompatible with the continuance of their existence.*

They had seen one place after another fall to Chunda Sahib; and soon after the elevation of Salabut Jung, Trichinopoly was the only place left to their ally, Mohammed Ali; and that town, in the spring of 1751, was closely besieged. Mohammed Ali had repeatedly urged them to come to his assistance, but they hesitated; for whilst the rank and file of their army were much inferior to the French, who were with the nabob, they had no officer whom they considered capable of contending with M. Bussy; Major Lawrence having, in October, 1750, left Fort St. David for England, to attend to his private affairs.—Mr. Saunders had succeeded him as governor; and he induced Mohammed Ali to join him in an offer to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, with the exception of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French refused their assent to these conditions; and then Mr. Saunders resolved to send an English force to the assistance of Mohammed Ali. Accordingly, in May, 1751, a body of 500 Europeans, 100 Kaffres, and 1,000 sepoy, was dispatched, under Captain Gingen, to raise the siege of Trichinopoly. Clive accompanied this force as a commissary, and therefore could not take any part in military operations: had he been enabled to do so, the result might have been different. “A fatal spirit of division reigned among the officers;”† and when encountered, near Volconda, by Chunda Sahib’s force, the corps was defeated, and reached Trichinopoly with difficulty, where the fugitives took shelter. Clive had separated himself from them, and returning to Fort St. David, was mainly instrumental in inducing Mr. Saunders to send a convoy of stores to the relief of the

* *Life of Clive.*

† So says Major Lawrence, in his *Military History*.

‡ The Polygars of the Carnatic were military chiefs, of different degrees of power and consequence, bearing a strong affinity to the Zemindars of the Northern Circars. A district in the South Carnatic—bounded by Trichinopoly on the north, by Marawas and

besieged. He accompanied this convoy, which reached its destination in safety. On his return with Mr. Pigot, one of the council, who had been his companion, escorted by twelve sepoy, they were attacked by a troop of the Polygar’s men;‡ seven of the sepoy were slain, and Messrs. Clive and Pigot only escaped by the fleetness of their horses. Clive soon resumed his military character, and was promoted to the rank of captain. His first employment was to lead a second relief party to Trichinopoly, which increased the number of the English with Mohammed Ali to 600; but there were 900 French with Chunda Sahib, whilst his native troops outnumbered those of the nabob’s by ten to one. On his return to Fort St. David, he represented to Mr. Saunders the impossibility of Mohammed Ali’s retrieving his own fortunes; and he suggested to him a bold and daring enterprise as a diversion in favour of the beleaguered town—namely, the siege of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic; an enterprise of which the governor approved: and the execution of it was entrusted to the man who had the courage to suggest it.

The capital of the Carnatic at this period consisted of a town and a citadel. It had only been built a few years, having been founded by the Mohammedans in 1716, after the capture of Jingee, which they found extremely unhealthy. It is said to stand on or near the site of the capital of the Sorae, or *Soramundatum* of Ptolemy, from whence some eastern antiquaries derive the term Coromandel, instead of from Chola Desa.§ The citadel was not well calculated for defence. It was surrounded on all sides by the town, “of which the houses came up to the foot of the glacis, and commanded the ramparts. It was very extensive, too, measuring upwards of a mile in circumference; and of the towers which flanked the defences at intervals, several were in ruins; while the remainder were so circumscribed in their dimensions, as not to admit of more than a single piece of ordnance being mounted on each. The walls, badly built at the first, were already loose, and portions had fallen down; the ramparts

Madura on the south, by Tanjore and the sea on the east, and by Dindigul on the west—had acquired the distinctive appellation of the Polygar’s territory, although the name was common to every military chief in the south of India. The men who attacked Clive are supposed to have belonged to the Polygar of this district.

§ See *ante*, p. 28

were too narrow to accommodate even a field-piece in action; a low and slight parapet imperfectly screened them; and the ditch, besides being more or less choked up, had a space of ten feet between it and the bottom of the counterscarp, intended, without doubt, for a *fausse braye*, but left unfinished. Finally, the two gates by which the fortress communicated with the town, were placed in clumsy covered ways, which projected at least forty feet beyond the walls, and opened upon causeways or mounds run through the ditch, without any cut or opening for the span of a draw-bridge having been let into them.* We give this minute description, because, although it appears to render the projected capture a less daring undertaking than it might otherwise have seemed, it is necessary to elucidate the subsequent skill and energy of Clive, and the steady valour and fortitude of the small band of men which the governor of Madras and Fort St. David could spare to proceed against the capital of the enemy.

The population of Arcot, though only thirty-five years had elapsed since its foundation, is said to have amounted to 100,000 souls. The nabobs of the Carnatic held their court there, in a gorgeous palace; the streets, though narrow, like those of nearly all eastern towns, were regularly built: it had a number of excellent bazaars, and a manufactory of cloth, which gave employment to a large number of persons. Chunda Sahib took possession of it immediately after the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-Deen; and he placed in the citadel a garrison of 1,100 men. To attack this force, Captain Clive had only 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy, with eight officers, six of whom had never been in action, and four out of that six were young men who had gone out to India as "writers," and could not be supposed to know much of military tactics. He had also three light field-pieces, which constituted his "siege-train;" and at the head of this small force he marched, on the 26th of August, from Madras, where it had assembled; and on the 29th he arrived at Conjeveram, a town of considerable size, forty-six miles distant from the English city. Here there was a short halt; but the next day the march was renewed, and on the 31st was continued, in the midst of a terrific storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, till the troops had reached within

ten miles of Arcot, where they halted for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the siege. It appears that spies had been hovering about the band on its march; and they now repaired to Arcot, where they gave such an account of the unconcern and *nonchalance* with which the English encountered the elemental strife, from which the Mohammedans would have shrunk dismayed, that the governor of the citadel became alarmed at the formidable character of the enemy he had to encounter, and resolved to evacuate the place before their approach. When Captain Clive arrived, therefore, he found no one to resist him; and, marching through the streets (the inhabitants gazing upon them with admiration and respect), the British soldiers took possession of the stronghold. They found there eight pieces of artillery, with a large quantity of lead and gunpowder; and goods belonging to the merchants of the town, valued at £50,000. These were all restored to their owners; and "this judicious abstemiousness conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest;" so much so, that subsequently, when the place was attacked by Chunda Sahib's troops, they entrusted a considerable quantity of valuable effects to their custody. "The fort was inhabited," it seems, exclusive of the garrison, "by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."†

Arcot was too important a place for the enemy to permit the British to remain there undisturbed. Captain Clive anticipated a speedy attack, and he therefore immediately commenced preparations to enable him to withstand a siege. He stored provisions and threw up works; and the cannon found in the citadel were placed to the best advantage. The result proved that these precautions were not needless: but Clive was the first himself to attack the enemy. The fugitive troops from the citadel had been collected together, he ascertained, and encamped at Timery, a fort six miles from Arcot. On the 4th of September he marched to give them battle, taking with him four field-pieces. When the English approached within range of the cannon, a few shots were exchanged; but when they came within musket-shot, the enemy retreated to the hills in their rear. As they much outnumbered the force under Captain Clive, it would have been very unwise to follow them

* Gleig's *Life of Clive*.

† Orme.

there, and he returned to the fort.—On the 6th he resolved to renew the attack. He found the enemy again drawn up within gun-shot of Timery, and reinforced, so that they numbered 2,000 men. They were stationed in a grove, surrounded by a bank and ditch, and fifty yards in advance a deep tank was sunk, round which there was a bank much higher than that of the grove. The enemy had two field-pieces, from which they kept up a brisk fire at the English advance, with some loss to the latter, who made a dash at the grove, which led the enemy to take refuge in the tank, from whence they kept up a telling fire upon their opponents, whose return-fire did no execution. The main body was therefore moved under shelter of some buildings, whilst a platoon, under Lieutenant Bulkley, attacked the tank in front; and another, under Ensign Glasse, took it in flank. The fire poured in by these two small bodies of about forty men each was so destructive, that the enemy took to flight, sheltering themselves in the fort, the governor of which was summoned to surrender. Being aware that the English had no battering cannon, he refused; and as it was impossible for Captain Clive, without that necessary arm, to reduce the fort, he returned to Arcot, where he remained for eight days, acting strictly on the defensive, and employing his men in still further strengthening the works. As he did not seem disposed to go in search of the enemy, the latter, probably attributing his inactivity to fear, resolved to attack him; and 3,000 men encamped within three miles of the town, giving out that they intended to besiege it. But they little knew the man with whom they had to deal. In the night of the 14th of September, Captain Clive made a sally upon their camp, at the head of the greater part of the garrison: the success was complete. The English beat up the camp from one end to the other; the foe, surprised, made little resistance, but took to flight; and when day dawned, not a man was to be seen. Captain Clive took his little force back without loss.—Soon after, learning that two 18-pounders, which he had sent for when he halted at Conjeveram, were on their way from Madras, and that the enemy, hoping to intercept them, had occupied that town in force, he sent the whole of his garrison, with the exception of thirty Europeans and fifty sepoy, to the succour of the convoy. The enemy, apprised of this movement,

imagined that they had now a chance of regaining the citadel—an object more important than the capture of the cannon; and returning hastily, they passed through the town as soon as it was dark, and surrounded the fort, whilst some of them, taking possession of the adjacent houses, commenced a discharge of musketry from the walls and windows. A large body of horse and foot also advanced to the principal gate, making loud outcries; and their military music emitting its harsh sounds. This body stood several discharges of musketry; but a few grenades thrown among them exploded and frightened some of the horses, flinging the whole into such confusion, that the cavalry immediately fled, beating down the foot, and trampling upon them on their way. After a while they rallied, and made an attack upon the other gate, where they were again beaten off; and finally retreated. At daybreak, the detachment dispatched to meet the convoy returned, escorting the cannon, by which Captain Clive's means of both defence and offence were considerably strengthened.

Chunda Sahib, enraged at the successes of the English and the discomfiture of his own troops, resolved to send what he considered an overwhelming force against the heroic little band who had so gallantly stood their ground in the face of superior numbers. He dispatched his son, Reza or Rajah Sahib, with 4,000 horse and foot from Trichinopoly to Arcot, who, on his way, was joined by 150 French from Pondicherry. They entered the town on the 23rd of September, and on the 24th Clive made a sally to expel them. The disparity of force, however, was so enormous, that he was compelled to retire without effecting his object, having had fifteen Europeans killed and sixteen badly wounded; among the latter was his only artillery officer. He himself had a narrow escape. The enemy again occupied the houses, and fired from thence on the English. A sepoy was taking aim from a window at Captain Clive, and being seen by Lieutenant Trenwith, he stepped up and pulled his commander aside, receiving the shot intended for him into his own body, and almost instantly expired. Captain Clive's originally small force was now reduced to eighty Europeans and 120 sepoy; and he had not one officer fit for service!

The next day, the enemy having received a reinforcement of 2,000 men from Vellore,

took possession of all the avenues leading to the fort, and commenced a regular siege. The houses which overlooked the ditch were occupied, from whence the parapet could be swept with musketry at a distance of thirty yards; and the cannon of Reza Sahib were placed in the most advantageous position for effecting a breach. Being of small calibre, however, they had little effect on the walls; and the operations of the besiegers were frequently interrupted by bold sallies made by the garrison, generally headed by Captain Clive. Till the 24th of October this state of things continued, the activity and energy of Clive never failing, and the patient endurance of his men being beyond praise; they not only having to go through great fatigue, but their food beginning to run short. In this state of affairs the sepoys evinced an almost unexampled instance of devotion to the common cause. They went in a body to Clive, and entreated that rice might be issued to the Europeans alone, as they could subsist upon the "cunjee"—the water in which the rice was boiled, and which resembled a thin gruel.—On the 24th of October, Reza Sahib received from Pondicherry two 18-pounders and seven smaller guns, the fire from which soon disabled and dismantled the two 18-pounders of the garrison. By the end of the month a breach of fifty feet was also made in the walls on the south-west side; but such was their dread of the English, that it was not thought safe to avail themselves of it till another was effected.

During these events the authorities at Madras were not unmindful of Clive's situation; and recruits having arrived from Europe, Lieutenant Innes was ordered to march to his relief, at the head of 100 Europeans and 200 sepoys. This detachment had reached Trivatore, sixty miles from Madras, when it was surrounded by 2,000 of Reza Sahib's troops, with twenty Europeans and two field-pieces, who had been dispatched from Arcot to intercept it. The English, who had no cannon, were severely annoyed by those of the enemy; and, headed by Lieutenant Innes, they made a rush to drive the latter from their guns. A sharp contest ensued, in which the English were successful, though the difference in numbers was so great. They compelled the enemy to retreat; but having lost twenty Europeans and two officers, killed, besides wounded, they were too much weakened to proceed, and retired

to Fort Ponamolee, about fifteen miles from Madras.—From another quarter Captain Clive also endeavoured to obtain the so much required aid. A body of 6,000 Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, one of their leaders who had gained some celebrity, had enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but up to the present time had remained inactive. Clive—who had excellent spies, by whom he was kept well-informed of all the enemy's movements; and messengers, who made no difficulty in gaining access to any point where he wished to send them—opened a communication with Morari Rao, and solicited him to send a force to Arcot, and effect a diversion in his favour. Up to this time the Mahrattas had regarded the English with considerable contempt. The stand made by Clive, however, convinced the Indians that the Europeans had mettle in them; and Rao sent an immediate reply to Clive, to the effect, "that now he was convinced the English could fight, he would lose no time in hastening to their relief." Intelligence of these events being carried to Reza Sahib, who also had his spies, he sent a flag of truce to the citadel, offering not only honourable terms of capitulation for his men, but a large sum of money to Captain Clive, if he would surrender. The offer was refused with indignation; and the operations of the siege were renewed with all the energy it was in the Indian nature to impart to them.

On the 9th of November a detachment of Mahrattas arrived in the neighbourhood of Arcot: it was also stated that Lieutenant Innes' party, having been reinforced, and numbering 150 Europeans, with four field-pieces, was again advancing, under the command of Captain Kilpatrick: and Reza Sahib, who had effected a second breach on the north-west side of the walls, resolved to storm the citadel. It was five days, however, before he had completed his preparations; and the 14th of November was fixed upon for the assault. That is a day memorable in the Mohammedan calendar, as the anniversary of the massacre of two brothers, Hassan and Hosseen, belonging to the sect of Sheiahs, or followers of Ali, who, with their families, fell victims to the Sonnites, or followers of the true prophet Mohammed. The Mohammedans of Hindostan belong to the former sect; and Reza Sahib chose that day for the assault on Arcot, under the conviction, that however well his men might fight on ordinary occasions, they

would battle with increased ardour at a time when, to their natural bravery, religious fervour would be added—a fervour always deepened on such occasions as the 14th of November, by “the free use of bang, an intoxicating drug, of which one of the effects is either to stupify altogether, or to inflame the individual under its influence to madness.” Clive had been informed of the intention of Reza Sahib, and he “made every necessary disposition to thwart it, not lying down to rest till after he had seen that all was in readiness for the storm.”* It came with the morning’s dawn, when the enemy advanced to the attack, scaling-ladders being borne by a number of men to the accessible parts of the walls; while the main army advanced in four columns—two assailing the breaches, and two endeavouring to force the gates. The latter drove before them elephants whose foreheads were covered with plates of iron, and they expected the fierce beasts would soon batter down the entrances to the fort. The north-west breach was assailed by the column sent against it passing over the ruins which choked up the ditch; and that on the south-west, by means of a raft, on which the troops were sent across the deep water in front of it. All these attacks failed. The fierce fire of the garrison from the walls so galled the elephants, that they became restive, and, instead of advancing to the gates, turned round, and trampled down all that stood in their way.—Those who were sent to the north-west breach, rushed wildly in, but were received with such a deadly fire from the Europeans placed behind the parapet, that they soon gave way, and rushed from the spot in great disorder. Clive’s arrangements at this spot were admirable. Three field-pieces commanded the opening; besides which, as many men as could fire through the breach were stationed to keep up a constant discharge, by firing their muskets and then handing them to others behind to reload. The effect was equal to what could be produced now by revolvers with half-a-dozen barrels; and the enemy were stunned and dismayed by the incessant fire. No wonder they gave way before it.—On the other side, Captain Clive saw the raft advancing, at which the gunners were taking ineffectual aim. He took the management of a piece of artillery, and, in two or three discharges, threw the advancing party into such confu-

sion that they upset the raft, and some swam to the shore, others were drowned, and the raft remained for the victors. In the space of an hour the attack on the three sides was repelled, and the enemy retired with the loss of 400 killed and wounded. The loss of the garrison only amounted to four Europeans killed and two sepoys wounded; and even the absence of those few was felt in Clive’s small force.

In about two hours Reza again stimulated his men to the attack, and they were again repulsed. He then requested a truce to bury his dead, and Captain Clive granted a suspension of arms until 4 P.M. That time elapsed, again the angry roar of the cannon and musketry commenced, and was continued till two o’clock on the morning of the 15th, when it suddenly ceased. On sending out a patrol after a short period of silence, it was found that the enemy had quitted the town—not a man of them was to be seen. In the evening of that day Captain Kilpatrick’s detachment arrived at Arcot, the neighbourhood of which was entirely free from Reza Sahib’s troops. All those who had been sent to his assistance by various chiefs had returned to their homes; and he himself, with the troops sent from Trichinopoly, and the French, had marched to Vellore.—Thus was Arcot once more in the full possession of the English, after a siege of fifty days, during which Captain Clive, infusing his own spirit into the remnant of his little party, displayed in the defence that ready perception of the best possible resources, under every varied emergency, which men of ordinary talents are contented to acquire as the result of study, long experience, and attentive observation.†—The fugitives left a valuable booty in treasure, guns, and military stores behind them, which became the spoil of the victors

Captain Clive did not remain long inactive. Leaving Captain Kilpatrick in command at Arcot, he placed himself at the head of 200 Europeans, 700 sepoys (a portion of Morari Rao’s force, under Bassein Rao, his nephew), and three field-pieces. With this force he marched to Timery on the 19th of November. The governor of that fort surrendered on the first summons; and, leaving a small garrison there, Clive then advanced to meet Reza Sahib, who had made a forced march from Vellore to Arnee, with an army of 300 Europeans,

* *Life of Clive.*

† *Sketches of the South of India.*

4,000 sepoy (2,000 horse and 2,000 foot), and four field-pieces. When they met, Reza having so much the advantage in numbers, eagerly formed to give battle to the English and their allies, who were posted very advantageously by Captain Clive. After a fierce encounter, which continued till night came on, and in which the Mahrattas fought well, the enemy were entirely routed, with the loss of 200 killed and wounded, and leaving their military chest behind them. The consequences of this action were, that 600 of Reza Sahib's sepoy joined the English; and the governor of Arnee agreed to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise Mohammed Ali. Bassein Rao, after this victory, in obedience to the command of his uncle, proceeded to Trichinopoly; and Captain Clive marched to Conjeveram, where the French had a garrison of thirty Europeans and 300 sepoy, by whom the communication between Arcot and Madras was interrupted. After a short cannonade, this place surrendered; and having destroyed the defences of the pagoda which the French had fortified, Clive sent 200 Europeans and 500 sepoy to Arcot, proceeding himself to Fort St. David, for the purpose of making a report to the government, and of arranging further operations.

These were soon rendered necessary by the movements of the enemy. Whilst Mohammed Ali and Captain Gingen remained inactive at Trichinopoly, Reza Sahib again succeeded in assembling a numerous army of sepoy, which was joined by 400 Frenchmen. In January, 1752, Reza took the fort of Ponamolee, which was destroyed, as well as the country residences of the English gentlemen at Fort St. Thomas; several villages were also burnt, and the country round plundered. The troops then went to Conjeveram, where they repaired the pagoda destroyed by the English, and garrisoned it with 300 sepoy. The outrages and violence of these men, and the loss they occasioned to the company and their servants, made their dispersion necessary. Captain Clive was sent to effect it; and on the 22nd of February he took the field with a force of 380 Europeans, 1,300 sepoy, and six field-pieces. The enemy's troops, comprising 400 Europeans, 2,000 sepoy, 2,500 horse, and several pieces of artillery, first fortified themselves in an intrenched camp at Vendalore, twenty-five miles from Madras. This was abandoned

on the approach of Captain Clive, and the fugitives halted at Conjeveram, which they also quitted as the English advanced, and proceeded to Arcot, expecting to regain possession of that place through the treachery of two officers of the English sepoy, who had promised to open the gates to them. But the plot was discovered, the officers seized, and the hostile army, on arriving before the walls, not finding the pre-arranged signals answered, gave up their plan, and retired to a place called Coverspak, or Covrepauk, where they were overtaken by the English, who, on their approach, found a fire opened upon them from nine pieces of cannon stationed in a thick grove, which was only about 250 yards distant. The fire did some mischief before it could be replied to; but soon a general engagement took place. It was fought by moonlight; and in the course of it, Lieutenant Keene was sent with 200 Europeans and 400 sepoy to attack the guns in the grove. He took a wide circuit, and coming in the rear of the position, poured in a volley at the distance of thirty yards, which so startled the enemy, that they dispersed without offering to return it; and a general flight ensued. The loss of Captain Clive in this action was forty Europeans and thirty sepoy killed; the enemy left fifty Europeans and 300 sepoy dead on the ground; sixty Europeans were taken prisoners; and nine field-pieces, with three cohorn-mortars, fell into the hands of the English.

Captain Clive now marched his victorious forces back to Fort St. David. The scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung lay in their route; and there M. Dupleix, in the pride of that success which at first attended him, had founded a town to commemorate it. He called it Dupleix Futtehabad;* and what houses were already erected there, were built round a quadrangular monumental column, on the four sides of which it was intended to inscribe, in four different languages, the exploits of "the founder of the French empire in the East." Clive, who well knew the effect of such a display on the Indian mind, ordered the whole to be destroyed, leaving no memento of the short-lived triumph of the French. He then proceeded to Madras, where it was resolved that the siege of Trichinopoly should be raised. In three days Clive was again ready to take the field; when, on the

* The city of the victory of Dupleix.

15th of March, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and the command of the force was, of course, entrusted to him. It consisted of 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoys, and eight guns. Clive held a commission under Major Lawrence, and took a very conspicuous and important part in the operations which followed.

A large quantity of military stores accompanied the English army, and it was of the utmost importance that they should reach Trichinopoly in safety. M. Dupleix was, of course, desirous to have them intercepted. The French force before Trichinopoly was then commanded by M. Law, a Scotchman, a nephew of John Law, the celebrated financial projector, whose Mississippi Company had ruined so many persons a few years previously. To this officer, the governor of Pondicherry sent repeated orders to intercept the advancing force, which was permitted to arrive too near the fort before any effort was made to arrest its progress. Then M. Law took up a position by no means calculated to enable him to effect his purpose; and some regular troops being sent from the town to aid Major Lawrence, he arrived safely with all the stores on the 28th of March; a cannonade which the French opened upon him being completely ineffectual. This successful exploit raised the spirits of the troops with Mohammed Ali, and equally disheartened the enemy. M. Law remained a few days in his old position, inactive; he then adopted, perhaps, one of the worst steps he could have taken. Opposite Trichinopoly, the river Cavery separates into two branches, and forms the island of Seringham; the branch which runs to the south retaining the name of the Cavery, whilst that to the north is called the Coleroon. There were two pagodas on this island, the largest of which stood a short distance from the banks of the latter river. This building was composed of seven square enclosures, one within the other, at a distance of 350 feet. Every enclosure was surrounded by a wall 25 feet high and 4 feet thick, with a gate and high tower on each side, opposite the four cardinal points. The outward wall measured nearly a mile on each of its four sides. The other pagoda was nearer the Cavery. The French had taken possession of this island, and fortified the pagodas; and here M. Law determined to retire with all his force. It is true, that the position was so strong, that Major Lawrence could not attempt to take it by force

without a battering train, with which he was not provided; but the enemy's movement enabled him to carry out a scheme which was proposed by Captain Clive, and which ended in the complete discomfiture of the enemy.

The plan which Clive submitted to his commander was, that their small force should be divided; and whilst one part remained at Trichinopoly, the other should take up a position to the north of the Coleroon, on the road from Seringham and Pondicherry, in order to cut off the communication between the two places, and thus deprive the French in Seringham of their supplies. It was a bold measure; for, as Major Lawrence said, he "risked the whole to gain the whole." But he considered it right to run the risk; and Clive was placed at the head of a select detachment of the regular troops and one-half of the corps of Morari Rao, under his best general, Yoonas Khan. A corps of 1,000 Tanjore horse was also attached to this division of the British force. On this occasion, a striking proof was given of the impression which the bravery and skill displayed by Captain Clive had made on the native troops. All the British captains were his seniors; and though Major Lawrence, as soon as he determined upon adopting Clive's suggestion, resolved also that he should have the command, yet, on account of this seniority of the other officers, he refrained from making his intention public till he could reconcile them to the appointment. The Mahratta and Mysorean commanders at once relieved him from his difficulty. As soon as it was known that the expedition was determined upon, and that some of their troops would be required to join it, they at once declared that none of their men should march from Trichinopoly, if they were to be commanded by any other person than Clive. Of course, he was immediately appointed, and no objection was made by his senior officers.

The village of Samiaveram—a forced march from the head-quarters of the army—was taken possession of by Clive, and formed into a post of support for his operations. There were two pagodas in the village, which were fortified; and the place was rendered capable of sustaining an attack from the whole force of M. Law, if he should be induced to make it. But though he was urged by Chunda Sahib to take measures to relieve him from the alarming position in which he was placed, he remained inactive for some days. Dupleix,

enraged at his supineness, sent M. d'Auteuil from Pondicherry with 620 men, his instructions being to throw himself into the island of Seringham, and supersede M. Law in the command. He arrived at a small fort called Utatore, on the 14th of April, "intending, by making a large circuit to the west of Samiaveram, to gain, in the night, the banks of the Coleroon. The fate of the two armies depended, in a great measure, upon the success or miscarriage of this reinforcement;" and Captain Clive resolved to intercept it. He set out the same night, at the head of the greater part of his force; and D'Auteuil, who was also on his march, informed by his spies of the advance of the English, retreated to Utatore, not daring to meet them. Clive, finding that the enemy had fallen back, returned to Samiaveram, which he reached just before an attack was made upon his posts. M. Law heard of his leaving the village, but he did not know of his return; and in the night, he sent eighty Europeans, forty of whom were English and Irish deserters, and 700 sepoy, to attack it, expecting an easy conquest. The enemy, about midnight, arrived at the English pickets. The deserters being in front, and telling the sentinels that it was a reinforcement sent by Major Lawrence, they were permitted to pass; and proceeded quietly until they reached one of the pagodas, which was close to a choultry, or place of entertainment, where Clive had retired to rest. Here they were challenged by the sentinels, and they replied by a discharge of musketry. This roused Captain Clive, a musket-ball having struck the chest on which he had laid his head. Some time elapsed before the real state of things was ascertained; for Clive took the French sepoy for his own men, till, following one of them who had attacked and wounded him in two places, he found himself in the presence of six Frenchmen. He immediately saw all that had occurred; and accosting the men, "he told them, with great composure, that he had come to offer them terms, and if they would look out they would see the pagoda, of which one party had taken possession, surrounded by his whole army, who were determined to give no quarter if any resistance was made. Three of the Frenchmen ran to the pagoda to carry this intelligence, and the others surrendered themselves prisoners." The pagoda was then attacked by the English; but the deserters made such a desperate re-

sistance (killing an officer and fifteen men), that the attack was suspended till day-break. Then the French officer who commanded, seeing his danger, attempted to make a sally, but was shot down with twelve of his men. Captain Clive, who was seriously wounded, and very weak from loss of blood, advanced to the gate, leaning on two sergeants, with a view of entering into a parley for the surrender of the troops remaining in the pagoda. He was received by an Irish officer (the commander of the deserters) with great insolence: he threatened to shoot the English commander, and did discharge his musket, but missed Clive, and killed both the sergeants by whom he was supported. The French immediately surrendered. "By this time, the body of the enemy's sepoy had passed out of the village with as little interruption as they had entered. Orders were sent to the Mahrattas to pursue them; and Yoonas Khan, with all his men, mounted at day-break, came up with them in the open plain before they gained the banks of the Coleroon, and, according to the Mahratta report, not a single man of the 700 escaped alive."*

The effects of these events were soon apparent. M. d'Auteuil and his entire force surrendered to the English; and Chunda Sahib's men began to desert him on all sides—2,000 of his best horse, and 1,500 sepoy, joining Captain Clive. Ill in health, and completely disheartened as to his prospects, the nabob resolved to take the advice of M. Law, to give himself up to Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore contingent sent to the aid of Mohammed Ali. Monajee bound himself by the most solemn oath to convey his prisoner to the French settlement. He swore "on his sword and dagger," an adjuration a Mahratta seldom breaks. He did so, however, on this occasion; and for his breach of faith many reasons are assigned. "One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the agent of Mohammed Ali.† Orme says, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies, so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysoreans, or the Mahrattas, for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing him to be put to death."‡ It

* *East India Military Calendar.*

† *Wilks' History of Mysore.* ‡ *Martin's India.*

was a singular retribution. "Under whatever impressions the event is considered, no one can fail to be struck by the remarkable fact, that upon the very spot where Chunda Sahib had by a false oath upon a counterfeit Koran, set at nought the bonds of friendly alliance and good faith, there, after the expiration of sixteen years, ensnared by a similar act of perfidy, did he meet his death by the hand of an assassin."* His fate was followed by the surrender of the French, under M. Law, at Seringham. That island was taken possession of by Captain Dalton on the 2nd of June; and thirty-five commissioned officers, 725 rank and file, sixty sick and wounded in the hospital, 2,000 sepoys, four 13-inch mortars, eight colours, two petards, thirty-one pieces of cannon, besides, a great quantity of ammunition and stores, fell into the hands of the victors.—While these transactions were taking place, Major Lawrence had several times encountered the French, whom he always defeated; and thus led to the final evacuation of Seringham.—At the close of the campaign, he quitted the army, and went to Fort St. David for the benefit of his health.

Mohammed Ali was now declared nabob of the Carnatic; but M. Dupleix was determined not to give up the cause. He was himself, through the influence of M. Bussy with Salabut Jung, named to that dignity; but he transferred it to the son of Chunda Sahib, whom he endeavoured to support with fresh levies, and negotiations with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas. He succeeded in detaching Morari Rao from the cause of Mohammed Ali; but after being successful in some skirmishes with small detachments of the English, he was defeated at Bahore, losing all his artillery and stores. Yoonas Khan was on his march to join the French; but as soon as he heard of their defeat, he went to the camp of Mohammed Ali, where he took the oath of fidelity to the nabob—regretting that he had not arrived in time to share in the victory.—At the entreaty of Mohammed Ali, but against his own judgment, Major Lawrence then sent Major Kineer, at the head of a force of Europeans and sepoys, to reduce the strong fortress of Jincee; but the attempt was a failure.—Captain Clive, about the same time, undertook an expedition against Chingleput and Covelong (two fortresses, the

former thirty-nine miles, and the latter twenty-five to the southward of Madras), which had been taken possession of by the French, who frequently sent out detachments to plunder the territory belonging to the nabob and the company. The only force that could be spared for this service consisted of 200 European recruits, just arrived from England, and 500 newly-raised sepoys. With this insignificant corps, Clive undertook the reduction of the strongholds,—and they were soon in his possession. His health being much impaired, he then returned to England, having acquired a brilliant military reputation, and a large fortune, from his share of the valuable captures he had made.

The year 1753 found the war still raging; and from a breach of faith on the part of Mohammed Ali with the Rajah of Mysore, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans were detached from his cause, and joined his enemies. He had agreed to surrender Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans, as the price of the rajah's assistance; but when the time came for the fulfilment of his promise, he hesitated; and, at last, having agreed to give it up in two months, and during that time, Nunjeraj, the Mysore general, endeavouring to induce Captain Dalton, who was placed in command of the garrison, to surrender the town, he made that an excuse for refusing to carry out his agreement; and avowed his intention to retain the important post in his possession. M. Dupleix, through the able assistance of his lady, opened a communication with Morari Rao and Nunjeraj, with the view of forming a formidable confederacy against Mohammed Ali and the English; being determined not to give up the point of French supremacy, while it was possible to maintain it. He suffered from a want of funds, and of European troops; for the French East India Company had no large revenues at its disposal. He made up the deficiency from his own private fortune, which he spent freely in the cause in which he was embarked. But the want of good soldiers was an evil he could not overcome; and writing home, in 1753, he bitterly complained, not only that, with the exception of M. Bussy he had not one officer sent out to him whose ability he could place the smallest reliance, but that the troops sent to him were boys and thieves, the refuse of the most vile *canaille*. In numbers, however, he had greatly the advantage over Major Lawrence. In January,

* Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*.

1753, he had in the field 500 European infantry, sixty European horse, 2,000 sepoy, and a corps of 400 horse under Morari Rao; and this force became soon greatly increased. Major Lawrence had 700 Europeans, 2,000 sepoy, and 1,500 horse belonging to Mohammed Ali.

The operations of the Mysoreans were directed against Trichinopoly, where Captain Dalton still commanded; and Nunjeraj determined to starve him out. The French, under M. Astruc, avoided a general engagement, but endeavoured to attract the attention of Major Lawrence in an opposite direction, in order to prevent him from affording relief to Trichinopoly. Being informed, however, by Captain Dalton, of the position in which he was placed, and that through the treachery of the purveyor, the troops were almost destitute of provisions, the major resolved to march to his relief. The weather was oppressively hot; and so rapid were his movements, that several soldiers died on the road; others had to be sent back to Fort St. David; and 100 were sent into hospital immediately on their arrival, on the 6th of May, at Trichinopoly. The combined forces of the two officers, after providing for the duties of the garrison, would only allow them to furnish for the field 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoy; and the latter were soon reduced to 1,300, by the dispatch of 700 in search of provisions. The nabob's cavalry were with them; but on Major Lawrence determining, on the 10th of May, to attack Seringham, they refused to take any share in the action, as their pay was greatly in arrear. The Mysoreans, with a contingent of Mahrattas, had occupied that island early in the year; and as soon as M. Dupleix found that Major Lawrence had reached Trichinopoly, he ordered M. Astruc, with 200 Europeans, 500 sepoy, and four field-pieces, to go to their support. Major Lawrence's force was much inferior to that of the united French and Mysoreans; but he crossed the river at daybreak, dispersed the usual guard of the ford, and began to form his men in order of battle. They were soon attacked by the Mysoreans and Mahrattas, who were finally repulsed; the English grenadiers, aided by a detachment of Swiss, also defeated a body of sepoy, and compelled the French to evacuate a water-course where they had taken shelter. The fighting continued during the day, and in the evening, Major Lawrence recrossed the

river, finding that the strength of the position was too great to be carried by the force he could bring against it. He therefore resolved to direct his whole attention to replacing the provisions of the garrison; and stationed himself in a camp at Veerana, as the most favourable place for covering supplies. By this time the force united against him comprised 400 Europeans, 1,500 French sepoy, 3,500 Mahrattas, 8,000 Mysore horse, 1,200 Mysore sepoy, and about 15,000 irregular infantry; making together the formidable array of 29,600 men. Major Lawrence had only 500 Europeans, 1,300 sepoy, and 100 horse. "With this immense superiority, the French and Nunjeraj moved to the southward of the rivers, and obliged the major to withdraw his camp nearer to the fortress, extending themselves between him and the route of his supplies, so as to form an effectual blockade. Under these circumstances, the most sanguine began to despair, and to apprehend that the city must be abandoned, in order to save the troops from perishing by famine."*—We may remark, that the Mysore sepoy with Nunjeraj were commanded by Hyder Ali; and it is the first mention we have of that subsequently celebrated Mysore chief. He was a soldier of fortune, who entered the service of the Rajah of Mysore in 1749; and by his talents and bravery soon rose to eminence.

On a rock, about 200 yards to the southwest of his camp, Major Lawrence had stationed a guard of 200 sepoy, in the hope of being able sometimes to evade the vigilance of the enemy. M. Astruc, aware of the importance of this position, attacked it on the 26th of June, with his grenadiers and a large body of sepoy. Meeting with more resistance than he expected, the whole army moved to their support. Major Lawrence, who could not permit the post to be taken without an effort to save it, left a hundred Europeans to take care of the camp, and marched to the "Golden Rock," as it was termed, hoping to reach it before the main body of the enemy arrived. Before his troops had passed over half the distance from the camp, however, the rock was in possession of the enemy, and was itself seen covered with sepoy, supported by the French battalions; and the whole Mysore army was drawn up in the rear. Under these circumstances, to advance or retreat appeared to be equally desperate. The

* *East India Military Calendar.*

officers, one and all, however, agreed with Major Lawrence, that it was safer to make a gallant push onwards, than to take a backward movement before such numbers; and the soldiers rejoiced at the opportunity of having what they called "a fair knock at the Frenchmen on the plain." Major Lawrence therefore ordered the grenadiers to scale the rock with fixed bayonets, while he, with the rest of the troops, marched round the foot of it to engage with the French battalion. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, both movements were successful. The grenadiers gave three cheers, and rushed gallantly forward at double-quick time; and the enemy on the rock did not dare to stand a meeting with them; but as the English mounted on one side, the sepoy and French ran down on the other. Some of the best sepoy had followed the grenadiers; and both bodies poured in a destructive fire upon the French at the bottom. While this was taking place, M. Astruc, finding that the left flank of his battalion, which was drawn up facing the north, would be exposed to the English, who were wheeling round the foot of the rock, he changed his position, and drew up facing the west, in order to oppose them in front. This movement exposed his right flank to the fire of the grenadiers and sepoy from the rock, and they suffered considerably. His main body only waited to receive one well-levelled discharge from the English under Major Lawrence; that discharge threw them into irreparable disorder, and they ran away precipitately, leaving three pieces of cannon on the field.* The retreat of the French was covered by the cavalry of Morari Rao; who endeavoured to prevent the English from carrying off the cannon, but failed. This "battle of the Golden Rock," as Major Lawrence termed it, was one of the most brilliant events of the war; but as the major observed, even such events were ruinous to his small force; and "a victory or two more," he said, "would have left all his men on the plains of Trichinopoly."

A few days after this victory, the 700 sepoy sent in search of provisions, returned with supplies for fifty days, putting the garrison and the army alike in high spirits. Major Lawrence, being in expectation of reinforcements, now resolved to avoid a general engagement till he received them, and to march through the Tanjore country, with

* *E. I. Military Calendar; and War in Coromandel.*

the view of inducing the rajah to extend the aid he had often promised. He was accompanied by Mohammed Ali; though his troops, who were greatly in arrear of pay, refused to let him depart; and he was obliged to be escorted to the English camp by a detachment of Europeans. They were successful with the Rajah of Tanjore, and returned with the addition of 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot to their numbers. About the same time a reinforcement of 170 English and 300 native infantry joined the army from Madras. Thus reinforced, and having collected supplies for the garrison (amongst them, as he expected, several thousand bullocks), the major set out on his return to Trichinopoly; and on his approach, he found the enemy, under the command of M. Brennier, who had succeeded M. Astruc, drawn up to intercept him, and occupying rather a tolerably defensive post on some rocks two miles and a-half to the west of Trichinopoly. A strong corps was posted on the most western of these rocks; and the main body occupied a position on, and near, those to the east. The Mysoreans and Mahrattas, "to the left and north-east of the latter, formed a sweep which approached the river, and extended also to the right along the rear of the whole position." Encumbered with the convoy, Major Lawrence would gladly have avoided a battle, but he found it was impossible; and his first care was to place the cattle and other supplies in safety. He made, therefore, a demonstration on the main body, near the rock on the left, which caused M. Brennier to strengthen the threatened point, by withdrawing troops from the right. This was what the English commander anticipated; and he had prepared a detachment to take that point by a circuitous movement. This important post was soon in possession of the English; and when M. Brennier found his error, he sent a detachment to retake it. This they failed to do, though the English were attacked at great disadvantage. They defended themselves with spirit; whilst Major Lawrence sent 500 infantry, Europeans and sepoy, to attack the main body. The officer commanding this detachment appeared to hesitate as he approached the enemy: Major Lawrence immediately galloped up, and dismounting, put himself at their head. "The troops, animated by his example, marched on with great spirit, keeping their order, notwithstanding they were galled by a very smart fire from the enemy's

artillery, which killed several brave men; and amongst them Captain Kirk, at the head of the grenadiers. These brave fellows, whom nothing during the war had ever staggered could not see the death of the officer they loved without emotion. Captain Kilpatrick seeing them at a stand, immediately put himself at their head, and desired them, if they loved their captain as much as he valued his friend, to follow him and revenge his death. Roused in an instant by this spirited exhortation and example, they swore they would follow him anywhere.* The enemy could not stand the bayonet charge, but retreated upon the principle of "*Sauve qui peut*," to their post of Weyconda, about three miles distant, leaving three field-pieces for the victors. After the victory, Major Lawrence found that he had been terribly deceived by the Rajah of Tanjore, who had undertaken to send 4,000 bullock loads of provisions. He had trusted to the Mysore commissariat, who sent only 300 bullock loads—not ten days' supply; and the major still had to turn his attention to supplying the garrison with food.

On the 24th of August the enemy received a large reinforcement of 3,000 Mahratta horse and some infantry, with 400 Europeans and 2,000 infantry, under M. Astruc, who was reinstated in his former command. Nunjeraj was also reinforced from Mysore, by what is termed "a large rabble of all descriptions." On the 16th of September, Major Lawrence's army received an addition of 237 Europeans and 300 sepoy; but still the two forces were vastly disproportionate, and the ultimate success of the English and their allies could scarcely have been anticipated. Major Lawrence, however, and his officers and men, persevered with a bravery and devotion worthy a better cause; for certainly the faithless and tricky Mohammed Ali was not, *of himself*, a person worth fighting for.

Notwithstanding the numerical superiority of his force, M. Astruc intrenched himself in a fortified camp near the scene of the last battle, occupying the same rocks; whilst Major Lawrence encamped in the open field at no great distance. On the 20th of September, he drew his army out on the plain to offer battle; but the enemy would not leave their intrenchments. He continued during the day to cannonade the camp, for the purpose of disguising his

design of attacking the western rock in the night, and from thence to direct a movement upon the flank of the French position, which was unfinished. The grenadiers had again the post of honour, and occupied the rock before its defenders had time to discharge their cannon. The men who were stationed there rushed to the camp, and gave the alarm; and M. Astruc immediately changed the position of his army, placing the front towards the west, with the Europeans on the right, and the sepoy on the left. The morning of the 21st had scarcely began to dawn when the English were seen drawn up in battle array, the Europeans being in the centre, and the sepoy on each flank. They received the order for attack with a general shout, and moved to the ground as if they were going to parade, the band playing inspiring airs. The sepoy on the English right first came into action with those on the enemy's left, whom they caused to waver. The moment was seized by the officer commanding the right division of the English Europeans, who by a rapid movement turned the French left, and by a gallant bayonet charge drove them in great confusion upon their centre and right, upon which a well-directed fire was poured in from the sepoy on the English left; one part of whom pushed on and carried the eastern rock. The result was a panic and flight; and the whole army might have been destroyed, if the Mahratta horse, who accompanied the Europeans and sepoy for the express purpose of availing themselves of such an opportunity, had obeyed the repeated command of Major Lawrence, and gone in pursuit. But they found plundering the camp better and more profitable amusement, and could not be induced to move.—The French lost eleven pieces of cannon, a hundred prisoners, with eleven officers, M. Astruc being one; all their tents and stores of every description. The killed taken from the ground, the wounded, and stragglers who afterwards fell into the hands of Major Lawrence, amounted to 200; whilst the loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was only forty. The fugitives went to Seringham; and the same evening Major Lawrence set down before Weyconda. That place, though strongly fortified, fell into his hands in a few days, after a gallant struggle, in which the Europeans and native troops were equally conspicuous for daring heroism. As soon as a breach

* *War in Coromandel.*

was made in the walls, the sepoy would attempt to rush in, though their officers endeavoured to restrain them, telling them that it was not yet practicable. It was found impossible, under the fire of the enemy, to effect an entrance there; and a rush was made to the gate, where an English sergeant of the sepoy got on the shoulders of one of his comrades, and by the aid of the carved work of the gateway, he succeeded in reaching the top. The colours of his company were handed up to him, which he planted on the parapet; and he was followed by about twenty of his men, some of whom engaged with the enemy, whilst others descended on the inner side, and opened the gate. The rush to the interior was then irresistible, and the place surrendered.

After the fall of Weyconda, active operations were suspended during the rainy season; but the successes obtained by Major Lawrence enabled supplies for six months to be brought to Trichinopoly without interruption. On the 23rd of October, the English commander moved his army to Coilady, on the frontier of Tanjore, fifteen miles east of the city. He was accompanied by Mohammed Ali, and resolved to remain there during the monsoon. The troops sent by the Rajah of Tanjore returned to their own country; and that chief reverted to his former system of double-dealing—disbanding his army, and making promises to both parties, but assisting neither. On the 27th of November, the French, who still made Seringham their head-quarters, and who had been reinforced by 300 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy, made an attempt to take Trichinopoly by a *coup de main*. They completely failed, losing about 500 Europeans. Major Lawrence heard the firing at Coilady, and immediately sent a reinforcement to the garrison, which he followed himself on the 3rd of December.

January, 1754, appears to have been spent in inactivity by both armies. Major Lawrence's difficulty was to keep Trichinopoly well-supplied with provisions and other stores—a difficulty increased by the defection of the Rajah of Tanjore, who, however, did not object to their purchase in his dominions; and a large convoy, in the middle of February, was prepared to start from the capital. To cover its advance, Major Lawrence dispatched 188 Europeans, 800 sepoy, and four pieces of cannon. The route was from the east, through a forest called Ton-

diman's woods, which extended to within seven miles of the English camp, and were practicable in some parts for the movement of troops. In the night of the 14th of February, the French, who had obtained information of the march of the convoy, and the smallness of the detachment dispatched for its escort, moved a corps of 12,000 Mahratta and Mysorean horse, 6,000 sepoy, 400 Europeans, and seven pieces of cannon, into the wood on the west. It took up a concealed position, the cavalry occupying each side of the road; and as soon as the English appeared, a charge was made, which was received with a volley of musketry; but before they could reload, the gallant grenadiers, "who had on all occasions led the way in the extraordinary victories which had been achieved," were placed completely *hors de combat*, fifty being killed, and a hundred desperately wounded. The convoy of course fell into the hands of the enemy; and it was the greatest misfortune the English sustained during the war. As soon as the Madras government heard of this event, they made every effort to reinforce Major Lawrence; but 180 men were all they were able to send him.

Notwithstanding they retained an immense superiority of numerical force, the enemy did not regularly besiege Trichinopoly, nor did they make any other attempt at a *coup de main*, after the failure of the 27th of November. They seem to have supposed that, in time, the resources of the garrison must be exhausted, and that then the place would fall. The only affairs of arms, for several months, were skirmishes with convoys; and in one of these, on the 12th of May, the enemy received another serious defeat. On that day, Major Lawrence being confined to his bed from illness, sent a detachment of 120 Europeans, 500 sepoy, and two field-pieces, under Captain Caillaud, to meet a convoy, which was to advance from the southward of those rocks where the enemy had been twice defeated, and which they had not, after the last defeat, reoccupied. Nunjeraj, aware of the movement, and of the illness of the gallant major, resolved to attempt to intercept both the convoy and the detachment; and he marched 250 Europeans, 1,000 sepoy, 4,000 select horse of Mysore, and four field-pieces, by a circuitous route, at an early hour, and occupied the post to which the English were advancing. The latter, on

their approach, discovered the enemy, and resolved to attack him instantly, before the daylight should disclose their own weakness. The attack was made in two divisions upon the separate flanks of the enemy, which were dislodged with considerable loss. They rallied, however; and when the day broke, commenced a cannonade with their four guns, which was answered by the English two. The report of the firing reached the English camp, where Captain Polier commanded, and he immediately marched with all his force to the support of Captain Caillaud, whose little army then consisted of 360 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, eleven troopers, and three field-pieces. The French and Mysoreans had also been reinforced when it was found the fighting continued, and their numbers amounted to 700 Europeans, 50 dragoons, 5,000 sepoy, 10,000 Mysorean horse, and seven guns—a force sufficient, it might have been supposed, to have annihilated the English. The result, however, proved that reliance is not to be placed in mere numbers. The English suffered considerable loss, and Captain Polier was rendered incapable of action, from two severe wounds. Captain Caillaud, however, directed his chief attention to the French battalion, and having materially thinned their ranks by a quick and well-directed fire of grape from his three field-pieces, ordered an advance. When close to their line, the English poured in a most effective volley, and instantly brought their bayonets to the charge. The French did not stand the shock; they broke and fled, and the victory remained with the small force under Captains Polier and Caillaud.—“Major Lawrence, although very ill,” when he knew what was going forward, “ordered himself to be carried to one of the gates of Trichinopoly, and contemplating from thence the disposition of both armies, he trembled,” as well he might, “for the fate of his own.”* He was proportionately rejoiced at the victory, which the enemy resolved to avenge by the destruction of the country from whence supplies were obtained. The second night after the engagement, they marched into Tondiman’s country; “but the inhabitants, alarmed, quitted their villages, drove their cattle to the woods, and left their houses to be burned by the enemy—the only injury which they effected by this expedition, except the destruction of a few bags of rice in the English dépôt. Before

* *War in Coromandel.*

their return, however, they wreaked their vengeance on the country of the Rajah of Tanjore, and Major Lawrence prepared to avail himself of the impression thus created on the rajah’s mind.”† Being restored to health, and able to place himself at the head of his troops, on the 23rd of May he marched to Tanjore, where he was joined by 150 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, which had arrived from the coast. By the middle of August, his force was increased to 1,200 English, 3,000 English sepoy, 2,500 Tanjorean cavalry, 3,000 infantry, and fifty horse troops of Mohammed Ali, with fourteen field-pieces; whilst the force opposed to him was weakened by the defection of the Mahrattas under Morari Rao. There was only one more affair of convoys on the 17th of August, in which Hyder Ali secured thirty-five carts, some laden with arms and ammunition, and others with officers’ baggage; though the general result of the action was in favour of the English. On the 23rd of September the English army was placed in cantonments, preparatory to the rainy season, and soon after received great reinforcements from Europe; as did the enemy. But on the 11th of October, a suspension of arms for three months was agreed to; and soon after, a treaty of peace was concluded.

This result was brought about by the dissatisfaction of both the English and French in Europe, at the prolongation of hostilities. This feeling particularly existed in France; and led to the sending out a new governor-general to Pondicherry (M. Godheu), who arrived in August, and M. Dupleix immediately returned to Europe. Previous overtures for a pacific termination of the contest, between Mr. Saunders and M. Dupleix, had failed. As soon as M. Godheu felt himself established in his government, they were renewed; and ended in the suspension of arms, and then in the treaty, which was signed in December. By it the French sacrificed all they had been fighting for. By the first article, the two companies, English and French, agreed to “renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity,” and “never to interfere in any differences that arose between the princes of that country.” By this provision, Mohammed Ali was tacitly recognised by the French as nabob of the Carnatic. Another clause provided, that the territorial arrangements of the two nations should be placed

† *East India Military Calendar.*

on the principle of equality; and this entailed the surrender, by the French, of the provinces called the Northern Circars, given to M. Bussy by the soubahdar of the Deccan, Salabut Jung, and which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa for 600 miles.—Neither party, however, abided by the conditions agreed to, which were violated, indeed, almost as soon as signed; for the English proceeded to reduce Madura and Tinnevely to subjection to Mohammed Ali, and the French retained the Circars.—Nunjeraj, who refused to recognise the right of the French to make a peace in which terms were prescribed for him, still maintained a force before Trichinopoly, with a view to obtain possession of it; but the rumoured advance of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on his frontier, and of Salabut Jung in another direction to enforce the payment of tribute, in the name of the Great Mogul, caused him suddenly to march homewards, and the important position was relieved from the presence of the hostile force which had so long threatened it.

Admiral Watson had arrived from England while the negotiations were going on, commanding a British squadron, which also brought out reinforcements for the army. As, in consequence of the conclusion of peace, the services of the fleet were not required against the French and their allies, they were directed to the suppression of a system of piracy which, for nearly half a century, had been carried on along the Malabar coast by the descendants of Cona-

* Clive had been most cordially received in England. His name had been brought honourably before the public by the siege of Arcot; and the subsequent events had not lessened his repute. In a despatch to the governor of Fort St. David, the Court of Directors had said:—"We have great regard for the merit of Captain Clive, to whose courage and conduct the late turn in our affairs has been mainly owing; he may be assured of our having a just sense of his services." On his arrival in London, it appeared that these were not mere words of compliment, for he became the honoured guest of the directors at all their public dinners; and they voted him a diamond-hilted sword, of the value of 500 guineas, which, to his honour, he declined to ac-

cept till the court resolved to give Major Lawrence, his old friend and commander, a similar mark of their good-will. He brought to England a large sum of money; part of which he expended in discharging a mortgage upon his paternal estate, and making the latter days of his father and mother comfortable. The rest was wasted in fashionable display, and in the expenses of an election for the borough of St. Michael, Cornwall, which he contested against a nominee of the Duke of Newcastle. He was successful, but was unseated on petition; and this led him to wish to return to India. The Court of Directors gladly accepted his offer; obtaining for him, before he sailed, a lieutenant-colonel's commission from the crown.

jee Angria, who commanded the Mahratta fleet at the close of the seventeenth century. He seduced one half of that fleet to follow his fortunes, and with it captured and destroyed the remainder. He established his headquarters at Severndroog, a small rocky isle on the coast, within cannon-shot of the continent, and eighty miles south from Bombay; and ultimately his authority was extended for 120 miles along the coast, from Tamanah to Bancoote, and into the interior for twenty or thirty miles. The pirates committed depredations on all ships, indifferently, which did not purchase passes from their chiefs; and were become a source of great annoyance to the traders. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas agreed to join the English in putting down these formidable sea-robbers; but when the latter attacked Severndroog (which was captured by Captain James, as well as the island of Bancoote, also occupied by the pirates), the Mahratta fleet never approached within range of the guns.—Early in the following year, Gheriah, a fortress situated on the rocky promontory jutting out of the Concan province on the Malabar coast, was attacked by Admiral Watson, and a land force, under Clive, who had returned from England* with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The fort was taken, and all the fleet of Toolajee Angria destroyed. There were found in the fort 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, a great quantity of ammunition, and a vast collection of naval and military stores. The money and effects of other kinds amounted to £120,000.

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CHAPTER IV

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL; DEATH OF ALI VERDI KHAN; SURAJAH DOWLAH; DIFFERENCES WITH THE ENGLISH; CAPTURE OF COSSIMBAZAR AND CALCUTTA; CATASTROPHE OF THE BLACK HOLE; RECAPTURE OF CALCUTTA AND CAPTURE OF HOOGHLY; DEFEAT OF, AND PEACE WITH, SURAJAH DOWLAH; WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH; CAPTURE OF CHANDERNAGORE; MEER JAFFIER; DOUBTFUL CONDUCT OF CLIVE; WAR WITH THE NABOB; BATTLE OF PLASSY; INSTALLATION OF MEER JAFFIER; TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH HIM; TREATMENT OF OMICHUND; CAPTURE AND ASSASSINATION OF SURAJAH DOWLAH; CHANGE OF AFFAIRS AT CALCUTTA; DIFFERENCES WITH THE MOGUL; SHAH ZADA; AFFAIRS WITH THE DUTCH; CHARACTER OF MEER JAFFIER; CLIVE'S PROPOSAL RELATIVE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL; HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND; BATTLE OF SEERPORE; ASSASSINATION OF THE MOGUL; DEATH OF MEERAN; ARRIVAL OF MR. VANSITTART; DEPOSITION OF MEER JAFFIER; ACCESSION OF MEER COSSIM ALI; BATTLE OF PATNA; THE CARNATIC AND COROMANDEL WAR; COUNT LALLY; CAPTURE OF FORT ST. DAVID; SIEGE OF MADRAS; CAPTURE OF MASULIPATAM AND WANDEWASH; FRENCH ALLIANCE WITH HYDER ALI; CAPTURE OF PONDICHERRY; EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CIRCARS; DOWNFALL OF THE FRENCH POWER.

AFTER the capture of Gheriah, Lieutenant-colonel Clive went to Fort St. David, of which he was appointed governor; from which he was soon summoned to exercise his military talents in a part of India where they had not yet been called for, and where he was to achieve fresh triumphs. This was the province of Bengal, where Ali Verdi Khan, with the title of soubahdar, or viceroy, had for some years exercised a really independent sovereignty; and though nominally a deputy of the Mogul, he procured an acknowledgment of his authority as hereditary. He had no male children, and he selected for his heir Surajah Dowlah, the eldest son of one of his daughters, who had married his youngest nephew; and on his death, in April, 1756, this youth succeeded him as soubahdar, not only of Bengal, but of Bahar and Orissa also. Ali Verdi Khan had been the architect of his own fortunes. He possessed great natural talents; and though he was not free from oriental vices, yet his government was beneficial to his people, and not dishonourable to himself. Very different was the character of his successor. He was extremely beautiful, and having been an especial favourite with his grandfather, he was treated by him with great indulgence, which increased all the evils of a naturally feeble intellect and capricious disposition. He was enervated and depraved; indulged in the grossest vices; and fell so low, even in the opinion of his own people, that a contemporary Mohammedan writer says, "he carried defilement wherever he went." This prince, soon after his accession to the soubahdarship, involved himself in a quarrel with the English, the results of which, to the latter, were at first very disastrous.

At this period, war being expected in Europe, which would lead to a renewal of hostilities in India, the English at Calcutta began to take measures for the defence of the presidency—then under the government of Mr. Drake. As soon as the soubahdar heard of these proceedings, he sent a peremptory order to the governor that they should be suspended. The reply was, that the measures were necessary, as an invasion by the French was expected; but this did not satisfy Surajah Dowlah, who had another cause of quarrel with the English. One of his uncles had governed Dacca under Ali Verdi Khan, who died shortly before that prince. As soon as Surajah succeeded to the soubahdarship, he endeavoured to possess himself of his uncle's fortune, which had come into the possession of the widowed begum, or princess. Her dewan or treasurer, however, succeeded in sending away both the family and the effects of the deceased governor, under the care of his son, Kishendass, who took refuge in Calcutta. This coming to the knowledge of Surajah Dowlah, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to Mr. Drake, demanding that the fugitive should be given up. Whether the governor of Calcutta would have surrendered him if the message had been properly understood, is not known. But the bearer of the letter, disguised as a pedlar, arrived at Calcutta in a small boat, and took the missive to the house of a native merchant, named Omichund, who had fallen into disgrace with the government, on account of the bad quality of some goods with which he had supplied them. When Omichund presented this letter, the council deemed it a mere pretence of the merchant to increase his importance, and

they dismissed the messenger without an answer. Surajah Dowlah was not prepared, therefore, to give way to any request from Calcutta; and when the message was delivered to him respecting the cause of the active measures of defence adopted by the government of the presidency, he immediately abandoned an expedition in which he had engaged against a relative who had revolted from his authority, and marched to Cossimbazar, a large town in the province of Bengal, where the English had a factory. On his arrival before the place it immediately surrendered, without an effort being made to defend it; and the soubahdar prepared to invest Calcutta.

This city was quite unable to stand a protracted siege, as the fortifications were inefficient, the stock of ammunition small, the artillery insignificant; the number of regular troops in the garrison only 284; and though there was a militia corps, raised from the European and native inhabitants, numbering 250 men, yet they had been so inefficiently trained, that scarcely any of them "knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets."* Under these circumstances, assistance was sought for from the Dutch at Chinsura, a town twenty-two miles from Calcutta; and even from the French. The former positively refused to afford any aid; the latter would only extend it on condition that the garrison and effects should be removed to Chandernagore. Of course, this condition could not be acceded to; and an attempt was then made to buy off the soubahdar by the offer of a sum of money, which was rejected. From that time all was confusion. Nothing was to be seen within the fort but disorder and riot; "everybody was officious in advising, but none was qualified to give advice;"† and flight appeared inevitable.—On the 18th of June, the soubahdar's army appeared before the city, drove in the pickets, and took possession of the outposts. In the night, the female inhabitants, and such effects as could be removed, were taken to a ship lying before the fort; many of the inhabitants, civil and military, decamped; and the next morning, Mr. Drake, the governor, and Captain Minchin, who commanded the troops, both took to flight, jumping into a boat, and pushing off to the ship. The members of the council who remained, then elected one

* Holwell's *India Tracts*.

† Cook's evidence before parliament.

of their number (Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell, a native of London, who had resided at Calcutta since 1736) governor and commander-in-chief. It was little he could do to avert the calamity which threatened; but for two days, the few men who remained in the fortress made a gallant defence, at the same time throwing up signals, to attract the notice of their fugitive friends. During this period, "a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away the remainder of the garrison and inhabitants."‡ No relief came, however; and in the evening of the 20th, the enemy forced their way into the town, and Mr. Holwell and his companions, 146 in number, surrendered to the victors. The captives were taken into the presence of the soubahdar, who assured them, "on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to them;"§ and Mr. Holwell's hands being fettered, he immediately ordered them to be set free. Then arose the question, where they were to be confined for the night? An officer was sent to see what security the fort afforded, who returned, and pointed out a room which had been used for the confinement of military offenders, as adequate for the purpose. The size of this room was eighteen feet long by fourteen wide: on one side there were two small windows, secured by iron bars; on the other three there were only the blank walls. Into this confined space, the 146 captives (most of whom were Europeans) were thrust; and the horrors which they endured from heat and thirst are inconceivable. An offer of 1,000, and then of 2,000, rupees was made, as the price of removal to a more genial room; but they were refused—the reply to the last offer being, that "the prisoners could not be removed without the leave of the soubahdar, who was asleep, and no one dared disturb him." There the miserable men remained; and the horrors of that night who can tell? When, in the morning, the doors were opened for their removal, it was found that 131 were dead! The survivors were treated with little consideration; many of them also died of the fever contracted in the "Black Hole," as their place of confinement was called; and ultimately, the release of the remainder was obtained through the intercession of the soubahdar's grandmother,

‡ Orme.

§ Holwell's *India Tracts*.

the widow of Ali Verdi Khan, who had always been a friend to the English, and of the Hindoo merchant, Omichund.

The intelligence of the fall of Calcutta did not reach Madras till the 16th of August; where, says Orme, the historian, who was at this time a member of the council, it "scarcely excited more horror and resentment than consternation and perplexity." At first, the council were averse to sending any part of the Madras army to recover the lost territory in Bengal; and it was chiefly owing to the strong and energetic remonstrances of Orme that a different resolution was adopted. On the 18th, Clive was summoned from Fort St. David, for the purpose of being placed at the head of a body of Europeans and sepoy, which the council determined to send to the sister-presidency, for the purpose of recapturing Calcutta, and punishing Surajah Dowlah. The co-operation of Admiral Watson was secured; but the jealousies between the land and sea forces delayed the sailing of the expedition for nearly two months. It did not leave Madras till the 10th of October; Clive being invested by the Madras presidency with independent powers in all military matters, with the control of the military chest, and authority to draw bills. Before the expedition arrived at Fulta (a large village on the east bank of the Hooghly, twenty miles south-west of Calcutta), however, letters had been received from the court of directors, appointing Mr. Drake, and three members of the Bengal council, a select committee to conduct all civil and military affairs. They had already associated Major Kilpatrick with them; and on the arrival of the fleet at Fulta on the 20th of December, Admiral Watson and Lieutenant-colonel Clive were added.* The fugitives from Calcutta were assembled at Fulta, under the orders of Major Kilpatrick, an excellent officer, who did not arrive in the Ganges till after the city had fallen.

The united land and naval expedition consisted of five ships of the line, five transports, 900 European troops, and 1,500 sepoy. On the voyage, two ships were separated from the squadron by a gale of wind; and when the rest arrived at Fulta, 250 Europeans, 400 sepoy, the greater part of the guns, and most of the military stores, were missing. Clive, however, did

not suspend his operations, which were first directed against Budgebudge, a small town with a separate fortress, on the east side of the Hooghly, ten miles below Calcutta. The fleet anchored as near the fort as possible; and the troops were disembarked, and marched through the jungle to the town, having to drag along with them two field-pieces, and a tumbril laden with ammunition. They arrived before the fortress on the 29th of December; and the fort was to be attacked at daybreak the next morning. After their march, the men stood greatly in need of repose; and they bivouacked without any sentinels being placed, or any other precautions taken to guard against a surprise. In the night, Monichund, the governor of Calcutta, dashed upon them at the head of 3,000 men: Clive, in a short time, succeeded in rallying his troops; and, after a brief skirmish, the enemy was driven off—Monichund, who is described by Orme as having "no courage, but much circumspection," being the first to turn his elephant and fly. Whilst this affair—in which the British force, though completely surprised, fought with great gallantry—was going on, some sailors appear to have landed, and either before or after they got on shore, to have so far indulged with their grog, that most of them were intoxicated. One of them, named Strahan, got to the fortress, crossed the moat, scrambled up the ramparts, and discharging a pistol, shouted that he had taken the place. Whether the garrison were alarmed by the retreat of Monichund and his troops, or whether they supposed the sailor was followed by a number of his comrades, is not known; but they evacuated the fort, and it was taken possession of without any further trouble.† Monichund made the best of his way to Calcutta, where leaving a garrison of 500 men, he marched with the remainder to Hooghly, and having communicated the terrors he felt himself to the inhabitants, he proceeded to Moorshedabad, to impart them to the soubahdar himself.‡

Surajah Dowlah had looked upon the capture of Calcutta as a most remarkable and glorious achievement. He had changed its name to Alinagore (the Port of God), and having exacted £45,000 from the Dutch, and £35,000 from the French (the smaller sum being levied on the latter,

included; and this put him in such a rage, that he swore he would never take a fort again.

‡ Orme.

* *East India Military Calendar.*

† Some accounts say, that the sailors who landed were flogged for breach of discipline. Strahan was

because they had supplied his army with 200 chests of gunpowder, when it was on its march to attack the city), he retired to Moorshedabad, to indulge in those sensual enjoyments in which he delighted. He was surprised when told that an English force had landed, and was bent upon its recapture; and he gave orders for his whole army to be forthwith assembled at his capital, that he might expel the daring intruders. Those intruders, meanwhile, steadily proceeded in the accomplishment of their object. After the fall of Budgebudge, the other posts on the Ganges were abandoned on the approach of the English, who continued their march to Fort William, and occupied all the approaches by land, whilst the fleet opened a cannonade upon it from the river side. On the 2nd of January, 1757, the fort submitted, and Calcutta was reoccupied. It was found that the houses of the private inhabitants had been plundered; but the merchandise belonging to the company was untouched—having been intended for the soubahdar, who was thus disappointed of his booty.—And now Lieutenant-colonel Clive, having regained the English settlement, determined to make a demonstration against Hooghly, situated twenty-six miles above Calcutta, which, he was informed, was full of rich merchandise, and slenderly garrisoned. A force of 150 Europeans and 200 sepoys was sent against this town, under Major Kilpatrick and Captain Eyre Coote. The troops were embarked on board some armed vessels, which moved up the stream; but one of them ran aground; and so much time was lost, that Surajah Dowlah was enabled to reinforce the garrison. This extra aid was of no avail. As soon as the vessels got within gun-shot, they opened a brisk cannonade, by which a breach in the wall was effected; and at break of day, on the 11th of January, the troops were landed, and the assault took place. The resistance was very feeble; the British flag soon floated from the walls, the garrison having surrendered. A very slender booty (only about £15,000) was secured; and having destroyed a quantity of rice, stored in a village at a little distance for the soubahdar's army, the troops returned to Calcutta.

These events appear to have enraged the soubahdar, and he marched upon Calcutta at the head of an army of 40,000 men. Colonel Clive, after the capture of Hooghly,

had withdrawn his field-force from the town and suburbs, and encamped them in the neighbourhood, so as to be enabled to give assistance to the garrison, were it needed. Surajah Dowlah interposed his army between the English camp and the town, pushing some of the troops into the streets, and really placing it in a state of siege. These movements were made while negotiations were going on between the soubahdar and Mr. Drake; and when, on the 4th of February, Colonel Clive sent to remonstrate with the former against the encroachments he was making, his messengers were treated so roughly, that they were glad to escape with their lives. Clive then resolved to capture the soubahdar's battering train, which had been placed in Omichund's garden; and having been reinforced by 300 seamen, at 3 A.M. on the 5th, he made the attempt with 650 European soldiers of the line, 100 artillerymen, 800 sepoys, and 600 seamen, who formed in a single column facing towards the south, Clive and all the officers marching on foot. It was still dark when they reached the enemy's outposts, which, after firing a few matchlocks and rockets, retreated; and the English pressed on, both armies being shortly after enveloped in a thick fog, that prevented any one from seeing above a yard in advance. As the troops got opposite Omichund's garden, which was bordered by a ditch, called the Mahratta ditch, and where the soubahdar had fixed his head-quarters, the fog opened for a brief period, and enabled the advancing column to see "a well-mounted line of horsemen within twenty yards of their flank. The column halted, gave its fire with terrible effect, and swept the enemy away, as dust is swept aside by the wind when it suddenly rises."* Again the fog enveloped them, and did not disperse till nine o'clock, when it was found the English had penetrated by a causeway across the Mahratta ditch, but were full a mile and a quarter out of the line of the intended attack. A body of the enemy's horse was near, which repeatedly endeavoured to charge, but was prevented by the steady and well-directed fire from the English ranks. As the attack upon Omichund's garden would now have been very dangerous, Clive resolved not to make it, but to avail himself of the communication he had opened with Calcutta, and march his

* The Rev. G. L. Gleig.

troops into the town. He lost in this affair 120 Europeans, 100 sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, which could not be got over the marshy ground the troops traversed in the fog. The loss of the enemy was much greater, as twenty-two officers of distinction, and 600 men, were killed and wounded. The soubahdar was also so struck with the bold movement of Colonel Clive, that he withdrew his men from the part of the town he had seized, encamped at some distance on the open plain, and made overtures for peace, to which Clive assented, though Admiral Watson was opposed to the measure. On the 9th, a treaty was signed between them, by which Surajah Dowlah agreed to invest the English with all their former privileges; to restore the company's factories, with such of the effects and moneys as had been obtained when Calcutta was captured as were accounted for in the books of his government; to allow the town to be fortified; to exempt all merchandise passing through his dominions, under the company's passport, from tolls or duties; to permit the English to establish a mint at Calcutta, and to give them back a number of villages surrendered to them by a former Mogul, and which he had seized.—As we have stated, Admiral Watson opposed the negotiations and the treaty, which Clive thus defended in a letter to his superiors:—

“If I had only consulted the interest and reputation of a soldier, the conclusion of this peace might easily have been suspended. I know, at the same time, there are many who think I have been too precipitate in the conclusion of it; but surely those who are of this opinion, never knew that the delay of a day or two might have ruined the company's affairs, by the junction of the French with the nabob, which was on the point of being carried into execution. They never considered the situation of affairs on the coast, and the positive orders sent me, by the gentlemen there, to return with the major part of the forces at all events. They never considered, that, with a war upon the coast and in the province of Bengal at the same time, a trading company could not exist without a great assistance from the government. And, last of all, they never considered, that a long war, attended through the whole course of it with success, and many great actions, ended at last with the expense of more than fifty lacs of rupees to the company.”

This all appears to be fair reasoning; but the fact is, that neither party considered the treaty in any other light than an armed truce. Clive, though urged to reduce the number of troops in Bengal, refused; because it could not be “expected that the princes of that country, whose fidelity was always to be suspected, would remain firm

to their promises and engagements from principle only;” and Surajah Dowlah—though the treaty was followed, on the 11th of February, upon his proposal, by an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies*—never gave up his intrigues with the French, to whom he was always much more favourable than to the English. With that power England was again at war in Europe; and the conclusion of peace with the soubahdar was soon followed by hostilities between the English and French in the East.

Clive had, some months previously, proposed to M. Renault, the French governor of Chandernagore, a treaty of neutrality, to which the latter appeared, at first, well disposed to accede. But M. Bussy, who was in the Deccan, having there succeeded in establishing his influence over chiefs and people, and the overtures of Surajah Dowlah being made about the same period, produced delay; and, eventually, when pressed by Colonel Clive, the reply of the representative of the French company was to this effect:—“That he was very willing to enter into an armistice in the province of Bengal; but that he had no power to pledge himself to its observance by the governor of Pondicherry, or those acting under his orders.”† On the receipt of this reply, Clive resolved to capture Chandernagore; and he employed Mr. Watt (chief of the factory at Cossimbazar when it was seized by Surajah Dowlah, and who, since that seizure, had been retained in captivity at Moorshedabad) to endeavour to obtain the soubahdar's sanction to an attack upon that place. The latter was very unwilling to give that sanction; as, independently of his private predilection for the French, he looked upon them as the only power capable of counterbalancing the influence of the English. But Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson—who were determined to attack and capture the fort and factory, with or without the soubahdar's sanction—having assumed a more peremptory tone, and an Affghan invasion being apprehended, which might render it advisable to keep friends with the English, Surajah gave a reluctant permission for them to “act according to the time and the occasion.”‡ The attack was accordingly made with the land and sea forces. Chandernagore, at that time, comprised a

* *East India Military Calendar.*

† *Life of Clive.*

‡ *Orme's Military Transactions.*

European and a native town, with a strong fort; and the land connected with it, commencing at the southern boundary of the Dutch factory of Chinsura, extended about two miles along the banks of the river, and nearly as far inland. It formed, in the words of Clive, "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms;" and he considered it as of more importance than Pondicherry itself. Admiral Watson laid two of his ships (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast of the fort, whilst Clive attacked it on the land side. An obstinate resistance was made; but the ardour of the assailants overcame all difficulties; and, on the 23rd of March, the place surrendered. Of the garrison, Colonel Clive said, "360 were made prisoners, and nearly a hundred were suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, military, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies," he added, were "made miserable by the loss of the place."

Various intrigues were now going on in Bengal. The sensual, debased character of Surajah Dowlah, his tyranny, and his exactions, had made him extremely unpopular with the Hindoos, especially with the rich bankers, whom he fleeced without mercy; whilst his haughty demeanour disgusted the proud Mohammedan nobles. Under Ali Verdi Khan, Hindoos had filled many high offices. Ramnarrain, the governor of Patna; Raydullub, the minister of finance; and Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, were Hindoos; and all were offended with the soubahdar; as were Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest banking firm in India, and Omichund, the merchant, whose name has already been mentioned several times—a man as distinguished for his avarice as for his ability, and who, subsequent to the peace, had removed from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, where he had managed to ingratiate himself with the soubahdar, at the same time that he kept up a good understanding with his co-religionists. With them he entered into a conspiracy, not to substitute a Hindoo for a Mohammedan government, but to place some other Musliman in possession of that power which Surajah Dowlah had so greatly abused. They first fixed upon Khuda Yar Khan Latte, a man powerfully connected, and high in the service of the soubahdar. This first choice, however, was abandoned; and without con-

sulting Omichund, the other conspirators selected Meer Jaffier, who, originally a soldier of fortune under Ali Verdi, had married his sister; and had, by Surajah Dowlah, been made commander-in-chief. Omichund, though he at first professed great indignation, assented to this change, and became the medium of communication with the English, who were solicited to join in the conspiracy against Surajah Dowlah, with whom they had so recently concluded not merely a treaty of peace, but one of alliance. Whether they would have deserted their ally, had he remained faithful, we cannot affirm: it is not unlikely; as interest was a much more powerful agent in influencing the conduct of public men in those days, than honest and honourable principle. But there is no doubt that the soubahdar (whilst he had violated the treaty by refusing to surrender the villages, and in other ways) was in treaty with the French at that time, and was concerting measures with them for the expulsion of the English, whom he continued to regard with intense dislike. He had taken M. Law, and a force under him, into his pay, allowing him 10,000 rupees per month; he urged M. Bussy to come to Patna, to act in concert with him; while he sent Meer Jaffier with 15,000 men to Plassy, to reinforce a division already there under another officer; and attempted to impede the navigation of the Ganges by damming up the Cossimbazar river, which was considered its "sacred branch." Letters which fell into his hands,* convinced Colonel Clive that these intrigues were going on, and determined him to embrace the cause of Meer Jaffier; and that, although the committee of government had ordered him, peremptorily, to withdraw into Calcutta with all his forces, and Admiral Watson positively refused to join in the responsibility of the undertaking. He also still kept up a correspondence with Surajah Dowlah, through Mr. Watts; who told him, that "the letters which he wrote were torn by the nabob (soubahdar) and trampled under foot;" whilst "the next post brought the nabob's answer to these very letters, couched in the most fulsome style of oriental rhetoric."†

Surajah Dowlah, we regret to say, met with his match in duplicity in Clive. In consequence of Admiral Watson's opposi-

* We have seen copies of these letters at the India House.

† *Life of Clive.*

tion, he was obliged to use more caution; "and his letters to the nabob became more and more conciliatory every day."* A circumstance occurred, also, which caused the latter to think that the intentions of the English commander towards him were honest, however contrary his might be towards Clive. The Mahratta peishwa, Balajee Bajee Rao, was desirous of extending his encroachments upon the Bengal territory; and he thought the unpopularity of its ruler afforded a favourable opportunity of doing so. Desirous of securing the co-operation of the English, he wrote to Clive, proposing that they should support him in an invasion of Bengal, and offering, as an inducement, to secure their losses twice over, and to give them the exclusive right to navigate the Ganges. Now Clive did not want to see the Mahrattas triumphant in Bengal, in the first place; and he did not know whether the letter was genuine, or merely a trick of Surajah Dowlah, in the second. But it was capable of being made good use of: it was forwarded to the soubahdar; and the effect is said to have been, that, "pleased with such a signal instance of good faith," he "not only spoke, but acted, for a brief period, as if his confidence in the English had returned; and the conspirators were enabled to push forward their preparations with increased facility and boldness."†—The arrangements for a secret treaty with Meer Jaffier were carried on between Mr. Watts and Omichund; whilst Clive was professing an intention of putting his own troops into quarters, and urging the soubahdar to withdraw his from Plassy. In settling the terms of that treaty, too, he evinced as much duplicity towards Omichund, as he was practising with respect to Surajah Dowlah. Omichund obtained from the latter £40,000, and he insisted upon receiving £350,000 from the English, under a threat of disclosing the conspiracy, and causing all the conspirators who were at Moorshedabad to be arrested, when their fate would have been pretty certain. "Promise all that he asks; and draw up any form of engagement which shall satisfy him, and make us secure against his treachery," were Clive's instructions to Watts. Subsequently, he informed his agent, that in order "to counterplot the scoundrel, and at the same time to allow him no room" for suspicion, he would "receive two forms of agreement, the one real, to be strictly kept"

* *Life of Clive.*† *Ibid.*

by the English; "the other fictitious. In short," he added, "this affair concluded, Omichund shall be treated as he deserves. This you will acquaint Meer Jaffier with." Two agreements were prepared, one on red paper and one on white; in the former, all that Omichund stipulated for being inserted; whilst in the latter, it was omitted. There was some difficulty in completing the plot, however; for Admiral Watson, who condemned the negotiations with Meer Jaffier from the first, positively declined to have any concern with it under its then auspices. "When reminded that the absence of his signature might rouse suspicion, and mar all, he still refused to sign. What was to be done? Clive took upon himself the ultimate arrangement of the affair; he forged the admiral's name, and sent off both deeds duly executed, at least in form."‡ In these transactions, we are told, that Clive could never "be brought to see that he had committed the slightest outrage upon principle;" and "his colleagues in office, the gentlemen of the committee (of government), and even the admiral, however squeamish at the outset, soon got rid of their scruples. The most rigid had no objection to praise the deceiver when his deed was done, and to become partakers of the benefits arising out of his deceit."§

And now that the preliminaries were settled, no time was lost in commencing active operations. The original plan agreed upon was, that Clive should advance to Plassy, where Meer Jaffier was to join him; that the allied armies should then proceed to Moorshedabad, seize Surajah Dowlah, and raise Meer Jaffier to the throne; but it was not carried out exactly as intended. The English troops were put in motion on the 12th of June, when all the military, and 150 armed seamen of the fleet, marched from Calcutta to Chandernagore. The next day the united force marched to the north, leaving only a hundred seamen in garrison; and on the 14th, they were joined at Culna by Mr. Watts, who had escaped from Moorshedabad. On the 19th, the fortress of Cutwa, seventy-five miles N.N.W. from Calcutta, was taken; and there, on a plain surrounding the castle, the men pitched their tents, to await news from Plassy; and Colonel Clive wrote to Surajah Dowlah, reproaching him with his intrigues with the French, and with his violations of the treaty, and charging him

‡ *Life of Clive.*§ *Ibid.*

with meditating an attack on Calcutta, as soon as Admiral Watson and he should have quitted the Ganges. The letter then proceeded:—

“I have determined, with the approbation of all who are charged with the administration of the company’s affairs, to proceed immediately to Cossimbazar, and to submit there our disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Raydullub, Juggut Seit, and others of your highness’s great men. If these decide that I have deviated from the treaty, I swear to give up all further claim upon your highness; but if it should appear that your highness has broken faith, then I shall demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the English, and all the charges of the army and navy.”

This letter found the soubahdar and Meer Jaffier, *outwardly*, avowed friends. The former, having had a rumour of the secret treaty between his commander-in-chief and the English conveyed to him, at first thought of attacking and annihilating the traitor with his artillery, but, on second thoughts, made overtures to him, which were at once accepted; and reciprocal oaths were taken on the Koran by his highness and his officer, to be true to each other. The soubahdar immediately assembled all his army at Plassy, thirty miles south of Moorshedabad, from whence he dispatched a letter of defiance and indignation to Clive; who, hearing nothing from Meer Jaffier, and having only with him 3,000 men, eight pieces of cannon, and one howitzer (whilst every report that reached him estimated his adversaries as amounting to at least 50,000 men), was at a loss how to act. On the 21st of June, for the first and only time in his life—as he himself declared sixteen years afterwards—he summoned a council of war, at which fifteen officers, besides himself, were present. To them he submitted the particulars of his position; and proposed the question, “Whether, in their present situation, without assistance, and on their own bottom, it would be prudent to attack the nabob; or whether they should wait till joined by some country power?” The votes were given as follows:—*For delay*: Robert Clive, James Kilpatrick, Archibald Grant, Geo. Fred. Goupp, Andrew Armstrong, Thomas Rumbold, Christian Firkan, John Corneille, and H. Popham. *For immediate attack*: Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant, G. Muir, Charles Palmer, Robert Campbell, Peter Carstairs, W. Jennings.—Though he now voted for delay, Clive was not satisfied; and before the day closed, he resolved to advance the

next morning. Some say that this determination was taken in consequence of favourable letters received from Meer Jaffier; but this is doubted. On the 22nd, however, the camp was broken up; and leaving a subaltern’s guard with the sick at Cutwa, he crossed the branch of the Ganges that ran between him and the soubahdar, and about 3 A.M. on the 23rd, his troops bivouacked in a small wood or grove not far from Plassy, and within a mile of the camp of the enemy; the sound of whose drums and cymbals kept Clive awake all night, the dreary hours of which are said to have been passed by Surajah Dowlah in upbraiding and complaint.

At daybreak the soubahdar’s army was seen marching towards the grove, as if their intention was to surround the little band of Europeans and sepoys; the number of whom Clive gives as 1,000 of the former, and 2,000 of the latter. The enemy, according to Orme, had 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 50 pieces of cannon; but the English commander, in his letter to the secret committee of the East India Company, estimates them at 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and 40 guns—the lesser number giving the soubahdar immense odds. Only forty of his large force were Europeans; and the mass of his native troops is described as little better than a rabble. They advanced, however, in tolerable order; and to receive them, Clive told the Europeans off into four divisions, which were placed under Majors Kilpatrick, Grant, and Coote, and Captain Goupp. They formed the centre of his line, the sepoys being placed on each flank; and the flanks were protected, the left by Plassy-house and river, the right by the grove. The enemy advanced in deep columns, and their manœuvres on this occasion differed materially from those they had been accustomed to; for, instead of placing their artillery altogether, as was their usual practice, they dispersed the guns between divisions of the troops—not having more than two, three, or four cannon in one spot: thus, an attack on any one part of their artillery could not be decisive. Each gun was drawn by a team of white oxen, and impelled onwards by an elephant, which followed behind. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; their cavalry making an imposing appearance. It consisted almost entirely of Rajpoots, or Patans—soldiers from their childhood, and individually brave and skilful with their weapons. But in both cavalry

and infantry there was a great want of discipline, which can alone give confidence in the day of battle.

Clive's army was drawn up in front of a bank which surrounded the grove; and as soon as the rear of the enemy was clear of their camp, they halted; and the forty Frenchmen, under M. Sinfray, advancing with four pieces of cannon, lodged themselves within the banks of a tank or pond of water, distant about 600 yards from the English, upon whom they opened a brisk cannonade. M. Sinfray called upon the soubahdar's troops to follow him, but without effect; "for such was their mistrust of each other, that no commander dared to venture on singly, for fear that some other commander suspected of attachment to the English should fall upon him."* The guns of the French told on the English ranks; and Clive withdrew his men behind the bank, his small park of artillery returning the fire of the enemy with effect. In this position both armies remained, playing at long bowls, as it were; for Surajah Dowlah's troops would not advance, and Clive kept his men compact, ready to take advantage of any movement of the enemy, but careful not to lose the advantages which their position afforded. He also still relied upon Meer Jaffier coming over to him; and as he soon found that there was no probability of the enemy's venturing beyond the river, being worn out with excessive fatigue, he "lay down and slept, though not till he had given directions that in the event of any change occurring he should be immediately called."† The cannonading was continued from both sides; the English guns doing the most execution till about noon, when a heavy shower of rain fell, by which the enemy's powder was so much damaged, that his firing became feeble; and soon after, symptoms were shown of a retreat. Clive was immediately roused; and finding that the first division of Europeans, under Major Kilpatrick, was marching to attack the French, he gave orders for a general advance. The French were soon driven from the tank they occupied, and their guns seized; and on a body of the soubahdar's troops advancing to support their friends, a fire was opened upon them, which first checked, and then caused them to turn and fly. Advantage was taken of the panic; the English and majors advanced, and the division under Major Coote made

* Scrafton.

† *Life of Clive.*

its way into the soubahdar's camp, where all was confusion. A general flight took place, and the fugitives were pursued to Doudpore, about six miles from the field of battle; the approach of night only arresting the ardour of the pursuers. While the fighting was going on, Clive saw a large body of troops detach themselves from the enemy's left, and move round obliquely to his right. They were fired upon as they approached; but they turned out to be the division under Meer Jaffier, who, finding that the victory was won, sought out Clive, and heartily congratulated him on the result. When night put a stop to the pursuit, Meer Jaffier's troops encamped close to the English army, whose victory was complete, and an immense booty fell into their hands; for they took all the guns, tents, and baggage of the enemy, with artillery waggons and ammunition, elephants and oxen, and a large quantity of stores. Their loss was only twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; that of the enemy, in the battle and in the flight, is supposed to have amounted to between five and six hundred men; among the killed were some of the best officers of the soubahdar. That unfortunate chief fled to Moorshedabad, where he shut himself up in his palace, being deserted by most of those who had fluttered around him in his hour of prosperity.

The result of the battle was, that the English obtained paramount authority over the important districts of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and, at an interview between Colonel Clive and Meer Jaffier, the latter was saluted as soubahdar, or nabob—[the latter being the more accustomed title, we shall use it in future.] The united forces advanced, the next day, towards Moorshedabad, Meer Jaffier's corps taking the lead. Their approach was made known to Surajah Dowlah, who made his escape in the middle of the night; and when, on the following morning, the successful traitor entered the city, he found no one to oppose his progress or to dispute his title. He was soon followed by Clive, who led him to the musnud, in the hall of audience, where he was formally installed in his new office—receiving the homage of the principal officers and dependents of the government. The terms on which he obtained his coveted honour were somewhat exorbitant. They were comprised in the treaty concluded with Colonel Clive; the substance of which was thus stated in a letter to the court of

directors, from that officer, dated the 26th of July:—

1. The new nabob confirmed the privilege of the mint, with all other grants and privileges conceded in the treaty with Surajah Dowlah.—2. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatever, was entered into.—3. It was stipulated that the French factories, &c., were to be delivered up to the English, and the former were never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces.—4. One hundred lacs of rupees (£1,000,000) were to be paid to the company in consequence of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign.—5. Fifty lacs (£500,000) were to be given to the English sufferers at Calcutta.—6. Twenty lacs (£200,000) were to be paid to the Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at Calcutta.—7. Seven lacs (£70,000) were to be paid to the Armenian sufferers.—8. The entire property of all land within the Mahratta ditch which ran round Calcutta, with territory on the outside of the ditch, to the distance of 600 yards from it, to be vested in the company.—9. The company, on paying the customary rents, to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and extending to Culpee (33 miles below the city).—10. Whenever the assistance of English troops was required, the extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob.—11. It was stipulated that no forts should be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards.

After the installation, the new nabob, Clive, and the confederates of the former, who had aided to raise him to his coveted eminence, met at the house of Juggut Seit, the banker, to divide the spoil; and they appear to have been dissatisfied because *only* 150 lacs of rupees (£1,500,000) were found in the treasury of Surajah Dowlah. Omichund was present, “fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness.”* He expected to receive his £350,000; but Clive bid Mr. Scrafton (one of the servants of the company who was present) to undeceive him. The white paper agreement was produced; and he was told that he was to have nothing. The effect upon the Hindoo was like an electric shock. He fell back insensible, and when he recovered, it was evident that his intellect was gone. Clive saw him a few days after, and spoke to him encouragingly and kindly, advising him to make a pilgrimage to one of the Hindoo shrines for the recovery of his health, and promising to employ him again. But he had become completely idiotic; and in that state died a few months subsequently. His conduct to Omichund was the greatest blot upon the character of Clive. Sir John

* Macanlay's *Essay on the Life of Clive*.

Malcolm defends the entire transaction; but our readers will be more likely to agree with Admiral Watson, that it was “dishonourable and iniquitous.”

We must now devote a few lines to the fate of Surajah Dowlah. There are various accounts as to how he left Moorsshedabad: some say that he took with him his wife, his young daughter, and other females, “with a number of elephants, laden with gold, jewels, and baggage, of the most costly description;” but Orme says, that he made his escape from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch. The latter is the most probable account; for, on the third night after leaving Moorsshedabad, he was at Raj Mahal, with a female companion, and is described as being “exhausted with fatigue, and famished with hunger.” He was seen there by a man whose ears he had ordered to be cut off a few months before, who informed some soldiers of Meer Jaffier where he was to be found. They seized him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Moorsshedabad, where he was taken to the hall of audience. This was in the middle of the day; and we are told that Meer Jaffier was seated on the musnud; but having taken his daily draught of an intoxicating beverage made from hemp, called *bang*, he was incapable of giving any directions. His son Meeran, an effeminate lad in appearance, of about seventeen, was present, and he ordered the unfortunate man to be taken to a small chamber near his own apartments. There he was basely assassinated, at the early age of twenty-five, and before he had completed the fifteenth month of his weak and inglorious reign. The English knew nothing of this terrible tragedy till it was consummated; and dreading their disapprobation, Meer Jaffier made an humble apology for the act, which he professed to regret, but could not recall.

And now the days of mourning at Calcutta were over, and all was triumph and rejoicing. One-half the stipulated amount which the sufferers from Surajah Dowlah's attack were to receive, was paid, and being packed in 700 chests, they were placed on board 100 boats, which proceeded to Calcutta, with banners waving, music playing, and every other symptom of joy. Trade also revived; the place became more prosperous than ever; and plenty appeared to prevail in every English house. All the company's servants, even Mr. Drake, the governor

(who had been the first to run away when the enemy approached), and the military officers, received large sums as their share of the spoil. As to Clive, "there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation." The Bengal treasury was thrown open to him. "There were piled up, after the usages of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected, the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds."* The company whom he served, on hearing of the battle of Plassy, nominated him governor of Calcutta and all their possessions in Bengal.

In his new capacity, Meer Jaffier paid great deference to Clive, whom he regarded "as the only man to protect his dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours." He was neither so imbecile nor so depraved as his predecessor; but he had little talent for governing; and his son and heir, Meeran, was equally as effeminate, as sensual, and as vicious as Surajah Dowlah. Warren Hastings† (a name afterwards of so much notoriety) was appointed the company's resident agent at the court of Moorshedabad; and he did all in his power to induce the nabob to govern wisely; but the latter soon became involved in quarrels with the Hindoo bankers and others, who had assisted him to gain the nabobship—quarrels which were only just adjusted by the interference of Clive, when he became alarmed by what appeared to be a most formidable demonstration against him. Alumeer II. at that time occupied the throne of Aurungzebe, and he was a mere tool in the hands of his vizier, Shadab or Ghazi-oo-Deen, a grandson of the famous Nizam. His son, Shah Zada, or Shah Alum, obtained from his father the formal investi-

* Macaulay's *Essay*.

† Warren Hastings was the son of Pypastan Hastings, of Daylesford, Worcestershire. He was born December 6th, 1732; and was left, when an infant, to the care of his paternal grandfather, a poor clergyman. His family had been rich, and lords of the manor of Daylesford, but were ruined by the civil war. When only seven years old, the boy Warren resolved in his own mind that he would recover the property of his ancestors, and be again Hastings of Daylesford. One of his uncles having given him a good education, but dying before he reached the

ture as nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and although the vizier endeavoured to retain him a prisoner at Delhi, he succeeded, sword in hand, with some half-dozen followers, in cutting his way through the guard; and being favoured by the nabob of Oude, the governor of Allahabad, and others, he soon collected a large army, of various tribes and religions (Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Affghans), with which he advanced, early in 1758, to Patna, the capital of Bahar, a province lying between Delhi and Bengal Proper. Meer Jaffier was in terror: he would have offered Shah Zada a sum of money, to induce him to withdraw his troops, but Clive interfered; and writing to Ramnarrain, the Rajah of Berar, who, Meer Jaffier feared, would surrender Patna, he exhorted him to "come to no terms," but "to defend his city to the last;" assuring him, that "the English were firm and staunch friends," who would "never desert a cause in which they had once taken a part." He himself immediately set off, at the head of 450 Europeans and 2,500 sepoy, by forced marches, for Patna. As soon as the advanced guard appeared before that city, the siege was raised. There were a few Frenchmen with Shah Zada, who urged him to stay and try the issue of a battle, but in vain. He and the heterogeneous mass of troops he had gathered round him, dreaded the very name of Clive, and dared not risk an encounter with the small English army. The camp was immediately broken up; the vast host, estimated at 40,000 men, dwindled away; and Shah Zada was only enabled to keep a few followers about him, and escape from the fury of Ghazi-oo-Deen, by the assistance of Clive, who supplied him with £1,000 for that purpose. Meer Jaffier's authority was thus upheld by Clive's firmness, aided by the terror inspired by the daring acts of British valour, before which so many native armies had already quailed. Ghazi-oo-Deen now espoused his cause; through his influence the Mogul gave the empty

years of maturity, another relative sent him out as a writer to India. He sailed for Bengal in January, 1750; served at the desk, first at Calcutta, and then at Cossimbazar; became one of Surajah Dowlah's prisoners at the latter place; was taken to Moorshedabad, and made his escape from thence about the time that Lieut.-colonel Clive arrived in the Hooghly from Madras, when he joined the army, and carried a musket, till the quick eye of Clive distinguished him; and thinking he could make his head more useful than his arm, he employed him in diplomatic services.

title of nabob to his second son ; but confirmed the usurper in all real power, as his deputy. He also conferred on Clive the dignity of Omra, or lord of the empire ; a dignity, to support which, the nabob invested him with a jaghire, or grant of revenues arising from lands, to the amount of £30,000 per annum.

Great as were the services which the English had rendered to Meer Jaffier, they could not induce him to be faithful to his engagements, or inspire him with gratitude to his friends. We have already alluded to the Dutch settlement at Chinsura, where there was a considerable garrison ; and the governor of which (Mr. Bisdorn) was on the best terms with Clive. Yet, soon after Meer Jaffier was relieved from his fears of Shah Zada, secret negotiations were opened between the authorities at Chinsura and Moorshedabad ; the tenure of which was unfriendly to the English. At the same time, the Dutch governor and council were received by the nabob with much courtesy and condescension ; and letters were sent to Batavia, urging the governor to send such a force to Bengal as would serve to counterbalance the power of the English. As soon as matters were sufficiently arranged, the Dutch having secured the nabob's support, or at least his countenance, and learning that an expedition would shortly arrive from Batavia, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the governor of Calcutta, complaining of certain grievances, and demanding redress. "In this situation," says Clive, "we anxiously wished that the next hour would bring us the news of a declaration of war with Holland"—such an event being expected. None came, however ; whilst the Dutch committed various unfriendly acts ; and at last, the expedition from Batavia, consisting of seven large ships, with about 1,500 soldiers on board, about one-half of whom were Europeans, appeared in the Hooghly. This placed Clive in a most difficult position ; for although he was aware that the nabob secretly favoured the intruders, and that there was every reason to believe that, if the troops landed and reached Chinsura, Meer Jaffier would join them, and the English ascendancy in Bengal would be endangered ; still, to attack the forces of a friendly power was no light responsibility to take upon himself. He had also, not long before, remitted a large part of his fortune to Europe, through the medium of

the Dutch East India Company ; privately, therefore, it was his interest to avoid a quarrel. But he was resolved that no private considerations, nor fear of incurring responsibility, should prevent him from performing his duty to his country ; and he made up his mind that the force from Batavia should not form a junction with the garrison at Chinsura. His own force at that time was small, as he had sent large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic, and other corps were at Masulipatam and Patna ; therefore, his first step was to apply to Meer Jaffier, who, afraid or unwilling at once to throw off the mask, issued an order prohibiting the Dutch from sailing higher up the stream than Fulda. "The better to enforce obedience to this mandate, Clive equipped all the little forts that had been established on the banks of the river with heavy guns, placed the militiamen of Calcutta under arms, and ordered back the detachment from Patna ; while his guard-boats stopped every small craft that showed itself, and would allow nothing to pass having on board troops or military stores."* The complaints of the Dutch were vehement, but they produced no relaxation of Clive's vigilance ; on the contrary, learning that they had agents abroad who were enlisting men for their military service, and sending them, by twos and threes, to Fulda and Chinsura, he dispatched a force of from 300 to 400 Europeans, 800 sepoys, and six pieces of cannon, under Colonel Forde, a very able officer, to cut off all communication between the Dutch vessels and the settlement. He also armed three merchant vessels which were lying near Fort William—appointed Captain Wilson commodore, and ordered him to demand from the Dutch immediate restitution of all the English persons, vessels, and property they had seized and detained. The demand was refused ; and, on the 23rd of November, 1759, Captain Wilson attacked the Dutch squadron, though the disparity in numbers was seven to three. After a gallant fight of two hours, six of the Dutch vessels struck their colours ; the seventh escaped Captain Wilson, and ran down the river, but was fallen in with, and taken by two other English vessels that had just arrived.

On the land, Colonel Forde took up his position—had a skirmish with the Dutch, in which they were repulsed, and drove another

* *Life of Clive.*

party back into Chinsura. Still, when he heard that the Dutch were landed from their vessels, and were marching towards him, he hesitated at proceeding to extremities; but he wrote to Clive for specific instructions; adding, that "if he had only an order in council, he would attack the Dutch, and had a fair chance of destroying them." When Clive received this letter, he was playing a rubber at whist with some of his officers; and, without interrupting the game, he wrote with a pencil, on a slip of paper—"Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately; and I will send you an order of council to-morrow." After this he had no hesitation, but attacked the enemy on the 24th of November, near a place called Bridona. The Dutch had been joined by a part of the garrison from Chinsura; and their force consisted of 800 Europeans, 700 Malays, and some troops of the country, under the command of Colonel Roussel, a Frenchman. The action which took place is described by Clive as "sharp, bloody, and decisive." It lasted scarcely an hour and a-half, and resulted in the complete rout of the Dutch, who left 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field; 150 were wounded; and 300 Europeans, including Colonel Roussel and fourteen other officers, with 200 Malays, were made prisoners. Of the entire force, not more than fourteen reached Chinsura, which place was invested by Colonel Forde. These events induced the Dutch to make peace with Clive, agreeing to pay the expenses of the war; and the English commander, who compared his position, during these transactions, to that "of a man with a halter about his neck," gave up the captured vessels.

Colonel Clive's opinion of Meer Jaffier was not improved by the nabob's intrigues with the Dutch, which had extended over many months, having commenced in 1758. He described the Indian chief as being "generally esteemed an old man, whose days of folly were without number:" and every vice had been attributed to him which marked the character of Surajah Dowlah, and caused his untimely end to be a source of joy rather than of regret to the people he had once governed. He was cruel, indolent, and incapable. "A native authority," says Montgomery Martin, "describes him as taking a childish delight in sitting decked with costly jewels on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication, as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly de-

scription." He alike feared and hated the English, whom he would have gladly expelled, though they had placed him in his high office; and he was aided in all his intrigues against them, it would appear, by his son Meeran, the "chuta," or young nabob, whom Clive mentioned in a letter to William Pitt (the celebrated Earl of Chatham) as "so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it would be almost unsafe to trust him with the succession." The character of father and son appears mainly to have induced Colonel Clive to suggest to Mr. Pitt, early in 1759, as he had before done to the company, the "expediency of sending out and keeping such a force"—so small a body as 2,000 Europeans would have been sufficient—as would have enabled "the company to take the sovereignty upon themselves." The natives, he argued, had "no attachment whatever to particular princes," under whose government they "had no security for their lives and properties," and "would rejoice in so happy a change as that of a mild for a despotic government;" whilst the Mogul would gladly confirm the authority of the English, "provided they agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenue, viz., fifty lacs annually." That allotment had been very ill paid by Meer Jaffier; and the vizier had applied to Clive, desiring he "would engage the nabob to make the payments agreeable to former usages." So large a sovereignty might, however, Clive observed, "be an object too extensive for a mercantile company;" and their means might not be able, "without the nation's assistance, to maintain so wide a dominion." The gallant colonel, therefore, submitted to the minister, whether the design was not worthy of being taken in hand by the government—"whether an income yearly of upwards of £2,000,000 sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and art," was not "an object deserving the public attention?" Mr. Walsh, who had acted as Clive's secretary, was the bearer of this letter to England; and, in his account of his interview with Pitt, he says, the minister "expressed his views a little darkly;" and stated, that it had recently been inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the crown or to the company. The judges appeared to think that the company had the right; but, in the opinion of Pitt, that body ought not

to hold them; nor should the crown; as "such a revenue would endanger our liberties:" and he thought Clive had shown "good sense by the suggested application of them to the public."

Nothing came of this proposal; indeed, Clive left India before Mr. Walsh's answer was received. He departed for England in February, 1760; being a remarkable instance of the rapidity with which fortunes were then made in the East.

"Beginning the world without a shilling in his purse, he was now, at the age of four-and-thirty, one of the wealthiest subjects of the British crown. In hard cash he had received, partly as gifts from the nabob, partly as his legitimate share of prize-money, about £300,000. To this must be added no trivial amount of accumulations, arising out of the interest of moneys invested, and savings on his regular pay; while the returns of the jaghire, or feof, are put down by himself as averaging full £27,000 annually. They who wish to state his income at the lowest, admit that he must have been in the receipt of at least £40,000 a-year; others, probably as well-informed, and who have no apparent motive to deviate from the truth, rate it at £60,000. In either case, the amount would be enormous now; in the middle of the last century, it had few parallels even among the revenues of princes.*"

Though he expended much in personal displays, he also evinced a generous, grateful disposition. Besides providing for every member of his own family, he settled an annuity of £500 per annum on his old commander, General Lawrence, who was but indifferently provided for: his hospitality, also, was unbounded; and he sustained his rank and position—he was created Lord Clive and Baron Plassey, in the peerage of Ireland, soon after his return to England—with considerable credit to himself. For a part of his fortune he had to contend with the company, to whose prosperity he had so materially contributed. They denied his claim to the jaghire presented to him by Meer Jaffier; and though it was ultimately confirmed to him for a term of years, the ill return he received from some of those whom he had served, was a source of great uneasiness to Clive.

But we must leave him to the enjoyment of his wealth, in the country of his birth, and return to the land of its acquisition, where Meer Jaffier soon found that, in losing him, he had lost his mainstay and support; and his departure did not improve the state of things at Calcutta. As Colonel Forde accompanied him to England, Captain (now Major) Caillaud (who had just arrived from

* Gleig's *Life of Clive*.

the Carnatic) became the commander of the forces, and the government was placed in the hands of Mr. Holwell.

Clive had scarcely sailed for England before the Shah Zada, at the invitation of several influential nobles of Patna, renewed hostilities; and an English detachment of 300 Europeans, six field-pieces, and a battalion of sepoy, under Major Caillaud, with 15,000 horse and foot, under the command of Meeran, moved, in the month of February, from Moorsshedabad towards Patna; the enemy, in considerable numbers, being encamped near that city. The allies arrived, by forced marches, on the 10th of February, within twenty-eight miles of Patna, where they halted. Shah Zada, on the 20th, struck his tents and advanced towards them, with a design of coming to an immediate engagement. Major Caillaud was also very anxious that the encounter should take place without loss of time; but Meeran, consulting his astrologers, and deeming the day unfavourable, insisted on delay, and fighting was avoided till the 22nd. The enemy then made the attack, advancing with great spirit, though in very irregular order. They directed their principal effort upon the left of the English, and the artillery was moved to that quarter to oppose them. A few discharges effectually repelled their ardour: they divided, and fled off more and more towards the English left, till they got quite round into the rear, where they remained for some time, employed in plundering and pillaging the camp, while a much more important operation was going on in front. Shah Zada had marked the position occupied by Meeran, from the number of horse, elephants, and standards with which he was surrounded, and had made a determined attack upon it with his best troops. As soon as this was observed, the English artillery was ordered to retrace their steps; and three small, and five or six large cannon, being stationed in front of Meeran's position, a brisk fire was commenced; but four of the English cannon broke down from the roughness of the ground, and Meeran's guns were soon deserted. A fierce hand-to-hand fight then ensued for a short time, Meeran's men standing their ground well. In about ten minutes, however, they began to give way; but a battalion of sepoy, ordered up by Major Caillaud, arrived just in time. They poured two volleys into the enemy at the distance of about forty yards, and then charging with the bayonet, completely routed

this part of the attacking force. Meeran's horse then came up, and completed the dispersion so effectually, that, in half-an-hour, not one of the enemy was to be seen.* The victory might have been still more complete; but Meeran refused to allow a single horseman to join the English in the pursuit, which the latter continued as far as possible—recovering, in the course of it, most of the baggage and effects which that part of Shah Zada's party who moved to the rear had succeeded in carrying off.

Very little advantage was derived from this victory (which was called the battle of Seerpore), because Meeran, for some reason or other, would neither pursue Shah Zada himself, nor suffer his troops to join Major Caillaud, who, with his small host, if he could have obtained the aid of a part of Meeran's horse, would have followed up the retreating foe, who might have been driven entirely out of the nabob's provinces. This conduct of Meeran prevented anything decisive from being effected; and several weeks were spent in marches and counter-marches, Shah Zada threatening Moorshedabad instead of Patna. Meanwhile a change had taken place in his position. About the time of the battle of Seerpore, the vizier had caused Alumgeer II. to be assassinated; and as soon as Shah Zada was apprised of that event, he assumed, with the dignity of emperor, the title of Shah Alum,† and succeeded in securing the alliance of the nabob of Oude, to whom he promised the vizierate; and also of Najeab-ab-Dowlah, a Rohilla chieftain, and firm ally of the imperial family. His force was increased, by these alliances, in number; but, apparently, not much in efficiency; for having, at the end of March, reached Burdwan, within thirty miles of Moorshedabad, and being threatened, on the 7th of April, with an attack by the army of the nabob and his son (the latter having shortly before joined his father), he set fire to his camp on their approach, and immediately withdrew, again directing his force upon Patna. On the 16th of April, Major Caillaud detached Captain Knox, with 200 chosen Europeans, two field-pieces, and a battalion of sepoys, to the support of that city; and that gallant officer, and his equally gallant troops, completed the march of 300 miles in thirteen days—"a surprising effort, considering the intense heat of the season, and that they crossed the Ganges twice in

their march."‡ He found the enemy, who had been reinforced by a small body of French under M. Law, had laid siege to the city, but had been gallantly repulsed in two assaults, chiefly by the members of the English factory, under the direction of Mr. Fullerton, a Scotch surgeon; the rajah, Ramnarrain, having left only a very inconsiderable garrison in the place. Captain Knox succeeded in entering the town, and shortly after, by a judicious sally, broke through the enemy's camp, drove the men from their works, and compelled Shah Alum to retire once more from before the city, the possession of which he so greatly coveted; he did not halt till he reached the banks of the Soane, fifty miles west of Patna.

Caudim Hussein Khan, the Rajah of Purneah (a large district forming, beyond the Ganges, the north-west province of Bengal, towards Behar on the one side, and the Morung country on the other), who, for three years, had refused to pay his quota to the nabob, had, before this last disaster of Shah Alum (anxious to retain what he had acquired, and to divest himself of all subjection to Meer Jaffer), declared for the emperor. When the latter was driven from before Patna, Caudim was levying a large body of troops, and preparing boats to transport them across the Ganges, intending to take the first favourable opportunity of joining him. The nabob was desirous of preventing the junction; and Meeran's army, with the English troops under Major Caillaud, rendezvoused at Raj Mahal in May, for the purpose of co-operating with Captain Knox, who, while the major pushed forward on the southern side of the Ganges, was ordered to pass over from Patna and endeavour to intercept Caudim, all whose boats fell into the hands of the English, with a large quantity of stores, ammunition, &c. Notwithstanding this loss, Caudim still advanced with a numerous arm, being very anxious to bring Captain Knox to an engagement before his junction with Major Caillaud. On the 16th of June, the two armies came in contact with each other; that is, if Captain Knox's small force can be dignified with the name. He had only 200 Europeans, a battalion of sepoys, five pieces of cannon, and 300 horse, with him; whilst Caudim Hussein had 12,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. The little band of English and sepoys was completely surrounded; but the

* *East India Military Calendar*

† "King of the World."

‡ *East India Military Calendar.*

position they occupied was a strong one: they were posted advantageously, and fought with indomitable bravery. Once the horse of the rajah had very nearly broken through the English lines, but they were driven back by the grenadiers; and notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, the enemy were beaten and driven from the field, with the loss of eight pieces of cannon, three elephants, and between three and four hundred men killed. Captain Knox did not lose more than fifteen or sixteen men. After this engagement, he was ordered to return to Patna, and the pursuit was continued by Major Caillaud and Meeran; who, on the 25th of June, came up with the fugitives, formed behind some villages and a grove, at the extremity of an extensive plain. The English commenced the attack; and a mutual cannonading took place, which ended in the enemy being driven from the villages and the grove. Caudim appeared several times inclined to make a charge with his horse; but as soon as the English occupied the villages, this part of his force took to flight, as well as the infantry, leaving behind them twenty-two pieces of cannon and some baggage. It was discovered, when the enemy had finally retreated, that their whole intention was only to amuse the English in front, while the treasure was unloaded from carriages in the rear. This being accomplished, and the money and other valuables mounted on elephants and camels, it was conveyed off—all the carriages being left behind. “The young nabob (Meeran) and his troops behaved, in this skirmish, in their usual manner, halting above a mile in the rear, nor even once made a motion to sustain the English. When the enemy were flying in his sight, he was even afraid to hazard a party in the pursuit; though a very few horse would have been sufficient to disperse them. The English, without any horse, fatigued with an eight hours’ march, and being under arms the whole day, were unable to attempt it.”*

The next day, however, the troops having somewhat recruited themselves, Major Caillaud was determined to follow up the pursuit. It was continued till the 6th of July. On the evening of that day the men encamped as usual, and in the night a dreadful storm came on. Whilst it was raging, Meeran left his large tent for a smaller one, a story-steller accompanying him to repeat

* *East India Military Calendar.*

tales for his amusement, and a servant to perform upon him the operation of what is termed in the East “shampooing.”† Probably both were engaged in the performance of their duties, and Meeran was listening to the Eastern tale, while he was enjoying the luxury of repose after the day’s fatigue, when the tent was struck by lightning, and all perished! When the fury of the elements had abated, and the tent was entered, master and servants were found dead—the former having five or six holes in the back of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on his pillow above his head, had also holes in it, and a part of the point was melted by the electric fluid; whilst the tent-pole, sound when erected in the evening, looked, in the morning, as if it was rotten and decayed.—This event obliged Major Caillaud to abandon further military operations; for the army, as soon as the death of their leader was known (which the major concealed as long as possible, having the body of the deceased dressed, and placed on an elephant, as if alive), threatened immediate dissolution. But Major Caillaud’s influence with the chief commanders, induced them at last to agree that the military authority should be vested in him till the sentiments of Meer Jaffier were known; and the brother of Ramnarrain was joined with him in the command. As their disbanding, however, would have thrown the entire province of Bahar into the power of Shah Alum, he got them to Patna as early as possible, where the command was vested in Meer Cossim Ali, the son-in-law of Meer Jaffier.

In July, Mr. Vansittart arrived to take the office of governor of Bengal, to which he had been appointed by the directors, as soon as they were aware of its being vacated by Colonel (now Lord) Clive. This gentleman had acquired, says one historian of India, “an unlimited reputation for financial ability;” whilst he “possessed an imposing gravity of demeanour, which some believed to indicate steadiness of purpose, and others supposed to be the result of obstinate stupidity.” When he reached Calcutta, he found the finances in great disorder. The East India Company had declined to send out any supplies to the East, supposing that the Bengal presidency would defray all de-

† In this operation the operator kneads the limbs and body with his knuckles, very similar to the kneading of dough for bread.

mands both for the civil and military services of the three presidencies. This, however, was not the case; and the government of Calcutta found itself involved in financial difficulties, the trading investments of the company being suspended: the current expenses of administration could scarcely be provided for; and the English troops and the sepoy's began to show symptoms of discontent—their pay being now in arrears. Perhaps it was the want of money to carry on military operations which first induced the council to think of accepting the terms of the emperor, and of making common cause with him; but whether this was the reason or not, when Mr. Vansittart arrived, he found that, although this project had been discussed and abandoned, it had been resolved that, for his cruelty and incapacity, Meer Jaffier ought to be superseded in his nabobship. There is little doubt of the truth of both charges. In June of that year (some accounts say in the night of the 6th of July, the same night that Meeran was killed by lightning), the mother of Surajah Dowlah, and his aunt, had been taken from a prison at Dacca, where they had been confined since the assassination of the late nabob, and were drowned at midnight. Various other acts of cruelty were also ascribed to Meer Jaffier—acts which, though shocking to all civilised communities, were palliated by three members of the council who opposed his deposition, as common to every despotic one. Whether the English were exactly in a position to make themselves Meer Jaffier's judges, however, is not so clear: they, at all events, assumed that office; and when the determination of the council was communicated to Mr. Vansittart, he acquiesced in it. Meer Cossim was the person selected as successor to his father-in-law; and, as the price of his dignity, he agreed to surrender to the English the three fruitful districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. The position of Burdwan we have already mentioned. Midnapore is situated to the north of that province; whilst Chittagong lies at the south-eastern extremity of Bengal, having Tipperah on the north, the Birman empire on the east, Aracan on the south, and the sea on the west. The revenue of these three districts, it was thought, would relieve the government of Calcutta from its pecuniary embarrassments.

Mr. Vansittart undertook to communicate his position to Meer Jaffier; and, for that

purpose, he proceeded to Moorshedabad, taking with him a considerable military force under the late Major (now Colonel) Caillaud, who had left his army at Patna, under the command of Major Carnac, for the purpose of personally making arrangements for the pay of his own and the nabob's troops. Of course, resistance was in vain. The man so recently possessed of almost unlimited power over the extensive area comprised in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, yielded that power, after a slight outburst of passion, without a struggle; and stipulating only that his life should be preserved, and that he should have an allowance sufficient for his maintenance, he agreed to leave Moorshedabad for Calcutta, where alone he felt he could be safe, and Meer Cossim Ali was seated on the musnud. This change was effected without the least disturbance of the public tranquillity, or any appearance of so important a revolution having taken place. Yet, it is singular that the inhabitants did not show some signs of satisfaction at the change; for we are told, that "so general was the disaffection" against Meer Jaffier's government—such the "detestation of his person and principles" which "prevailed in the country among all ranks and classes of the people," that "it would have been scarcely possible for him to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."* On taking possession of his new dignity, Meer Cossim was generous to his friends: Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Holwell, and other members of the council at Calcutta, with Colonel Caillaud, Mr. Culling Smith (the secretary of the committee), and others, received presents of from one to five lacs of rupees: thus those persons greatly improved their own private fortunes, perhaps even more than they advanced the interests of the company.

Whilst Meer Cossim was endeavouring to make his seat secure, and raise a sufficient revenue for his personal expenses and those of his government (and, for a brief period, he made such exertions as scarcely to allow himself "leisure to drink a little water," or "a minute's time to eat, or enjoy sleep"),† Shah Alum remained in Bahar, and again threatened Patna; his followers being considerably increased in numbers, owing partly to the time he had been enabled to maintain his ground, and partly from that veneration which was felt by all classes for the

* Mr. Vansittart's *Narrative*.

† *Ibid*.



DEATH OF NELSON.



THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

royal family. Major Carnac, who defended Patna, had a force much inferior in numbers; and that part of it which was composed of the nabob's troops, was greatly discontented, because of the amount of their arrears. They would, probably, have broken out into open mutiny, but for the advance of the emperor. It was necessary, if possible, to arrest his progress; and Major Carnac determined to attempt it, hoping that the nabob's men would follow him. They did so, dreading the approach of the enemy when separated from the English; and the united army continued its march, till, on the 15th of January, 1761, the enemy's army was seen on the bank of the Soane, to the west of the town of Bahar. Major Carnac resolved upon an immediate attack; and, under cover of their cannon, the English crossed the river without difficulty. The enemy, instead of opposing them, retired to the distant shelter of some banks and ditches, from which they were speedily driven. They held three different positions; and the English, following up their advantage, forced them, one after the other, though a charge from the enemy's horse, which was hovering about, was expected. Driven from their third post, the emperor's troops drew up on the plain in some order, and, for the first time, made a stand. The English still advanced under a brisk fire from their cannon; and a ball from a 12-pounder killing the driver of the elephant on which Shah Alum was mounted, the beast, losing his guidance, turned round and rushed into the river. This incident caused some confusion in the enemy's ranks, which Major Carnac, without knowing the cause, took advantage of, and immediately ordered his men to charge, the artillery keeping up a brisk fire while they advanced. This movement decided the day: the enemy first recoiled, and then fled; and were pursued for about four miles, losing part of their baggage. Their rear was protected by the French, under M. Law; and Major Carnac determined to endeavour to prevent the escape of this European detachment, which had six pieces of cannon, whose fire was opened upon the English as they advanced at a quick pace, in obedience to the orders of their commander. They suffered nothing from the artillery, which being levelled too high, the balls passed over them; and, without being diverted from their object by the guns, they advanced, with shouldered arms, upon the French infantry,

who instantly broke and dispersed without receiving or firing a shot. M. Law was found sitting cross-legged on a cannon, and surrendered, with thirteen or fourteen of his officers and about fifty men: a few days after, the fugitives came in, and gave themselves up.

This battle—called the battle of Patna, though it was fought nearer Bahar than that city—decided the fate of Meer Cossim's territories for a time. The emperor, pressed by the English, offered terms of accommodation, which, after a little delay, were accepted; and, early in February, Shah Alum accompanied Major Carnac to Patna, where the former formally invested Meer Cossim Ali with the nabobship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees.

We have not interrupted our narrative of the affairs in Bengal, because we thought it better to give it, up to this period, in a connected form. But we must now pass to another part of the peninsula, for the purpose of briefly recording the important events which took place in 1758, 1759, and 1760, in the Carnatic and on the Coromandel coast. The government of Madras, as we have seen,* had sent Colonel Clive, in October, 1756, with the larger part of the military force of that presidency, to recover Calcutta from Surajah Dowlah, and to punish that nabob for his treachery. Their physical force thus reduced, the president and governor of Madras remained for some time inactive, though the French did not appear at all desirous of carrying out, in good faith, the terms of the treaty recently concluded with them. They still retained the Circars; and at length it was resolved to reduce Madura and Tinnevely, which it was supposed afforded them large pecuniary supplies. The task was entrusted to Captain Caillaud, the governor of Trichinopoly; but while that gallant officer was before Madura, the French from Pondicherry assembled in all their available strength, and set down before the former place. The intelligence of this movement caused Caillaud immediately to raise the siege of Madura, and return to the seat of his government, where he found a hostile force at least five times the number of that which he had with him. On the side upon which they advanced were some extensive rice fields, covered with water: these the French be-

* See v. 50, *ante*.

lieved to be impassable, and they had not attempted to guard them. But the British troops, though fatigued with a forced march from Madura dashed through the fields, and succeeded in joining the garrison. This movement so astonished and alarmed M. d'Auteuil, who commanded the French, that he immediately struck his tents and returned to Pondicherry. Mutual outrages were now committed by the French and English: the latter, under Colonel Alderon, burnt Wandewash; and the former retaliated by destroying Conjeveram. A Mahratta force also invaded the Carnatic to collect *choult*, or tribute: and the "English had no alternative but to fight or to pay."* They did the latter in specie and bills, which the Mahrattas had no objection to take; and then Captain Caillaud again advanced to Madura, which surrendered; but it was to a *gold* sword. On the other side, M. Bussy, just about the time of the fall of Clanderinagore, † succeeded, after a sharp siege, in compelling Vizagapatam—a town on the sea-coast of the Northern Circars, and capital of a district of the same name—to surrender. This officer, soon after, had to return to Hyderabad, where he was engaged in putting down a conspiracy against Salabut Jung; and this occupied him till he received orders from Europe to join a forcè which the French government had sent out to India, under the Count Lally.

At an early period of the war of 1756, between England and France, the government of the latter country had determined to send out a powerful force to India, to aid the French there in driving out the English. A regiment of Irish infantry, 1,100 strong, a corps of artillery, and several officers, were placed under the command of Thomas Arthur, Count Lally—an Irish officer, who had followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart, and after the failure of all attempts to restore that house to the throne of these kingdoms, had entered the service of France. He was an officer of great bravery; and being appointed governor of Pondicherry and all the French possessions in the East Indies, he was ordered to commence his operations, on his arrival, by the capture of Fort St. David. The squadron conveying the troops, under Count d'Aché, left Brest in May, 1757; but, from various causes, it was delayed on the voyage, and did not appear off the coast of Coromandel till the 28th of April, 1758.

* Orme.

† See *ante*, pp. 52, 53.

There were twelve ships in all, two of which were left at Pondicherry; and with the others the French admiral proceeded to Fort St. David, Lally remaining at Pondicherry to collect the land forces, and take them to the same destination. There were only two English frigates at that time on the station; and these were run ashore, to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.—On the 29th, Admiral Pococke, with seven ships, several of them scarcely fit for service, entered the road, and gave battle to the French. The latter, though so superior in number, were not a match for the English on their own element. All the advantages of the engagement, though it was a drawn one (owing to Admiral Pococke's ships being obliged to drift to leeward, on account of the injuries received in their spars and rigging), were on their side; and whilst they lost only twenty-nine killed and eighty-nine wounded, the French had 500 men put *hors de combat*, and one of their ships was stranded. In the night, D'Aché anchored in the road of Alamparva; and on the 30th the troops were landed. Lally had previously arrived with the force from Pondicherry; and, on the 1st of May, he detached Count d'Estaing to take up a position near Cuddalore;—which, as it would have been in vain to attempt to defend, Major Polier, who commanded at Fort St. David, agreed to evacuate in four days, the troops being allowed to march out with the honours of war. The fort was then formally invested. It had a garrison of 619 Europeans and 1,600 natives; and if Clive, or Lawrence, or Caillaud, had been in command, there is little doubt that the besiegers might have been driven off; for Lally, though brave, and a good officer in Europe, was quite unfit to command an Indian army, as he was so utterly ignorant of the feelings of the troops, and completely disregarding of their prejudices. Major Polier, however, made a most inefficient defence; and on the 2nd of June offered terms of surrender, to which he was impelled, according to some accounts, by the drunken, disorderly, and disobedient state of a part of the European forces. By the terms of the capitulation the garrison remained prisoners of war; and no sooner did Lally obtain possession of the place, than, in pursuance of his instructions received in France, he ordered the fortifications to be razed to the ground.—Count d'Estair was now dispatched to Devi-Cottah,

the garrison of which place, being too feeble to defend it, marched to Trichinopoly, and left the French an easy conquest. Lally was overjoyed at his success; he returned to Pondicherry in triumph—had a *Te Deum* performed to celebrate his victory, and looked forward to the expulsion of the English from India as the certain end of the campaign.

Very soon he began to find, however, that the “islanders” were not to be got rid of quite so soon as he expected. He wanted to lay siege immediately to Madras, but found a deficiency in the most important “sinew of war”—money—of which there was scarcely any in the treasury at Pondicherry; a circumstance productive of a serious quarrel between him and the gentlemen of the council. But though he did not find money, he found what he thought was money’s worth—a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, given by the Rajah of Tanjore to Chunda Sahib, and by the latter made over to the French, in satisfaction of claims which the government of M. Dupleix had made upon him for the assistance rendered in his quarrel with the English. The payment of this bond Lally determined to enforce; and he marched, in July, to Tanjore, taking with him a native prince named Gatre, who laid claim to the rajahship.

Lally’s march was anything but a prosperous or a comfortable one. No bullock or bazaar-men would follow him, except on compulsion; and, as he had no money, he was obliged to support his men by plunder, which set all the natives against him. One of his acts on the route caused the Hindoos to regard him with horror. There was a celebrated pagoda at Kevalore, which Lally ruined, digging up the foundations, rummaging the tanks, and carrying off the brass idols, under an idea that they were gold; and great was his rage and disappointment when he found out his mistake. He also ransacked the houses, but found very little in the shape of treasure. Before he left, he seized six Brahmins, who were lingering about their isolated shrines, and suspecting they were spies, he had them shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.* Similar acts of plunder and cruelty were committed on the whole line of march; and when, on the 18th of June, he halted near the walls of Tanjore, there was not a Tanjorean who would render him the slightest service. His first act was to send a messenger to the rajah to demand

immediate payment of the bond. This was impossible; but the terrified chief offered 300,000 rupees in part payment. Lally demanded 1,000,000 rupees and 600 bullocks; and these not being forthcoming, he commenced throwing shot and shell into the town. Batteries were soon erected, but very little progress was made in the siege. It was not till the 7th of August that a breach was effected; and then an attempt was made to storm the place, though there were not two days’ provisions in the camp. The next day news was brought that Admiral Pococke had again defeated D’Aché, and that the English were off Carical. On the receipt of this news, Lally immediately summoned his officers to a council of war. Two were for an assault; the rest recommended a retreat. In compliance with this resolution, the sick and wounded were sent off; and it was arranged that, on the next day, the retreat should commence. In the night, Major Caillaud, from Trichinopoly, with 600 sepoy, arrived, and succeeded in gaining entrance into the town. The next day, the garrison, with these new arrivals, made a sortie upon the enemy, who, at the same time, were attacked in the rear by bodies of Tanjore horse, and crowds of the country people. A considerable number of men was killed, and three cannon captured; but the French succeeded in driving back the Tanjoreans; and the sepoys, unsupported, were obliged to retire into the town, abandoning the guns, and taking with them only one elephant and two lean camels. In the night the French spiked their heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, destroyed most of their baggage, and commenced their retreat. They were greatly harassed by the peasantry, and arrived at Carical on the 18th of August, completely disheartened, only to find the English fleet riding off that town; D’Aché having, after another defeat, sailed for Pondicherry, resolved not to risk a fourth encounter with the English. Lally, soon after his arrival at Carical, set out for Pondicherry with a small escort. He arrived there on the 28th of August, and summoned a council of war, with the hope that he could still secure the assistance of the fleet. But D’Aché was deaf to all entreaties and remonstrance: he pleaded that his ships were disabled, and his crews much reduced by sickness; and, on the 2nd of September, the squadron sailed for the Mauritius, leaving Lally enraged at its departure, which he was utterly unable to prevent.

* Wilks’ *History of Mysore*.

As yet Lally had done little towards the execution of the object for which he was sent to India; viz., to expel the English. But he was resolved to make another effort by laying siege to Madras: first, however, having opened a communication with the native governor, he resolved to take Arcot (which was only defended by a few English sepoys, and a detachment of Mohammed Ali's cavalry), in the hope of finding there the means of recruiting his finances. He entered the capital of the Carnatic on the 4th of October; but as all the merchants and wealthy inhabitants had left it, and the traders and the other inhabitants had concealed their money and effects, he was utterly disappointed of the booty he expected to obtain. Being joined here by M. Bussy, who left the Deccan very reluctantly, he placed his troops in cantonments, and returned to Pondicherry, where, with great difficulty, raising 94,000 rupees, 60,000 of which were his own, he rejoined his army, and with 2,700 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, marched for Madras, where a force of 1,758 Europeans, 2,220 sepoys, and 200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry, was collected. Colonel (late Major) Lawrence commanded, and took every precaution for the defence of Fort St. George; the Black Town, which was open and defenceless, being abandoned to the enemy, who took possession of it on the 14th of December. The troops broke open some arrack stores, and the liquor soon threw the greater part of them into a state of extreme disorder. Colonel Lawrence was informed of their condition, and he ordered a sortie by 600 men, and two field-pieces, under Lieutenant-colonel Draper and Major Brereton. The French, alarmed by the English drummers striking up the *Grenadiers' March*, drew up at an advantageous part of the town, where the narrow streets cross each other at right angles: the discharge from the field-pieces, and the musketry of the English, at first dispersed them; but, rallying in considerable numbers (the sober joining the drunk), after a protracted struggle the English retired, having lost 200 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Major Polier, who had commanded at Fort St. David when it surrendered, volunteered to accompany this sortie, and fought with the most daring intrepidity, with a view of retrieving the character he had lost, as he was blamed for the easy capture of the fort. He was mortally wounded, and died shortly after. The loss of the French was quite

equal to that of the English: amongst the prisoners made by the latter was Count d'Estaing, one of Lally's best officers.

The siege formally commenced on the 2nd of January, 1759; and the English acknowledge that it was conducted with equal perseverance and vigour. Mr. Pigot, the governor, aided by Colonel Lawrence, conducted the defence; and the enemy was also harassed by a body of sepoys, Tanjorean cavalry, and other troops, which, under Captain Caillaud, hovered about the French camp to interrupt the supplies. Lally attempted in vain to relieve himself of these troublesome opponents; and, on the 9th of February, a sharp action took place between them and a body of 900 Europeans and 1,700 sepoys, under the command of a relation of Lally's. The fighting continued the whole day, and the English were left masters of the field. For two months the attack was continued; and the ammunition and provisions of the French were alike on the point of exhaustion, when, on the 16th of February, Admiral Pococke arrived off the coast with six ships, on board of which were 600 English troops. Lally affirmed, that words were "inadequate to describe the effect which the appearance of these reinforcements produced. The officer who commanded in the trenches, deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy; and two hours before receiving orders, he retired from his post." Lally himself decamped in the night of the 12th; and "so precipitate was the retreat, that the sick and wounded were left to the English, who treated them with all the care which the laws of war and humanity prescribe."* The French also left behind fifty-two pieces of cannon and 150 barrels of gunpowder. When the siege was raised, Lally's army was in a mutinous state, and he with difficulty concentrated them at Conjeveram (the "Golden City"), forty-six miles south-west of Madras; on which place Colonel Lawrence advanced with 1,156 Europeans, 1,570 sepoys, 1,120 coolies, 1,956 horse, and ten field-pieces, on the 6th of March. No engagement took place, though the two armies remained more than three weeks in sight of each other, but, at the end of that time, the English marched to Wandewash, about eighteen miles further to the south, where they were pursued by the French. It appears to have been the aim of Colonel Lawrence to draw the enemy from Conjeveram; for as soon as he found

* Lally's *Memoirs*.

they were approaching Wandewash, he returned by another route, and took the much more important lace they had quitted. On the approach of the rainy season, both armies went into cantonments towards the close of May. Colonel Lawrence soon after, from ill-health, resigned the command of the British army.

When M. Bussy left Hyderabad to join Count Lally, a few troops remained there, under M. Conflans, and there was a tolerably strong garrison in Masulipatam; but that at Vizagapatam was very weak. One of the polygars of the Northern Circars, named Rajah Anunderauze, had long been dissatisfied with the French, thinking that M. Bussy, on granting him the investiture of his government, had exacted terms that bore much too hard upon his resources. No sooner, therefore, did he find that so large a part of the French force was withdrawn, than he placed himself at the head of a body of his armed dependents, with whom he marched to Vizagapatam, which he took without difficulty. He next communicated with Colonel Clive, to whom he offered to surrender the place, if the English would assist him with a force to aid in expelling the French from the Circars. Clive consented to enter into an agreement with the rajah, on condition that he should pay 56,000 rupees per month for the support of the English troops; and Anunderauze assenting, Lieutenant-colonel Forde, with 500 English infantry, 2,100 sepoy, and several pieces of artillery, proceeded to Vizagapatam, where he landed. United to the army of the rajah, the allies marched to Peddapore; and there M. Conflans met them at the head of an army, the European soldiers in which were quite equal in number to those with Colonel Forde; whilst he had 6,000 sepoy and 500 native horse. Notwithstanding the superiority of force, and the advantages of a strong position, the French were completely routed; many threw down their arms and asked for quarter; a great number were killed; the rest fled, apparently under the influence of a panic. M. Conflans himself was one of the latter. He was mounted on a good horse, and rode on without stopping till he reached Rajamundry, twenty-five miles from Peddapore. The booty of the victors was considerable; thirty pieces of cannon, fifty tumbrils and other carriages, seven mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, the tents, and 1,000 draught-bullocks, being left on

the field of battle.—Forde lost no time in pursuing the flying foe, and M. Conflans abandoned Rajamundry, proceeding to Masulipatam; from whence he sent messengers to Salabut Jung, urging him to march immediately to his aid, or the English would inevitably become masters of the Deccan. The progress of Forde was, however, arrested for a short time, as Anunderauze, whose troops had not been of the least assistance to the English, failed in making the stipulated payments. Funds being at length procured, the troops were again put in motion; and, on the 6th of March, Colonel Forde arrived before Masulipatam—being animated and encouraged by the intelligence he received that day, that Count Lally had raised the siege of Madras.

The fort of Masulipatam, situated in the midst of a salt morass, was about 800 yards long by 600 broad. Colonel Forde summoned the garrison, but his summons was received with ridicule; and the French might well think that they could defy their assailants, as they far outnumbered the latter, whilst reinforcements were on their way from Pondicherry, and Salabut Jung was on his march to render assistance to his allies. The English invested the fort, and kept up a constant fire from March 25th to April 6th, when the ammunition was reduced to two days' consumption: Colonel Forde was also informed, that Salabut Jung and the French from Pondicherry were on the point of forming a junction; he therefore resolved upon an assault, and ordered as hot a fire as possible to be kept up all day, and the troops to be under arms at ten at night. At that hour he divided his force into three divisions—two of Europeans, under Captains Fischer and Yorke, and one of sepoy, under Captain Maclean. There was a fourth corps, which was directed to make a false attack on a side of the fort where the morass was deemed impassable, with a view to distract the enemy's attention; and the rajah's troops were to make a demonstration in another direction. The first division passed the ditch, and were tearing up the palisades before the garrison dreamt of any attack. When they found what was taking place, they made a gallant resistance; but the English, though many of them fell from the fire of the defenders' cannon, pressed on till the ramparts were gained; then they opened to the right and left, and carried bastion after bastion with the greatest

rapidity. Finding that his men were likely to be affected with the same panic as they were at Peddapore, M. Conflans sent an aide-de-camp to Colonel Forde, with an offer to surrender on honourable terms. Colonel Forde replied, that "they must surrender at discretion." This they did, to the number of 500 Europeans and 2,537 sepoy and topasses (descendants of the Portuguese.) A rich booty, and 120 pieces of cannon, were found in the fort.

The effect of this brilliant achievement was, that M. Moracin, with 300 French from Pondicherry, returned to that city. Salabut Jung immediately entered into a treaty with the English, to whom he ceded Masulipatam, with a large district attached; and stipulated that the French troops in his service should cross the Kistna within fifteen days; that in future, the French should have no settlement north of that river; and that he would neither receive assistance from, or render any to, that nation: he also agreed to exempt Anunderauze from payment of tribute for one year; the English, on their part, agreeing not to aid or protect any of his enemies. By this treaty the English obtained an additional territory, extending eighty miles along the coast, and twenty miles inland, with a revenue calculated at 400,000 rupees per annum.—The few weeks immediately following the surrender of Masulipatam, were employed by Colonel Forde in re-establishing the factories along the coast which M. Bussy had destroyed.

The force which had captured Conjeveram was shortly after placed under the command of Colonel Coote, and was not engaged in any event of particular moment till the latter end of the year. On the 21st of November that officer marched to Wandewash, which he stormed on the 29th; and on the 10th of December he also captured Carongooly. Lally had been for some time inactive, owing to the want of money and stores, and to dissensions with his officers. These successes of the English induced him again to put his army in motion; and having first reoccupied Conjeveram, he marched to Wandewash, for the purpose of recovering that stronghold. Colonel Coote had left a garrison in the place, whilst he advanced on Carongooly; but they had not repaired the breaches made in the assault when it was captured, and had very few guns. Before the French could effect anything decisive, even under these circum-

stances, Colonel Coote returned, and Lally was obliged to assume the defensive. He had with him 2,250 Europeans, 1,300 sepoy, and some Mahrattah allies; but the latter kept aloof. Coote had 1,900 Europeans, 2,100 sepoy, 1,250 black cavalry, and twenty-six field-pieces. Like the Mahrattas, the black cavalry remained out of the reach of shot: of the number of men engaged, therefore, Coote had the advantage by 500; but Lally had 300 European cavalry, whilst the English commander had only about eighty Europeans and a small corps of native horsemen. On the 22nd of December, the two armies again strove for victory. The battle commenced by Lally putting himself at the head of his 300 horse, taking a wide circuit on the plain, and attacking the cavalry of the English. The natives were soon thrown into confusion, and the eighty English horse were left to sustain the charge of the 300 French. There were on the spot two guns, under the command of Captain Barker; and he poured such a well-directed fire from them upon the French cavalry, that it was soon thrown into confusion, and retired. While this was going on, a heavy cannonade had been kept up between the opposing forces; and Lally, on returning from his unsuccessful charge with the cavalry, put himself at the head of the infantry, and gallantly led them to the attack. His own regiment of Lorraine broke through the column to which it was opposed; but the English, though broken, did not fly. They mingled with the Lorrainers, fought with them hand-to-hand, and soon drove them back in disorder to their camp; the explosion at this moment of a tumbrel of ammunition, added to the confusion. About eighty men were killed or wounded; and those who were near and uninjured, fled to the camp, as did 400 sepoy at a distance, who were in no danger. M. Bussy rallied some of the fugitives, put himself at their head, and attempted a bayonet charge; his men abandoned him, however, and he was taken prisoner. The enemy soon was in general retreat; and the English took possession of their camp, with the tents, stores, and baggage, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and eleven tumbrils of ammunition. The loss of the English in this affair was about 200 killed and wounded; that of the French was at least three times that number.

Lally succeeded in making his escape, and collected the remains of his army at Chitta-

pet, about fifty miles north-west from Pondicherry, and then a place of considerable consequence, being surrounded by a wall, with round towers at the angles, more spacious than those of most of the forts in Coromandel. The gateway on the northern side was the largest in the Carnatic, being capable of containing on its terraces 500 men drawn up under arms. The count did not deem himself safe at Chittapet; but after a short halt, he retired to the strong hill-fortress of Jingee, thirteen miles nearer Pondicherry; and thinking that place untenable, he ultimately returned to that city for the last time. Coote did not pursue him, but pushed on to Arcot, where he arrived on the 1st of February, 1760. He encamped at a short distance from that city, which he began to cannonade on the 5th; and on the 9th, though the garrison had only lost three men, and two breaches which were made in the walls were impracticable, a flag of truce was hoisted, and the place capitulated.—The progress of the English was now, for a time, uninterrupted. One after the other, Timery, Devi-Cottah, Trincomalee, Permacoil, Alamparva, Carical (the chief naval position of the French), Vallore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore, surrendered, or were taken after a slight resistance; and, by the 1st of May, the French were confined within the walls of Pondicherry; the English, who had received large reinforcements of Europeans, whilst the fleet off the coast was increased to eleven sail of the line, being encamped within four miles of that place.

Lally—who had no pleasant time of it in Pondicherry, he being equally dissatisfied with his officers, the council, and the other French authorities, as they were with him—now turned his attention to the native powers to see if there was one with whom he could form an alliance, with the prospect of relieving him from his difficulties. He determined to make overtures to Hyder Ali, the Mysore chief: they were accepted; and an agreement was concluded between them, by which Hyder was to find men, to the number of 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, and a quantity of bullocks, for the French; and they agreed immediately to put him in possession of the fort of Theagur—a place of considerable strength, fifty-six miles west by south from Pondicherry—with ulterior advantages.—The men and bullocks were sent; a detachment of English, dispatched by Colonel Coote to arrest their march, was defeated; and the Mysoreans planted them-

selves in the vicinity of Pondicherry, where they remained nearly a month, and then Hyder suddenly decamped one night, leaving Lally to defend Pondicherry with his reduced garrison and diminished resources. The reason for this step of the Mysorean is variously stated: according to some accounts, he left the Carnatic because his newly-usurped authority in the Mysore was in danger; according to others, he retreated, after finding that the relative strength of the English and French left the latter no chance of success. Whilst Lally was thus deserted, Coote continued to receive reinforcements; and, after a short interval, the siege of the devoted city was vigorously pressed. During the rainy season, nothing could be done but to maintain a rigorous blockade; and this, before the end of December, reduced the garrison to the greatest distress for food. Lally endeavoured to make his supply extend over a longer period by sending away what few cavalry remained in the town, at the risk of being captured by the English; all prisoners were also discharged, on a promise not to serve again during the war. On the 27th of December, the mass of native inhabitants, 1400 in number—old and young, male and female—were expelled from the town; and, for eight days, these poor creatures wandered about between the walls of the city on the one side, and the English encampment on the other, having nothing to subsist on but such roots of grass and other things as the scant soil afforded. During the time, they were exposed to a terrible storm, which, on the 30th of December, visited the city and the English camp. The former was inundated; in the latter, tents were blown down and rent to pieces, batteries were overthrown, and all was confusion. What was more lamentable, three ships of war foundered, and 1,100 lives were lost. A few days after, the English allowed the expelled natives to pass through their lines; and rapturous were the thanks, emphatic the blessings, poured out by the fugitives for this indulgence.* The storm did as much damage in the city as in the camp, and this prevented the French from profiting by the disasters of the English, who laboured hard to restore the efficiency of their works. This was done by the 12th of January, 1761, when the trenches were again opened. On the 14th a flag of truce was displayed from the walls, and a deputation came to the camp on foot

* Orme.

and declared the willingness of the garrison to surrender. On the 15th the town was taken possession of; and, on the 16th, the French gave up the fort of Ariancopang, the whole garrison and civil establishment remaining prisoners of war.* The English differed as to who was to possess Pondicherry—the crown or the company; Colonel Coote claiming it for the former, and Mr. Pigot for his employers. As the latter held the purse, and would not advance a shilling to pay the troops till his claim was recognised, he was successful. Pondicherry was taken possession of in the names of the directors of the East India Company; and, in accordance with instructions they had previously given, its walls and fortifications were soon levelled with the dust.

And now only a few places remained to France in the Northern Circars. An expe-

dition was immediately dispatched for their capture; Major Preston commanding the force destined to attack Theagur, and Captain Stephen Smith that which was sent against Jingee. The latter soon capitulated; but the former sustained blockade and bombardment for sixty-five days, when the white flag of the Bourbons was struck, and the standard of England waved from its walls. About the same time that Pondicherry fell, Mahè, and its dependencies on the Malabar coast, were taken by Major Hector Munro; and, at the close of April, 1761, the French dominions in India had all passed out of their hands, except the mere trading establishments at Surat and Calicut. What a change from the time when M. Dupleix was not only the governor over extensive territories which owned the French authority, but also the dictator over the Carnatic and the Deccan!

CHAPTER V.

DIFFICULTIES OF MEER COSSIM'S GOVERNMENT; SEIZURE OF PATNA BY MR. ELLIS; WAR WITH MEER COSSIM; BATTLE OF GERIAH; MASSACRE OF THE ENGLISH AT PATNA; CAPTURE OF THAT CITY; MEER COSSIM, SUJAH-AD-DOWLAH, AND SHAH ALUM; THEIR LEAGUE AGAINST THE ENGLISH; MUTINY OF SEPOYS; VICTORY OF BUXAR; TREATY WITH SHAH ALUM; DEATH OF MEER JAFFIER; THE NEW NABOB; FURTHER HOSTILITIES; BATTLE OF CORAH; RETURN OF LORD CLIVE; CLIVE'S REGULATION FOR THE TROOPS; MUTINY IN THE BENGAL ARMY; CLIVE LEAVES INDIA; THE BOMBAY AND MADRAS PRESIDENCIES; CAREER OF HYDER ALI; WAR WITH THE MYSOREANS; APPEARANCE OF HYDER BEFORE MADRAS.

MEER COSSIM had not long held the nabobship, ere he found the difficulties of his position. They resulted in a great measure from the state of his finances. The income derived from his territory was not equal to the demands upon it; the payment to the English, after he had enriched them with the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, pressed heavily upon his remaining resources; and as Ramnarrain, the Rajah of Bahar and the Hindoo governor of Patna, was in arrear with his tributary payments to the nabob, the latter,

on a charge of embezzlement, seized his person and effects; his house being broken open and plundered, and his friends and servants tortured to make them discover the place of concealment for his treasures. By some writers the English are blamed for having so long protected Ramnarrain; by others, it is averred, that Mr. Vansittart and his council disgraced themselves by suffering these proceedings to be taken against him—proceedings which drew forth a vigorous protest from Major Carnac and Colonel Coote (who commanded an English detach-

*The fate of Lally was a very melancholy one, and reflects great discredit upon the French government and East India Company; for both joined in persecuting him on his return to France. He was immediately arrested and placed in the Bastille, from whence he was transferred to a common prison. He was afterwards brought to trial for his misgovernment in India, found guilty, sentenced to death, and conveyed in a common dung-cart to the Place de

Grève, where he was beheaded. The groundless nature of the charges against him was afterwards shown by his son, M. Lally Tollendal, who obtained a reversal of the proceedings, and was put in possession of his father's estates.—M. Bussy, who was liberated on his parole, returned to France, having transmitted home a considerable fortune; married a daughter of the Duc de Choiseul, and enjoyed considerable favour at court.

ment stationed at Patna); and they were recalled by Mr. Vansittart, because of their resolve to protect Ramnarrain. Whether the authorities at Calcutta were right or wrong in permitting Meer Cossim to take the steps he did at Patna, their conduct gave great offence to the principal persons of the Hindoo nation, who were previously inclined to be friendly with, and submissive to, the company's servants—being impressed with a profound idea of their power. These persons now thought that it would be better policy to conciliate the favour of the new nabob, than that of parties who appeared to be so indifferent to the fate of their friends. They therefore made offers of personal service, and of what was even more acceptable, of their treasures, to Meer Cossim, who began to think that he might, through their aid, set the English at defiance. At that time there were several questions in dispute between the nabob and the civil servants of the company; the principal of which was, the claim of the former, under a firman of the emperor Feroksheer, to be exempt not only from custom duties on their imports, but also from those payable on the products of the country, which they claimed a right to send, under their *dustucks*, or licences, untaxed from one place to another. This claim the nabob resisted. He, in his turn, claimed a right to search English boats, and to examine English bales of merchandise; and the English were equally pertinacious in opposing his pretensions as he was in refusing to accede to theirs. Had it not been, however, for the support he expected now to receive from the chief Hindoos, upon whom he could not previously rely, Meer Cossim, probably, would not have proceeded to extremities; but, in that expectation, he persisted in opposing the pretences of the English, and in maintaining his own. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Warren Hastings, who, since 1760, had been a member of the council of Calcutta, were desirous of placing the trading arrangements upon a fair footing, and of making the English submit to the payment of the same duties as were levied upon the natives. Not hoping to accomplish this, however, they proposed to the nabob that the English should pay nine per cent. upon their goods; the natives paying upwards of thirty; and Meer Cossim assenting, an arrangement to that effect was entered into, which the council, the majority of whom were heads of factories, refused to sanction. Meer Cossim then issued an edict, giving his

subjects liberty to trade freely, without payment of duties, for two years. This edict, the same majority declared, was an act of hostility: they threatened war unless it was recalled; and sent two of their number, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, to demand that it should be cancelled. The nabob refused to comply; and, as some native officials were at that time imprisoned at Calcutta, he detained Mr. Hay as a hostage for their safety, suffering Mr. Amyatt to depart.

Affairs were brought to a crisis by the seizure, in pursuance of the command of the nabob, of two boats laden with arms, which were proceeding to the English at Patna; and the council, under the impression—real or pretended—that he meant to exclude them from that city entirely, sent orders to Mr. Ellis, who was the resident at Patna (the English troops there, since the departure of Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, being under the command of Captain Carstairs), to seize upon the citadel. Mr. Ellis obeyed this order by attacking the garrison a little before daylight on the 6th of June, 1763; and, as only a faint resistance was offered, by sunrise the English were in quiet possession of the city. Having placed the necessary guards, Mr. Ellis, Captain Carstairs, and others, returned to Bankipore—a suburb of Patna, in which the Europeans resided—to breakfast. Under what circumstances does not clearly appear; but the commander of the Hindoo garrison was enabled, soon after the gentlemen had left the city, to get his men together again; and, as they greatly outnumbered the English soldiers, the latter were soon put to flight. The inhabitants of the city and the surrounding country were also alarmed, and were told how “treacherously” the English had acted. The nabob was residing at Monghir, a fortified town on the south bank of the Ganges; and an express was immediately sent to him, with information of what had taken place. He ordered all the English that his troops could lay their hands upon, to be made prisoners. Both military and civilians had fled as soon as they found the turn things had taken at Patna, their numbers being so insignificant. They were pursued and overtaken at Manjee, a distance of about forty-two miles, where, exhausted and fatigued, they laid down their arms. Some of the sepoys agreed to enter the nabob's service; all the rest were conveyed back prisoners to Patna. The factory of Cossimbazar was next stormed by a party of natives, and the

inmates taken to the same place. Orders were also given to pursue and capture Mr. Amyatt, who was intercepted; and as he and his companions resisted the attempt to make them prisoners, most of them were slain.

Up to this time, we are told, Meer Cossim had not shown "any instance of a vicious or a violent disposition;" nor "could he be taxed with any acts of cruelty to his own subjects, or of treachery to us."* But most persons believe that he had been long preparing to measure his strength with that of the English. With this purpose he had taken up his residence in the strongly-fortified town of Monghir; and he had taken advantage of the offer of service by a European to train his troops—not inaptly described as an "undisciplined rabble"—to something like military habits. This man was a German, named Walter Reinehard: he obtained the *nom-de-guerre* of Summer, which the French, on account of his swarthy complexion, changed into "Sombre;" and this led to his being called "Sumroo" by the natives—the name by which he is most generally known. This man imparted some idea of European discipline amongst Meer Cossim's troops, and he is also said to have instigated the nabob to most of those acts of cruelty which stained his after career.

It was impossible that the English government could overlook the affair at Patna, the capture of Cossimbazar, and the murder of Mr. Amyatt. Their troops were instantly put in motion, and marched, on the 2nd of July, in search of Meer Cossim's army, towards Moorshedabad. It was also resolved, by the council, to restore Meer Jaffier to the nabobship; and, without any reference to the *legal* dispenser of the title and authority (Shah Alum), he was formally reinvested with them on the 7th of July. Mr. Vansittart, who had opposed the acts which had led to this result, on the plea that it "was an emergency in which justice must give way to necessity,"† signed the proclamation, inviting the people of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to rally round their old nabob; announcing, however, that "he should resign his government when Meer Cossim was subdued." The latter, as soon as he heard of the reinstalment of Meer Jaffier as nabob, wrote to Mr. Vansittart, offering terms of accommodation, denying that he had ordered the detention and murder of Mr. Amyatt, and hinting at the probable fate of the prisoners

at Patna, should hostilities be pursued. The terms were rejected; the threat was disregarded, except as to the conveying an intimation that a terrible vengeance would be taken, were it attempted to be carried out; and the council evinced a firm determination to expel Meer Cossim, and maintain Meer Jaffier in that not very inviting elevation upon which they had placed him.

Meer Jaffier, having agreed to everything that was demanded of him by the council, left Calcutta on the 11th of July, with the army under the command of Major Thomas Adams, which was to effect his restoration to the musnud. This army was on its way to Moorshedabad, when, on the 19th, it was encountered by a numerous detachment of Meer Cossim's force, under three of his generals; and an engagement took place, in which the Hindoos were routed, and retired to Cutwal. On the 24th the English dispersed another detachment that was sent against them, and entered Moorshedabad without any further opposition. Fifty pieces of cannon were found there. The English did not rest on their successes, but marched in the direction in which they understood the chief army of Meer Cossim was to be found, and came up with it encamped on the plain of Geriah, near Sooty, a town in the district of Ranjestry, which is nearly central in the province of Bengal. The nabob was there himself, with 20,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and a large train of artillery. The force under Major Adams only amounted to 750 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, and some squadrons of native horse. The sepoy in the nabob's army were, thanks to Sumroo, tolerably well trained; they were divided into a regular brigade, and had clothing, arms, and accoutrements similar to those of the company's army. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, the English made no hesitation in attacking their enemies; and a fierce engagement, which continued for four hours, ensued. The 84th regiment formed a part of the comparatively small English force. During the fight this regiment was attacked in front and rear, whilst some daring movements were made on another part of the British line by a regiment of sepoy, commanded by Sumroo. Both Europeans and sepoy stood their ground well, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, who were driven from the plain with great loss, leaving behind them all their cannon. The English also took possession of 150 boats, which lay in the Ganges, close to the scene of action,

* Mr. Vansittart's *Narrative*.

† *Ibid.*

aden with provisions. Meer Cossim fled to Monghir: the fugitive troops went to an entrenched camp which had been formed on the banks of the Oodwah.

There was a fort here, called Outanulla, as well as the camp: it was situated in a gorge, between some hills and the river, and defended by an intrenchment—surmounted by 100 pieces of cannon. Outside of the intrenchment was a ditch, from fifty to sixty feet wide, and full of water. The surrounding ground was swampy, with the exception of about 100 yards, on the banks of the Oodwah, which was dry and firm. The English threw up batteries, and made their approaches upon this piece of land; but it was not there where the real attack was made. Having drawn the enemy's attention to that point, a furious cannonade was commenced from the batteries on the 5th of September, whilst the bulk of Major Adams' force passed round the hills, and made an assault on another side of the intrenchment. The resistance was kept up for some time with spirit; but the daring and indomitable bravery of the British prevailed against all odds, and the intrenchments were carried; the troops scattering themselves about the country, and all the cannon, ammunition, and stores being taken. On receiving intelligence of this fresh disaster, Meer Cossim left Monghir for Patna. Major Adams advanced to the former place, which he invested early in October; and after nine days' cannonading, a practicable breach was made, and the garrison of 2,000 sepoy's surrendered prisoners of war.

These repeated defeats seemed to change the nature of Meer Cossim; and after each of them, he ordered acts to be committed, of which we should previously, from Mr. Vansittart's account, have supposed him perfectly incapable. On receiving the news of the battle of Geriah, he ordered the captive rajah, Ramnarrain, with ten relatives and other native prisoners of note, to be put to death. The victims of the battle of Oodwah were Juggut Seit and a relative—either brother or cousin; but which, is not stated. And when he learnt that Monghir was captured, he gave an order for the immediate execution of all the prisoners at Patna. Fifty of the company's servants, civil and military, were at that time in the custody of Meer Cossim's officers; and all were murdered, except one: Mr. Ferguson, the Scotch surgeon, alone escaped, he having won favour by the exercise of his profes-

sional skill. Mr. Hay and Mr. Ellis were both amongst the victims; as was Mr. Lushington, who had long been a member of the civil administration of Bengal. Sumroo was Meer Cossim's agent in these murders, if indeed he did not advise them, which there is strong ground for believing he did. The English were not massacred without resistance. Sumroo invited them to sup with him, taking "the opportunity to borrow their knives and forks, in order to entertain them in the English manner." Two companies of sepoy's were in attendance; and "when Sumroo arrived at his residence, he stood at some distance in the cook-room to give his orders." The guests appear to have been shown into the dining-room as they arrived; and Messrs. Ellis and Lushington were the last who came. "As they entered, the former was seized by his hair," and his head being pulled backwards by a sepoy, his throat was cut. Mr. Lushington knocked the sepoy down, and seizing his sword, killed one, and wounded two more, before he was himself cut down. The rest of the gentlemen were alarmed, and stood on their defence; and when the sepoy's attempted to enter the room where they were assembled to dine, they were "repulsed with plates and bottles, until Sumroo ordered that the victims should be fired upon from the top of the house. The sepoy's obeyed with reluctance, alleging that they could not think of murdering in that manner;" but at last all were dispatched.*

On receipt of the intelligence of this horrible massacre, Major Adams marched to Patna, which he formally invested. As Meer Cossim had placed his last hopes on this place, he had omitted neither care nor expense to strengthen and secure it, having reinforced the garrison with 10,000 men. He did not, however, remain there himself; but, committing its defence to one of his chiefs, he hovered round the English at the head of a large body of cavalry, with which he greatly harassed the besiegers. These attacks were constantly repulsed.—Two breaches being made in the walls, Major Adams, at night, on the 5th of November, ordered a party at the batteries, which consisted of 100 Europeans and a battalion of sepoy's, to be reinforced by two companies of European grenadiers, under Captains Irwine and Trevellion, and a battalion of sepoy's under Major Sherlock, with directions to keep a constant fire upon both

* Scott's *History of Bengal*.

breaches during the night, and to storm at daybreak, ordering, at the same time, the scaling-ladders and fascines to be ready in front of the batteries. At 5 A.M. on the 6th, the Europeans and sepoy grenadiers entered the breach, being led by Major Sherlock; Major Adams marching up the remainder of his troops to sustain the attack. The enemy made an obstinate resistance, which cost them about 1,500 men; but in two hours the city was in possession of the English, whose loss was trivial. Among the wounded were Captains Irwine, Hibbert, and Galliez, and Lieutenant Irwine.

After the fall of Patna, Meer Cossim, unable to offer any further resistance, fled towards the country of Sujah-ad-Dowlah. He was pursued by Major Adams, who, however, did not reach the Caramnassa (a small river which forms the boundary between the territories of the vizier and those of the company) till after the fugitive had crossed it. The major halted his little army about a week, and then marched back to Sant, a village on the banks of the Durgotty, a nullah which runs parallel with the Caramnassa, at a distance of about four miles. There he left the army, and proceeded to Calcutta; and "thus ended a campaign, conducted throughout with ability and expedition. Major Adams completed, in less than four months, the entire conquest of Bengal. He fought in that time four capital actions, forced the strongest intrenchments, took two considerable forts, and near 500 pieces of cannon, and totally defeated one of the most resolute and respectable enemies we ever had in India."*

Meer Cossim now threw himself under the protection of Sujah-ad-Dowlah, who was at Allahabad, the strongest fortress in his country, and Shah Alum was also with him. This nabob had greatly increased his power; he was absolute in Oude; and, nominally the vizier of Shah Alum, he was really the gaoler of his prince, and the master of the empire. He made no hesitation in extending his protection to Meer Cossim, and entered with him into a league against the English, to which he induced or compelled Shah Alum to become a party.—Early in 1764, he crossed the Caramnassa with a strong army, and marched towards the English; Meer Cossim, some troops trained by Sumroo, and that assassin himself, accompanied him.

* *Transactions in India.* Major Adams died at Calcutta, in January, 1764.

The English, who were left at Sant, passed under the command of Major Jennings, when Major Adams left for Calcutta. Both the Europeans and sepoys, soon after the departure of the latter, had evinced symptoms of discontent, as promises made to them by Meer Jaffier, on their taking the field, had not been fulfilled; and as those promises were conveyed through Major Adams, they now despaired of their ever being kept. To such a height did this discontent proceed, that one day the whole line got under arms without orders, and threatened to march and join the nabob of Oude, if the promised donation was not instantly paid. The officers persuaded all to return to their duty, except about 200 Frenchmen, who had entered into the service of the company after the surrender of Pondicherry, in 1761: they departed, and did not again rejoin the English force. This occurrence induced Major Carnac to leave Calcutta and proceed to Sant, where he took the command of the troops, with whom he marched to Buxar; but on learning that Sujah-ad-Dowlah had crossed the Caramnassa with a powerful army, he proceeded to Patna, and intrenched his force under the walls of that city.—On the 24th of April, 1764, the nabob of Oude, hearing of the mutinous disposition that had been shown by the sepoys, and also that a body of marines was on its way from Calcutta to join Major Carnac, gave up devastating the province of Bahar, and marched upon Patna, with a view to attack and defeat the English before the marines joined. The attack was not made till the 3rd of May, when the nabob advanced with his entire army, greatly superior in numbers to Major Carnac's—whose "little force was furiously assailed in front and rear, but proved invincible to all the swarms of fresh troops that were successively brought against them."† Every attack was repulsed; all the troops, and especially the sepoys, behaving with the greatest gallantry. The battle, which commenced at noon, and lasted till sunset, ended in the repulse of the enemy, whose loss was immense. Sujah-ad-Dowlah retired within his own lines. Major Carnac was not strong enough to follow him: and he had suffered too much from the English (who were reinforced, on the 9th, by the arrival of the marines) to attack them again. The arrival of this reinforcement induced the vizier to offer terms of accom-

† *Transactions in India.*

modation; but as the English demanded the surrender of Meer Cossim and Sumroo, and the vizier wanted to have the entire province of Bahar given to him, no arrangement could be come to. On the 30th of May, the enemy's troops were observed in motion, bending their march to their own left; and in a few days the province was entirely clear of them. The retreat had been made in consequence of the rainy season having set in; and the same cause made it necessary for the company's troops to go into cantonments. As soon as this change had taken place, Major Carnac relinquished the command to Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro.

Major Munro brought with him considerable reinforcements; and as the spirit of discontent still existed in the troops, he determined, to use his own words, "to endeavour to conquer the mutinous disposition in them before he attempted to conquer the enemy." The measures which he took to carry out this determination could only be justified by the most stern necessity indeed. Ascertaining where the mutiny was most rife, he marched with a detachment and four field-pieces to that cantonment, which was near Patna. He had scarcely arrived, when an entire battalion of sepoy, with their arms and accoutrements, marched off to join the enemy. A select body of a hundred Europeans, a battalion of sepoy (whose officers assured the major they might be depended upon), and two field-pieces, were dispatched in pursuit of the fugitives, whom they came up with in the night, surprised them while sleeping, made them all prisoners, and marched them back to the cantonment. As soon as they arrived, Major Munro, who had all his troops under arms, ordered the officers to select fifty from the ranks of the deserters who bore the worst character. From these a further selection of twenty-four was made, they being supposed to be the worst of the whole; they were immediately tried by a drum-head court-martial, and being found guilty of mutiny and desertion, received sentence of death. The nature of their punishment was left to Major Munro, who ordered them to be blown to pieces from the mouths of cannon. Four men were fastened to four cannon, which were about to be discharged, when four grenadiers interfered, and, as having always enjoyed the post of honour, claimed the privilege of suffering first. Their claim was granted;

the four already attached were unfastened; the grenadiers took their places, and were instantaneously launched into eternity! Those upon whom the execution had been deferred, were then about to be led to the cannon's mouth, when the officers interfered, and told the major that the sepoy would not suffer any more executions to take place. "Won't they," said the major: "we shall see!" Ordering four field-pieces to be loaded with grapeshot, he drew up the Europeans, with the guns at intervals between them, and gave the word for the sepoy immediately to ground their arms, on pain of being assailed with a shower of grape, if they either disobeyed or attempted flight. They obeyed—and saw sixteen more of their companions suffer. The remaining four were taken to another cantonment, where the same punishment was inflicted upon them, in the presence of their comrades; and harsh and cruel as this punishment was, it had the desired effect. There were no more symptoms of mutiny; even the breathings of discontent were hushed.

The rainy season over, both the belligerents again prepared to take the field. The vizier, with an army estimated by some at 60,000, by others at 40,000, and by Major Munro himself at 50,000 men, was intrenched in the neighbourhood of Buxar, a village situated on the right bank of the Ganges, in the district of Shahabad, and province of Bengal. The enemy had also thrown up some embankments on the banks of the Soane, to impede the passage of the English. Major Munro had fixed the 15th of September as the day on which the troops under his command were to assemble from the different cantonments at Patna, when they were immediately to cross the river. As soon as the troops had assembled, the first operation undertaken was, to remove the works the enemy had erected to impede the passage. This very essential duty was entrusted to, and gallantly performed by, Major Champion. With a detachment of Europeans and sepoy, and four pieces of cannon, he crossed the river some miles below the spot where it was intended the main body should effect a passage, and advancing along the opposite bank to the enemy's works, whilst the main body, under Major Munro, marched to the ford, he commenced firing on the intrenchments just as the British van reached the bank. The enemy was soon dislodged, and the

entire force passed over without molestation; the operation being accomplished in about four hours, when all the men and their *matériel* were safe on the other side, and continuing their march in the direction of Buxar.

On the 22nd of October, the English came in sight of the nabob's army, which was encamped with its left on the Ganges, and the village in its rear. Major Munro encamped for the night beyond the reach of the enemy's guns; and on reconnoitring the nabob's camp, it was found that they were moving their artillery, and that the women and treasure had been sent away. The major, however, believed that this was a mere feint—and so it proved. The next morning, the English commander and some of his principal officers again went out to observe the enemy, and found their whole force under arms. The English advanced posts and grand guards were immediately ordered in, the drums beat to arms, and, in less than twenty minutes the line of battle was formed, all the dispositions having been made for it on the previous day. About nine o'clock the cannonading commenced from the enemy, and in half-an-hour the action became general. The English had a morass in their front, which prevented their moving for some time, and the troops suffered considerably—the nabob having a considerable number of cannon, which were well-levelled and served. At length, a battalion of sepoy, with one gun, was ordered to move forward from the right of the first line of the English, to silence one of the enemy's batteries which played on their flank. This battalion, being supported by another from the second line, soon effected the service assigned to it. Both lines were then ordered to face to the right, to clear the morass, and also a tope, or small wood, in that direction; which being done, they pushed forward with so much ardour and resolution (the small arms beginning to play), that by five minutes before twelve the enemy was put to flight. The British broke into columns in pursuit—the enemy at first retreating leisurely, blowing up several tumbrils and magazines of powder as they proceeded. Two miles from the field of battle, a stream of water intersected the road. Over this a bridge of boats was thrown, and the rear of the nabob's army was crossing this bridge, when the English reached the banks of the stream. Sujah-ad-Dowlah ordered the

bridge to be cut away, and 2,000 men perished; but by this sacrifice he probably saved the rest of his army, as the English were unable to continue the pursuit.—The force under Major Munro, in this brilliant action, consisted of 857 Europeans, 5,297 sepoy, 918 native cavalry, and a train of artillery, with twenty field-pieces. Their loss, in killed and wounded, was 847. Major Munro commanded in chief, with Majors Champion, Hibbert, and Pemble, to assist him; Major Jennings commanded the artillery.—The enemy left about 2,000 dead on the field, losing, besides, 133 pieces of cannon, and various stores.

After this battle, Meer Cossim fled to the Rohillas, believing that he was no longer safe in Oude; and Shah Alum, escaping from the control of his vizier, planted his tent by the side of the English, and placed himself under their protection: ultimately a treaty was concluded with him, by which more valuable territories were surrendered to the company. From that time, this descendant of Aurungzebe, and inheritor of the title of the Great Mogul, was not only indebted to the English for the safety of his person, but also for the means of subsistence. He accompanied Munro, who invaded Oude, and advanced upon Benares. As he approached this city, Sujah-ad-Dowlah sent messengers to him, with offers of peace, tendering twenty-five lacs of rupces for the company, twenty-five lacs for the army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would leave the country. The major refused to treat, unless Meer Cossim and Sumroo were given up. The nabob could not deliver the former, who had already fled; but he did not convey that information to the English commander. On the contrary, he offered to induce Meer Cossim to fly to some adjacent country; and, though his regard for the rights of hospitality would not permit him to give up Sumroo, he was ready to assassinate him; and he offered Major Munro the option of witnessing his punishment. Of course, the offer was refused, and the negotiations failed.

At the close of 1764, Mr. Vansittart and Warren Hastings departed for England; Mr. Spencer succeeding to the government of Bengal, which was most miserably mismanaged by the council, whose acts the previous governor had found himself utterly unable to control. In January, 1765, Meer Jaffier—whose second nabobship had been a continued series of troubles, principally arising

ing from the dilapidated state of his finances, and his inability to discharge the debts he had contracted with the company—sank into an unhonoured grave. The council at Calcutta took upon themselves the choice of a successor. There were two competitors for the nabobship—the infant son of Meeran, the legitimate heir, and his uncle, Syef-ad-Dowlah, the second son of Meer Jaffier, who had nearly attained to man's estate. The choice of the council fell upon the latter; who agreed that the defence of the country should be placed in the hands of the English; the nabob was to keep no greater military force than might be necessary for the purposes of state, and the company were to receive five lacs of rupees per month to defray the extra expenses thrown upon them. A new office was also created—a species of vizierate—to which an experienced noble, Mohammed Reza Khan, was appointed, under the title of Naib Subah; and to him the entire management of the affairs of government was entrusted. The usual presents were given to the members of the council after this arrangement; and these gentlemen waxed rich, while the finances of their masters were fallen into disorder, and becoming quite unequal to the demands made upon them.

During the time these transactions were taking place at Calcutta, hostilities were carried on in Oude. Early in 1765, one detachment of the English army, under Major Munro, occupied Lucknow; whilst another division, under Sir Robert Fletcher, took Allahabad after a few days' siege, which city was assigned as the future residence of Shah Alum. To enable him to compete with the English, Sujah-ad-Dowlah had formed an alliance with a Mahratta chief, named Holkar; and the latter having joined him with a considerable force, it was considered advisable to attempt to expel the English army, the main body of which was now under the command of Brigadier-general (late Major) Carnac. The two armies met on the 3rd of May, near a small village, called Corah, on the left bank of the Jumna. A sharp battle was fought, in which the discipline and bravery of the English army again prevailed over numbers. The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the well-directed fire of the artillery; and the entire confederated army was broken and routed, and compelled to retire across the Jumna, in the greatest disorder. A few days after this defeat, Sujah-ad-Dowlah made advances

to the English, assuring them that Meer Cossim had fled to Rohilcund; and that Sumroo had escaped to the distant regions of the Indus. He repaired to the English camp himself to make these offers, and throwing himself upon their mercy and magnanimity, he almost offered them a *carte-blanche* as to the terms upon which peace was to be concluded. Brigadier-general Carnac received him with great distinction. The first and second personages of the greatest empire in the world were then in that officer's custody, and at the disposal of his masters, who were themselves the servants of a company of British merchants. "The camp of Alexander the Great was not more splendid, while the family of Darius were his captives, than that of Carnac on this occasion."*

Before the negotiations with the nabob of Oude were brought to a conclusion, Lord Clive arrived from England to assume the government. Though the military transactions of the last few years had been honourable to the British arms, and had greatly increased the extent of the company's domains, the civil government had become greatly disorganised; and the representations sent home excited the greatest uneasiness. "A succession of revolutions, a disorganised administration, the natives pillaged, and yet the company not enriched; every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers, who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back, also, alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government; war on the frontiers, disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro;—such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs."† In this state of things the opinion became very prevalent among the East India proprietors, that Lord Clive was the only man who could retrieve what were considered to be the falling fortunes of the company. This view of the case was pressed upon the directors, who very unwillingly entertained it; but, after several tumultuous meetings of the proprietors, and the character of the court of directors being changed at the annual election of 1764, when a majority of Clive's friends was returned—it was arranged that his lordship should go out to India as governor and commander-in-chief of the British

* *Transactions in India.*† *Macaulay's Lord Clive.*

possessions in Bengal; and further that, with a committee of four, nominated by the directors, he should be empowered to act without consulting the council.

Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta in May, 1765, shortly after the battle of Buxar, and before the negotiations with Sujah-ad-Dowlah were brought to a close. His lordship immediately proceeded to Allahabad, to take these negotiations into his own hands; and—including a new arrangement with the emperor—they were concluded on terms highly favourable to the English. Cancelling all previous arrangements, Shah Alum gave the company complete control over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as a "perpetual dewanee," by which all the revenues were collected and appropriated by them, subject only to a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees; the possession of all their scattered settlements was also confirmed to them, and a free grant of the five Northern Circars was obtained. Sujah-ad-Dowlah was confirmed in the possession of Oude, except Allahabad, Corah, and the Douab, which were assigned to Shah Alum. The nabob engaged to oppose the Mahrattas, and defend the frontiers of Bengal; and the English, in return, bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. It was the middle of August before these arrangements were concluded, and Lord Clive returned to Calcutta.

With Lord Clive's proceedings in "reforming" the civil government of India, we shall not interfere; merely observing, in the words of an historian of the period, that "he put down innumerable abuses, and vile money-getting practices; at the same time that he adopted measures which might give the civil servants of the company, whose pay had hitherto been miserably low, a proper maintenance, and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by ability, application, and perseverance."* We cannot, however, pass over his new regulations for the army, without entering more into detail.

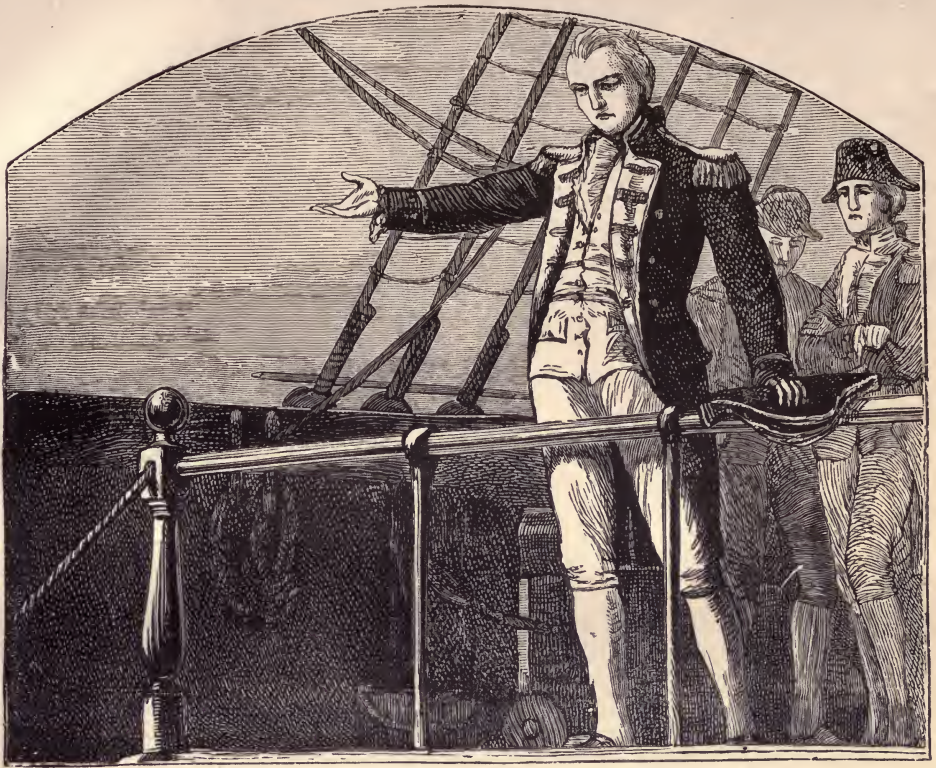
This army had, in ten years, increased wonderfully. When Surajah Dowlah captured Calcutta, the Bengal military establishment consisted of one small company of artillery, about sixty European infantry (including officers), and 300 Portuguese half-castes, called topasses. When Lord Clive returned to India, in 1765, he found that the army comprised four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 regular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European

infantry, and nineteen battalions or regiments of sepoy: in all, about 20,000 men. Clive divided this force into three brigades, each containing one European regiment, one company of artillery, six regiments of sepoy, and one troop of native cavalry: these brigades were stationed at Monghir, Bankipoor (the suburb of Patna), and Allahabad.† Throughout this force a considerable degree of demoralisation prevailed, dating from the capture of Gheriah,‡ when an immense booty was distributed amongst the troops employed. The officers had also engaged, to a considerable extent, in private trading; and the love of gain, in many, had obliterated all traces of the chivalrous feeling so necessary to sustain the character and honour of military men. Another evil in the army arose from a practice introduced, after the battle of Plassy, by Meer Jaffier—of giving to the English troops whom he had to support, a double field allowance, called "double batta," which, by degrees, extended to the whole army, and was claimed, whether they were in the field or not. Its payment, except when on actual service, the directors had ordered to be discontinued. Clive had to carry out this order—hitherto disobeyed, as far as the European officers were concerned; and he was also resolved to put down private trading among that class. On the 1st of January, 1766, the order for the discontinuance of "double batta" appeared, which put the army of Bengal upon the same footing as that on the Coromandel coast, by whom no "batta" was drawn, except when they were on actual service. This produced a wide-spread conspiracy amongst the officers, 200 of whom pledged themselves to resign their commissions on the 6th of June. It was subsequently ascertained that this mutiny was organised, if not suggested, by Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded the brigade stationed at Monghir; Sir Robert Barker and Colonel A. Smith, who commanded the other brigades, with Brigadier-general Carnac, supported the governor-general in the vigorous measures he took to suppress it. His lordship—who, when the resistance of the officers to his orders was brought to his notice, was at Moorshedabad, on business connected with the government—wrote to the council at Calcutta, saying, that "such a spirit must, at all hazards, be suppressed at the birth:" he summoned all the officers who could be spared from Madras and

* Macfarlane's *History of British India*.

† Strachey's *Bengal Mutiny*.

‡ See *ante*, p. 47.



THE MUTINY AT THE NORE (*Admiral Duncan addressing the sailors*).



CAPE ST. VINCENT.

W.M. BLOVIC

Bombay, to replace those who were parties to the conspiracy; distributed commissions in the ranks, and also amongst members of the civil service; and proceeded in person, with a small escort, to Monghir, where he assembled the soldiers, and addressed them on the crimes of their officers. The latter being without difficulty arrested, were sent under a guard of sepoys to Fort William. That branch of the army remained faithful throughout, and Clive gave them double pay for two months. The officers were tried by a court-martial. Sir Robert Fletcher was cashiered, as were other ringleaders of the mutiny: their lives were spared, from a doubt as to the power of the company to punish Europeans capitally. The junior offenders were treated with great leniency; and when Clive was told that one of them had planned his assassination, he refused to listen to the charge: "the officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

This was the last great act of Clive's life. His health decayed, and that nervous malady which afterwards increased upon him to such an extent as to cause him to commit suicide,* at times almost unfitted him for the discharge of his onerous duties, and he resolved to quit India. On the 16th of January, 1767, he met the council at Calcutta for the last time; and in taking leave of them, he said—"I leave the country in peace; I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination; it is your duty to keep them so." At the close of the month he quitted Bengal, leaving his authority in the hands of a committee, at the head of whom was Mr. Verelst, and sailed for England—leaving behind him a name which has never been forgotten. His administration was not without faults, especially in the civil department; but "as a soldier, he was pre-eminently great. With his name commences that flood of glory which has rolled on till it has covered the wide face of India with memorials of British valour. By him was formed the base of the column, which a succession of heroes, well worthy to follow his steps, have carried upward to a towering height, and surrounded with trophies of honours, rich, brilliant, and countless."† By the Indian army, Clive's memory will always be regarded with feelings of gratitude. Meer Jaffier bequeathed

* Clive died by his own hands, on the 22nd Nov., 1774; a melancholy termination of such a career.

† Thornton's *History of India*.

to him a legacy of £70,000. This he paid into the company's treasury at Fort William, for the purpose of being invested as a fund, the interest to be applied in support of European officers and soldiers invalidated in the company's service in Bengal; and of the widows and orphans of those military men who might die in the presidency. Thus originated the "Clive Fund," which the company afterwards greatly augmented.

For several years after Lord Clive's departure, there were few occurrences in the presidency of Bengal which require to be noticed in this history of the campaigns in British India. Shortly after he left Calcutta, the Affghans attacked Delhi; but having obtained what they required—plunder—they returned to their mountains.—In the same year, the Bengal government sent a small force to restore a rajah of Nepal to his dominions, of which he had been dispossessed; but it was too weak, and returned without effecting its object.—In 1769, the nabob, Syef-ad-Dowlah, died of small-pox, and was succeeded by his brother Muharek-ad-Dowlah, a boy only ten years old.—In 1770, Mr. Cartier succeeded Mr. Verelst as governor of Bengal; and that year a terrible famine afflicted the country. In the same year, Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah—a Rohilla chief, who had resided at Delhi, and carried on the government of the empire in the name of Jewan Bukht, the son of Shah Alum, whom his father had left behind him when he fled in 1758—died, and was succeeded by his son Zabita Khan.—In 1771, the Mahrattas (who had been, for some time before his death, engaged in a war with Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah) overran Rohilcund, took Etawah, a strong fortress, about a mile east of the left bank of the Jumna, and the principal place of the district of the same name, and seized upon Delhi. Zabita Khan fled to Seharunpoor, the capital of his own patrimony in Rohilcund; and the Mahrattas, treating Jewan Bukht with great respect, united with Sujah-ad-Dowlah in endeavours to withdraw Shah Alum from the influence of the English. It was intimated to him, that if he did not take up his residence at Delhi, his son would be declared emperor; and, in an evil hour (as the events proved), he consented to leave Allahabad, the English authorities at Bengal offering no opposition; but assuring him, that the company would always be ready to "receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune

compel him once more to return to his provinces.”* The emperor was attended to the frontier of the Corah district by Sir Robert Barker (then commander-in-chief of the company’s forces in Bengal) and Sujah-ad-Dowlah; and in December, 1771, he entered Delhi, amid the acclamations of the populace. Shortly after, Warren Hastings arrived at Calcutta, to assume the government of British India.

In the period which we have gone over in this chapter, nothing which calls for our notice occurred in the Bombay presidency; but in the Madras territories, those hostilities sprung up with Mysore which were continued through so many years. The engagements of the government with Mohammed Ali, had previously involved the English in hostilities with Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore, which fort and district they captured, in 1761, for the nabob of the Carnatic.—In the latter part of 1763, and nearly the whole of 1764, a war was maintained with Mohammed Esoof, a Hindoo chief, who, after having long and ably served the English as an officer of sepoy, was placed in command at Madura the capital of the district of Madura, in the Madras presidency—as renter. The “rent” he was to pay for his dignity was too large: he failed in the regularity of his remittances; and it was asserted that he aimed at independence. The struggle with this chief cost the English the lives of many of their troops, and the expenditure of about £1,000,000 sterling: it ended with his capture, and his execution as a rebel, by Mohammed Ali.

It was the acquisition of the Northern Circars, and the engagements of the English with the nabob (also called soubahdar and Nizam) of the Deccan, that led to the war with Mysore—then under the sway of Hyder Ali, whom we have before mentioned as a soldier of fortune,† and an ally of the French.‡ This man, who occupied for some years such an important place in the history of India, was the son of a distinguished robber, and began life as a free-booter, in which capacity, attaching to himself a great number of followers, he was received into the service of the Rajah of Mysore—a territory about 250 miles in length, from north to south, and 238 in extreme breadth; being bounded on the north-west by the British collectorate of

Dharwar, in the presidency of Bombay, and on all other sides by various districts of the presidency of Madras.§ Leaving the rajah in the possession of his title and nominal authority, Hyder Ali became the real ruler of Mysore; and he gradually subjugated several of the neighbouring minor rajahs and polygars. In 1761 he conquered Sera, through an understanding with Bassalut Jung, brother to Nizam Ali, nabob of the Deccan; who conferred on him the title of nabob, and the designation of Khan Bahadar—“the heroic lord.” In 1763 he seized Bednore, a territory situated in the midst of a basin, or a depression in a rugged table-land, on the Western Ghauts, and at an elevation estimated at more than 4,000 feet above the sea. The town of Bednore was never fortified, its defence being entrusted to a line of posts erected on the summits of the surrounding hills. In 1645 it became the seat of government of the Rajah of Ikeri, who then took the title of Rajah of Bednore; and its prosperity advanced so rapidly, that the population soon reached 100,000 persons. Hyder pillaged this town when he captured it, finding property there, it is said, of the value of £12,000,000 sterling. He subsequently made it the seat of his government, calling it Hyder-nuggur, or Hyder’s Town; it was subsequently abbreviated popularly into Nuggur, by which name it is now generally known.|| After the conquest of Bednore, he assumed the style of an independent sovereign, and struck coins in his own name. He subsequently took possession of Soonda and Savanoor, and extended his northern frontier almost to the banks of the Kistnah. This brought him into contact with Mahdoo Rao, the Mahratta peishwa, in which his usual good fortune did not attend him; and he had to procure the retirement of his enemy, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. Hyder then prepared for the conquest of Malabar; and Cananore, Cochin, and Carical, rapidly fell into his power. About this period he was recalled to Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysore territory, by intelligence that the English, the Mahrattas, and Mohammed Ali, had united with the Nizam in an alliance against him. He lost no time in making peace with the latter, who had no hesitation in abandoning his allies, whom Hyder prepared to attack.

* Official letter from Bengal, August 31st. 1771.

† See *ante*, p. 42.

§ Thornton.

|| *Ibid.*

It was arranged that the English contingent should consist of 500 European infantry, five battalions of sepoys, thirty European dragoons, and sixteen field-pieces, under the command of Brigadier-general Joseph Smith, the commander-in-chief of the troops on the Madras establishment. This army had scarcely entered the enemy's country, when information was received, not only of the treachery of the Nizam, but that the Mahrattas had also come to terms with Hyder Ali; and General Smith was ordered, by the government at Madras, to return into the Carnatic with the greater part of his force. Three battalions of sepoys were left, under the command of Captain Baillie, near Seringapatam, with the forces of the Nizam, whose treachery was not so decidedly ascertained as to justify the English, it was thought, in retiring from the league. A detachment, under Major Bonjour, was also ordered to take possession of the Baramahal country, lying between the Carnatic and Mysore. The battalions under Captain Baillie, whilst they remained in this position, "became greatly in arrear of pay, and apprehensions were entertained that they might mutiny, and advantage be taken of their doing so, either by Hyder or the Nizam, to induce them to enter their service; and, as they were considered part of the company's best troops, their relief became an object of most anxious consideration to the general. He therefore detached Captain Cosby, with 500 of his own men, and twelve dragoons, who were the bearers of a sum of money in specie, made up in bags; it being intended, in case of extremity, that the money so prepared should be divided amongst the dragoons, in order to make a last push with it to Captain Baillie's camp. As the whole of the route lay through the enemy's country, and the high road was within sight of Hyder's garrisons, Captain Cosby was directed to proceed with as much caution as possible. This delicate affair was performed with admirable success, Captain Cosby having so successfully evaded the corps detached to intercept him, as to return with the loss of one man only (and he was a deserter), after performing a circuitous march, guided chiefly by the compass, of 350 miles in thirteen days, including two days occupied in delivering his charges, and refreshing his troops."*

The Nizam and Hyder Ali, having ar-

* *East India Military Calendar.*

ranged the terms of their alliance, determined to invade the Carnatic; but they permitted the battalions under Captain Baillie to retire—an act of simple good faith on the part of the former: had they pursued the contrary course, however, it would not have been out of keeping with the Indian character. Brigadier-general Smith, by order from the government of Madras, then commenced a movement to cover the frontiers of the company's territories, there to wait for further reinforcements; the entire force of the English being only 800 European infantry, 5,000 sepoys, thirty European dragoons, sixteen pieces of cannon (12 and 6-pounders), and 1,000 irregular cavalry belonging to the nabob of Arcot. With this force, General Smith had not cleared the enemy's country at the time that the hostile army was put in motion against him. The English were marching by the Changama pass, which divided the Carnatic from the dominions of Hyder Ali, and had just entered from that defile, when the enemy, consisting of 42,000 horse, 28,000 infantry, and 109 guns, came up with them on the 28th of September, 1767; and, early in the morning, with a large body of cavalry and light troops, took possession of a village and hill commanding a narrow defile through which the English must pass. It was impossible to avoid them; and whilst the commander-in-chief, having made the best possible disposition of his small force, moved forward with the main body, Captain Cosby was ordered, at the head of a detachment of infantry, to clear the village of the enemy. He effected this service most gallantly, driving the confederates before him by a bayonet charge; and then, finding himself annoyed from the hill, he proceeded, with equal success, to drive them from that position also. From the hill, Captain Cosby perceived the rapid approach of Hyder's regular infantry, then at some distance. The advanced division of the English army was gradually making its way through a difficult route; and Captain Cosby, communicating his observations to Major Bonjour, who commanded it, requested and obtained his permission to place another corps, under the command of Captain Cowley, in the occupation of the hill, before he quitted it to join the van, to which he belonged. The march of the advance was delayed till the main body came up, and then the brigadier-general, securing the position of the hill and the

village, awaited the attack of the Mysoreans, which was made, and repulsed, and renewed again and again, during the day, with the same result. At dark, the enemy drew off, having lost 2,000 men, and leaving the English masters of the field. The latter pursued their march in the night, the brigadier-general being anxious to reach Trincomalee, a town in the district of South Arcot, situated at the base of a hill, surmounted by a lofty pagoda, commanding all parts of it. Here the English were followed and attacked by Hyder Ali and his allies, who were so decisively defeated that they blew up their ammunition, and went off in the greatest confusion, leaving their cannon and baggage, abandoning a strongly fortified camp, and ultimately, for that time, quitting the Carnatic. Their loss in this battle of Trincomalee amounted to 4,000 men.—Simultaneously with these movements, Tippoo Saib, the son of Hyder (of whom we hear, at this period, for the first time), then a youth of seventeen, penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Madras, with 5,000 horsemen. His advance was very secret and very rapid; so much so, that he nearly surprised both the members of the government and the wealthiest merchants in their country houses. He did not attack the fortress; but he pillaged both the White and the Black towns, the villas and gardens, and warehouses in the vicinity; and converted the country for miles round into a desert. He retired, as he advanced, with equal secrecy and dispatch, but carrying with him a great booty.

Other advantages were obtained by the English; one especially at Amboor, a town in North Arcot, on the route from Bangalore to Madras. This was besieged by Hyder Ali for twenty-six days, when the English army, under Brigadier-general Smith, arrived, and completely defeated the besiegers, who were compelled to retire precipitately. These disasters, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, determined the Nizam to separate himself from Hyder and the Mahrattas, and make a separate peace with the English. This treaty was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1768; and the terms were so far favourable to the latter, that instead of a perpetual subsidy of three lacs of rupees per annum for the cession of the Circars, it was agreed that, on the payment of seven lacs per annum, for six years, all payments on that account

should cease. By the sixth article of the treaty, the East India Company and the nabob of the Carnatic (who was a party to it), engaged to be always ready to send two battalions of sepoys, and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Nizam should require them, and the situation of affairs would allow of such assistance being rendered. The expenses of the force thus supplied to be defrayed by the Nizam, whilst they were employed in his service.*

After the conclusion of this treaty, Hyder Ali retired to the Ghauts; and, the war being carried into his acquisitions in Malabar and Canara, various successes were gained in May, June, and July, by the forces still commanded by Brigadier-general Smith; who, in August, was joined by a body of Mahrattas, the rajah having seceded from his alliance with Hyder. The result of this campaign would, in all probability, have been fatal to Hyder, but for the folly of the Madras government. They sent two members of the council to the head-quarters of General Smith, who were to control his movements, and regulate his strategic operations. Hyder made overtures for peace, which were rejected by these members of the council; and, as Smith would not be guided by them in his military operations, he was recalled, and the command of the combined force given to Colonel Wood, who was either very incompetent or very unfortunate, as he lost nearly all which his predecessor had gained. For almost the first time, the English army retreated before a native force; and Colonel Wood was succeeded by Major Fitzgerald, just time enough to save the army from destruction, it having been expelled from all the posts so recently captured in Coimbatore and Baramahal; and all its baggage had been taken or abandoned. Since the first commencement of the English connection with India, no year closed so heavily upon the fortunes of the government as 1768. Not only had they lost all that had been previously gained in the war with Hyder, but Fuzzil Oola Khan, his best general, was sent to Madura and Tinnevely, whilst Hyder himself ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of the Cauvery, burning the villages and expelling the population as he moved along. The government of Madras sent Mr. Andrews, a member of council, to treat with him. He reached Hyder's camp on the 18th of Feb-

* Thornton.

ruary, 1769, and left in three days after, with proposals to be submitted to the governor and council; which they rejected. Brigadier-general Smith was again invested with the command of the army; but Hyder Ali eluded even his vigilance. Taking with him a body of 6,000 chosen cavalry, and marching a distance of 130 miles in four days, he appeared, to the astonishment of the council, on the 29th of March, within five miles of Madras. His first approach was announced about 7 A.M., by the blazing, in every quarter, of the villages lying within view of the garrison, and by the approach of their inhabitants, who made to Madras for shelter. Pursued by the Mysore horse, the cries and lamentations of these poor creatures were heard some time before they approached the city; and, as they drew near, the sight was indeed painful to behold. Aged parents were seen borne, like Anchises from the flames of Troy, upon the bleeding shoulders of their offspring, who had been wantonly mutilated; there were mothers bewailing the loss of their helpless infants that had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy on the first surprise; and innocent virgins were clinging for protection to the arms of their lacerated brothers.* The town and fortress were in the same condition as they were when Tippoo made his descent upon them. To save the former from pillage, terms of peace were proposed by the government; and, on the 4th of April, a treaty with the Mysorean was concluded. The principal conditions were—a mutual restoration of all conquests, and a pledge of mutual assistance in defensive, but not in offensive, wars. The company were also to be permitted to build a fort at Hondhwar, in the North Canara, and to have the sole right of purchasing pepper in the dominions of Hyder Ali, paying him in guns, lead, saltpetre, gunpowder, and ready money—a condition which the directors severely reprobated, considering it highly impolitic to supply India's dangerous enemy with warlike *matériel*.

This peace had not been concluded many months before the Mahrattas invaded Mysore; and, in the course of 1770 and 1771, they overran the greater part of it, compelling Hyder Ali to retreat to Seringapatam, where he was besieged, in November in the latter year, by a large but not a very enterprising force. At the commencement of the war Hyder solicited the assistance of the English, which was declined, because he

was not engaged in a defensive contest, the hostilities having been brought on by his intrigue with certain discontented Mahratta chiefs, and his having made preparations to invade the Mahratta territory. Hyder did not forget this refusal—which was strictly in conformity with the terms of the treaty—at a future period. The siege of Seringapatam was not conducted with any great skill or energy, and it lingered for some time. During its continuance, the titular Rajah of Mysore—whose very existence was, as it were, ignored by the man who yet pretended to be only his general—attempted to open a communication with the Mahratta chief. Unfortunately for him, this became known to Hyder Ali, and occasioned his being strangled while bathing. His brother was proclaimed his successor, who did not live long, and then a child was invested with the mock dignity. Soon after, the Mahrattas were bought off by a grant of territory, and the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees in ready money; the payment of an additional sum of fifteen lacs being promised at a future period.

In 1770 the English forces appear to have been unoccupied, and the three presidencies were at peace; but in 1771, Mohammed Ali having, or fancying that he had, cause of complaint against the Rajah of Tanjore, induced the Madras government to aid him in an expedition into the rajah's dominions. The English took the field under Brigadier-general Smith, and having crossed the frontier, halted before Vellum, a strong fort about nine miles from Tanjore. Siege was laid to this fort, and a breach being effected, it was watched, in the night of September 25th, by a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel (late Major) Bonjour. "About midnight he observed the fire of the enemy slacken near the breach; and, thinking it a favourable moment for carrying the place, he directed Captain Cosby, with a few of his men, to try how far it might be practicable: this, that officer accordingly did and having, with some difficulty, reached the top, and being closely followed by some of his people, the enemy, panic-struck, was soon driven from the ramparts, and abandoned the fort by the Tanjore gate on the opposite side." Captain Cosby and his men rushed forward, and had just got possession of this gate, and secured it, "when it was approached by a reinforcement, for the garrison, of some of the best troops in Tanjore, who had orders to defend it to the last.

* Munro's *Operations on the Coromandel Coast*.

They were only in time to receive a discharge of musketry from the new masters of the place, of which they did not wait a repetition.* Captain Cosby was put in command of the fortress, and the main body marched forward, and invested Tanjore. The approaches against this city were carried on with great rapidity, though the troops were greatly in want of food, and suffered severely till the arrival of a convoy dispatched for their relief by Captain Cosby. The condition to which the army was reduced is shown in the following letter from Brigadier-general Smith to the gallant commandant of Vellum.

“At the siege of Tanjore, Oct. 17th, 1771.

“Dear Cosby,—I have received your several letters, and the convoy safe: we had not a grain of rice left when it made its appearance; and but for the supply you sent, God knows what the consequences might have been, for our sepoys began to grow very troublesome; and I wonder not at it, considering the fatigue they undergo.

“JOSEPH SMITH, *Commander-in-Chief.*”

But for this supply, the siege must have been raised. Soon after its arrival the rajah came to terms, and the army went into cantonments. Vellum was retained in the hands of the English, as a security for the fulfilment of the engagements entered into.—The English were soon involved again in hostilities with the rajah, as the allies of Mohammed Ali, whose claim for tribute was disregarded, either from inability or unwillingness to pay it. The army of the nabob was joined by 17,000 sepoys of the company's troops; the former having provided all the money, stores, and provisions. The allies besieged Tanjore, which was defended by 20,000 men. It was taken by assault on the 16th of September, 1772, the rajah and his family falling into the hands of the nabob, to whom the management of the country was confided, till a change was effected by the interference of the company at home.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS; THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN INDIA; THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMPANY; CORAH AND ALLAHABAD RETAKEN POSSESSION OF BY MR. HASTINGS; BROACH, BOOTAN, AND KOOCH-BEHAR; THE FAKEERS; FRESH ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE NABOB OF OUDE; THE ROHILLA WAR; BATTLE OF KUTRA; DEATH OF SUJAH-AD-DOWLAH; THE MAHRATTAS; TREATY WITH RAGOPA; BATTLES OF HOSSOMLEE AND ARRAS; STORMING OF AHMEDABAD; CAPTURE OF GWALIOR; WAR WITH FRANCE; WAR WITH HYDER ALI; DISASTERS OF THE ENGLISH; BATTLE OF PORTO NOVO; BATTLE OF PERAMBAUCAN; ARRIVAL OF LORD MACARTNEY; CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS; DEFEAT OF COLONEL BRAITHWAITE BY TIPPOO; DEATH OF HYDER; PEACE WITH TIPPOO; AFFAIRS OF TANJORE, BENARES, AND OUDE; DEPARTURE OF HASTINGS.

IN April, 1772, Mr. Warren Hastings superseded Mr. Cartier as governor at Bengal. He had come to England moderately rich: his generosity there caused him to return to India, in 1769, with little more wealth than he possessed when he first arrived in that country fifteen years previously; and he found all, or nearly all, his associates in his government men of immense property, chiefly acquired by the presents they had received from the native princes, which they had accepted without scruple or any regard to propriety. The affairs of the company, on the other hand, were in anything but a satisfactory position as regarded their Indian finances.—The cession of Bengal had by no means answered the

expectations which had been entertained. The company were assured that it would yield a surplus revenue of at least one million per annum; on the contrary, it did not defray its expenses; and between 1765 and 1771, bills were drawn by Bengal on England for £1,200,000, and a debt to the same amount was created abroad. This was partly owing to an agreement which the company entered into, to pay the British government £400,000 per annum as compensation for its claim to the territory; and from the collection of the revenues being left in the hands of a native, who appears to have thought rather of favouring his own countrymen than of doing justice to his employers. In other respects the affairs of the ceded provinces were in a state of great disorganisation. Except at Calcutta, there

* *East India Military Calendar.*

† See ante, p. 80.

was a total absence of "justice, order, or adequate protection to person or property anywhere in Bengal, Behar, or Orissa." The "boys of the service being sovereigns of the company, under the unmeaning titles of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people."—The company at home resolved to remedy this state of things in their possessions abroad; and the zeal, and independence, and talents for government displayed by Hastings, who since 1769 had been second in council at Madras, led to his appointment as governor in Bengal, where the supreme power belonged to the company, which had not yet, however, assumed the style of sovereignty. "They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin. There was still a nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded with princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less share than the youngest writer or cadet in the company's service."*

When Warren Hastings assumed the government, the system which Clive had inaugurated was still continued in force. For two years he administered affairs under that system; during which time he "sedulously employed himself in forming and carrying into effect plans and regulations for the internal tranquillity and happiness of Bengal. He regulated the collection of the public revenues, and the administration of civil and criminal justice: he formed foreign alliances, which added to the security and wealth of the presidency: he opened a communication with Egypt by the Red Sea: he deputed a public minister to Tibet, and kept up a friendly intercourse with the Lama."† In October, 1774, Mr. Hastings became the governor-general of India, under the new constitution of the country which had been enacted in 1773. The increase of his power, however, from Bengal being in-

* Macaulay's *Warren Hastings*.

† *East India Military Calendar*.

vested with supremacy over the other presidencies, was more than counterbalanced by the control which the four councillors appointed by the act establishing the constitution, were enabled to exercise over him. For several years there was a continual strife between him and his council; and no doubt many of his acts are quite indefensible on any moral grounds. Those for which he was most blamed, however, were committed with a view to improve the finances of the company, and not to benefit himself; and if he had not been thwarted in many things by Mr. Francis (afterwards Sir Philip) and his coadjutors, many of the disasters which marked the ten years of his administration as governor-general would have been avoided. It is not our province, however, to enter into the details of his civil administration: to the military events of his government we shall now confine ourselves.

Though the governor had introduced a new system into the administration of the affairs of Bengal, by substituting English for native collectors, abolishing the salary paid to Mohammed Rezi Khan, and remodelling the household of the young nabob, by which means he saved nearly £700,000 per annum, the want of money was still seriously felt; and the means resorted to for the purpose of recruiting the company's coffers were most unjust. The departure of Shah Alum from Allahabad to Delhi,‡ was made the pretext not only for withholding the annual tribute of £300,000 (which he had been agreed to pay him, and which the *sunnuds* or grants that form the title-deeds of the company distinctly made the first charge upon the revenues of Bengal), but also for refusing payment of the arrears—a course which seems to have been suggested by the company at home; who, in a despatch sent to Mr. Verelst as early as 1768, said, that if the emperor flung "himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, they were disengaged from him; and it might open a fair opportunity for withholding the twenty-six lacs of rupees which were paid to him."§ The Mahrattas, whose forced connection with the emperor afforded the pretence for withholding the tribute, obliged the unhappy sovereign to make over to them Corah and Allahabad. The governors left in charge of those districts by the emperor hesitated at

‡ See *ante*, p. 81.

§ Thornton's *British India*.

surrendering them, as their assignment to the Mahrattas had been forcibly obtained. They were told by Hastings, that they were right in not obeying a mandate issued under compulsion; but he at the same time insisted that the act of Shah Alum was a formal renunciation of his rights; and the English again took possession of those places.

At the time—towards the close of 1772—that these proceedings commenced, the first military operations during Mr. Hastings' government took place. In the month of November, during a brief dispute with the Mahrattas, a detachment of Europeans and sepoys, under Brigadier-general Wedderburn, was sent against Broach (supposed to be the ancient Barygaza), a fort on the Nerbudda, belonging to the Peishwa (as the ruler of that people was called.) The troops were disembarked under the orders of Lieutenant Hartley; and the approaches being made in due form, the place was stormed and carried, though with considerable loss. General Wedderburn was killed whilst reconnoitring previous to the assault; being shot through the head by an Arab. Thirteen officers were killed or wounded on this occasion; ten of whom were shot in the head.

About the same period, another detachment of the British army was engaged in assisting the ruler of Kooch-Behar, a small territory to the north of the Bengal presidency, between $25^{\circ} 58'$ and $26^{\circ} 32'$ N. lat., and $88^{\circ} 42'$ and $89^{\circ} 45'$ E. long., about sixty miles long, by forty in breadth.—In 1772 it was independent, under a rajah, whose hereditary minister of state rebelled in that year, and formed an alliance with the Der Rajah of Bootan, a country bounding Kooch-Behar on the north, and which is still partly independent, and partly dependent on Tibet. The inhabitants of Bootan, a resolute and daring people, overran Kooch-Behar, cruelly oppressing the peasantry; and the rajah applied for the assistance of the English to drive out the invaders. Hastings sent a battalion of native troops, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of Captain Jones, to the aid of the rajah; "and this force, after routing the rebellious minister, entered Bootan, stormed the hill fort (Dalim Koth), and ultimately compelled the aggressive rajah and his associate to sue for peace."*

Scarcely was this affair settled when the

* Thornton's *British India*.

Senassie Fakeers—a tribe of bandits, who ascribe to themselves the character of saints—entered Bengal in great numbers; and dividing into bodies of 2,000 or 3,000 each, scattered themselves over the country, burning villages, destroying the crops, and plundering the inhabitants. Five battalions of sepoys were sent in pursuit of these marauders, but few of them could be met with; and one body, which was encountered by a small British detachment, put it to flight, killing Captain Edwards, the officer in command, as he was attempting to rally his men.—At last they returned to their own country, between India, Tibet, and China, carrying with them a large booty, and inflicting a serious blow upon the finances of the company—mainly derived from the rents of land, which many of the Hindoos were, in consequence of their losses, quite unable to pay.

Soon after the expulsion of these troublesome marauders, the nabob of Oude and the governor-general met at Benares, for the purpose of concluding arrangements which it was deemed would be for the advantage of both. Mr. Hastings arrived at "the holy city" on the 19th of August, 1773; and the treaty was concluded in the beginning of September. By its provisions, Corah and Allahabad were sold to the nabob for fifty lacs of rupees; twenty being paid on the spot, and two years allowed for payment of the remainder. It was stipulated, "that no European whatsoever should be permitted to reside in Oude without the knowledge and consent of the company." The territorial rights of Cheyte Sing, the young Rajah of Benares, were confirmed to him; the English being bound to support that chief. And as the nabob had, or fancied he had, some cause of quarrel with the Rohillas, arising out of a pecuniary demand, it was further agreed, that an English army should join him in a war with that people, and assist him in annexing the territory to Oude. For this service the nabob agreed to pay forty lacs of rupees, and defray all the expenses of the troops.—This part of the treaty was in direct opposition to the repeated orders of the directors; and also to a resolution passed by the council in July, 1772, when Sujah-ad-Dowlah applied to them for aid against the Mahrattas—"that no object or consideration should tempt or compel them to pass the political line which they had laid down for their operations with the vizier, which were



JOACHIM MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.



QUEEN HORTENSE, DAUGHTER OF THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.

to be defensive only." The governor-general kept it concealed as long as he could; and when it became known, it caused serious difficulties between him and his council.

The country at that time inhabited by the Rohillas, was "bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the north and east by the mountains of Tartary. It was to the province of Oude, in respect both to its political and geographical position, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was open on the south, where it touched Oude;" and Hastings contended, that its "reduction would complete the line of defence of the vizier's dominions, and, of course, leave the English less to defend, as he subsisted on their strength entirely. It would also add much to his income, in which the English would have their share."* This country had been gradually acquired since the days of Mohammed Shah;† and the inhabitants were distinguished from the neighbouring peoples by their fair complexion. They were amongst the bravest of the brave, but too impetuous to be restrained by the strict rules of discipline; and it is said, the chiefs could bring 80,000 men into the field. "Agriculture and commerce flourished amongst them, nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry;"‡ but of their character there are various accounts. By some they are said to have been an amiable people; that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" could with propriety be applied, were to be found among them; and that many persons, even in the present century, "had heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Affghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund."§ Others, on the contrary, assert that they were the most "predatory, sanguinary, and barbarous of the Affghan tribes." Probably, as in many other cases where such extremes are resorted to, the truth lies between; but if they were as bad as their worst enemies describe them, that does not justify the aggressive policy of Sujah-ad-Dowlah, in which the English abetted him.

We have seen that the Rohillas had been unable to stand against the Mahrattas, who had gained great successes in Rohilcund, and that Zabita Khan, the Rohilla chief,

* Letter to Mr. Sullivan, by Warren Hastings.

† See ante, p. 21.

‡ Macaulay

§ Macaulay.

had retired to Seheranpore.|| There, after a time, he made preparations for war with Shah Alum, who called in the assistance of the Mahrattas; and Sujah-ad-Dowlah, wishing to appropriate Rohilcund for himself, and not to see it permanently occupied by a people whose enterprising bravery and restless disposition rendered them such dangerous neighbours, entered into an alliance with the Rohillas, to which the English became parties. Hafiz Rehmet was the leader of the Rohillas in the active hostilities which ensued. They soon ended in the Mahrattas receiving a bond for the payment of forty lacs of rupees, on which they withdrew all their forces from Rohilcund. This bond passed into the hands of Sujah-ad-Dowlah, who guaranteed payment of the specified sum to the Mahrattas; and after the treaty of Benares, which secured the aid of the English in the accomplishment of his purpose, he made the non-payment of the forty lacs of rupees by the Rohillas a reason for commencing hostilities against them, pretending that the bond had been given for the expenses incurred by himself and the English in resisting the Mahrattas, and not as an indemnity to the latter. The bond stood in the names of the various Rohilla chiefs; and Hafiz Rehmet, protesting against the demand, nevertheless paid his share; but the others refused to submit to what they considered an unjustifiable extortion. This brought on a war, in which an English contingent joined the forces of the nabob in an invasion of Rohilcund. This is the clearest account we can make out, from the very confused notices of the transactions which exist, of the origin of the Rohilla war, one of the most disgraceful transactions in which the English in India were ever engaged.

It was early in 1774 that Sujah-ad-Dowlah applied to the governor of Calcutta for the stipulated aid; and the latter avowed himself "glad of any occasion to employ the East India Company's forces, as it saved so much of their pay and expenses."¶ The second brigade of the Bengal army—that which was stationed at Allahabad—was destined for this service; and early in February, Colonel Champion (who, in the preceding year, had succeeded Sir Robert Barker as commander-in-chief of the English army) received orders to hold himself in readiness to join the nabob. It was not

|| See ante, p. 87.

¶ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*.

till the middle of April that the latter was prepared; and on the 17th of that month the united army crossed the Rohilla borders. The Rohillas were then encamped on the side of the Babul Nullah, in an excellent position, their numbers being variously estimated at from 25,000 to 40,000 men. They would have had no fear of the enervated troops of the nabob, but Hafiz did not wish to encounter the English; and he made overtures of peace, which Sujah-ad-Dowlah refused to listen to, unless two crores of rupees were paid on the spot. As it was impossible for the Rohilla chief to comply with this demand, he resolved to give battle to the enemy, and, on the 23rd of April, he appeared at the head of his army, near the village of Tessunah. Colonel Champion's own force consisted of six battalions of sepoy and the 2nd European regiment, with several pieces of cannon; and they accepted the challenge of the Rohillas with their usual fortitude. "Supported by a consciousness of superiority, from reputation, from discipline, and from success, they prepared for the attack with that cool and temperate confidence" which was the best guarantee of victory. The Rohillas, fighting in the presence of their homes and their families, made the attack with great bravery. "Their rockets, their matchlocks, and their artillery, were discharged with unexpected rapidity and resolution, and galled the British lines with no inconsiderable effect. They even made several attempts to charge;" but the well-sustained fire from the artillery and infantry prevented these attempts from being successful. "Unable to advance, and disdainful to retreat, they pushed on with eagerness wherever the contest was most fierce;" and the closer they came to the British ranks, the greater was the slaughter. "Their vigorous exertions, nevertheless, continued for hours, equally obstinate and ardent;" during which time the British did not obtain a single advantage except what resulted from their superior skill in the art of war. Notwithstanding the torrent of fire which was poured in upon them with incessant impetuosity, several of the Rohilla chiefs advanced again and again with exemplary gallantry; "and when their followers hesitated, they pitched their colours between the two armies, urging them to renew the attack." Notwithstanding their numbers, however, there appeared no possibility of their gaining the day. After three hours'

fighting, they began to break and disperse. Hafiz Rehmet—a fine "old warrior, conspicuous from his long white beard, stately bearing, and noble charger, whose enlightened mind, polished talents, beautiful poetry, and amiable morals endeared him to his friends, and rendered him the favourite of the people among whom he lived—was slain while rallying with great bravery the scattered remains of a broken and dispirited army." One of his sons, and several chiefs of note, were also slain when engaged in the same task; and then the remains of the army, which had appeared in the field in the morning in such numbers, turned and fled. Up to this period, the nabob, "treacherous to the commander-in-chief, whom he had promised to meet in the field of battle," had remained at a distance, surrounded by a large body of horse and artillery, and his army had taken no part in the fight. But as soon as the fortune of the day was decided, and the Rohillas in full retreat, then the men who had remained inactive whilst the British achieved the victory, were let loose in pursuit of the fugitives, and to plunder their camp. "The British troops, preserving their ranks and order inviolate, were only heard to mutter, 'We have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit.'"^{*} This battle, in which the Rohillas left about 2,000 men on the field, is called the battle of Tessunah, of Kutra, of Futtehgunge, and of St. George.

The victory was decisive of the fate of Rohilcund, for there was no other army to make head against the invaders. The three following days were occupied by the troops of the nabob in the most disgraceful acts of pillage and plunder; whole villages were burned, and their inmates compelled to leave the country; and Colonel Champion estimated that 100,000 individuals were thus deprived of house and home. His remonstrances with Sujah-ad-Dowlah were useless; and when he applied to the governor-general to interpose for the family of Hafiz Rehmet, his humane interference was checked with the remark, that fighting, not diplomacy, was his business; and that nothing must be done which could give the nabob a pretext for withholding his promised subsidy.—On the 7th of May, both armies marched to the city of Bisuli, or Bissowlee, where quarters were prepared for them, but where they did not remain long. The surviving Rohilla chiefs had

^{*} Orme's *Transactions in India*.

ralled the remains of their forces at Nugeenan, a town on the northern frontier of the country, where, under Fyzoolla Khan, they made a stand, and resisted several attempts to dislodge them. The campaign ended by the nabob's ceding Rampoor and certain dependent districts, yielding a revenue of upwards of £150,000 per annum, to Fyzoolla Khan; the Rohilla agreeing to surrender half the treasure he had contrived to carry off. The Hindoo population transferred to the vazier of Oude by this arrangement, was computed at 2,000,000.—Thus ended the Rohilla war; soon after which Colonel Champion left the service, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Sir John Clavering as commander-in-chief.

Just about the period that the Rohilla war came to a close, Mr. Hastings, who, as simple governor, had exercised almost absolute power, became governor-general, with increased responsibility; but with a council which had the power of control over his actions. He was soon involved in disputes with this body; and in the midst of them, in January, 1775, Sujah-ad-Dowlah died, having in his last moments dictated a letter to Hastings, earnestly soliciting his protection for his son, Asoph-ad-Dowlah, who was acknowledged as his successor; and who, shortly after, was induced by the council to cede, by treaty, to the company, Benares, Jounpoor, and some contiguous districts; and in return, the English engaged "to defend the soubahdar of Oude at all times." It was also "stipulated, that a brigade of British troops, consisting of two battalions of Europeans, one company of artillery, and six battalions of sepoy's should be stationed at Oude, whenever required by the nabob; for the support of which he agreed to pay an annual amount of about £312,000."* The territory thus ceded, and the annual revenue of which was estimated at 22,000,000 rupees, had been guaranteed by Hastings, in 1773, to Cheyte Sing; and he refused to ratify the treaty, which was ultimately, however, approved by the directors. In the meantime the rajah was confirmed in his possessions, on condition that he should become a zemindary of the company, paying them a certain tribute.

We have, at pages 19 and 25, noticed the rise and progress of the Mahrattas, who, when Hastings became governor-general of India, had greatly extended their conquests. They had possessed themselves of half the

* Thornton.

provinces of the wide domain over which Aurungzebe was once emperor; and various large states owned the authority of the descendant of Sevagee. One tribe, the Bonslas, had established themselves in Berar. In the first quarter of the century, the Guicowar, or herdsman, founded the dynasty which so long held sway in Guzerat. About the same time another humble dependent—a Soodra, of the Koombi, or cultivator tribe—founded the family of Scindia, one of whose descendants was afterwards famous in the Mahratta wars; as was Holkar, whose ancestor, Malhar Holkar, a Mahratta soldier, first received a grant of land in Malwa in 1736; in which limits his descendants had largely increased their possessions. Other chiefs sprung up, and acknowledged the nominal supremacy of the Mahratta rajah; whose authority since 1749—when Balajee Rao, his Peishwa (*i.e.*, "leader," or "prime minister"), succeeded in engrossing the whole powers of the government—had been merely nominal. The office had become hereditary in the family of Rao; and, at the period of which we are writing, while "the heir of Sevagee was a mere *roi fainéant*, who chewed bang and toyed with dancing girls in a state prison at Sattara, his Peishwa, or mayor of the palace, kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and his authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor."†

A dispute relative to the succession of the office of Peishwa, between some members of the families of Mahdoo Rao, who held that important post from 1761 to 1772, caused the English, in 1775, again to be involved in war. Since the brief period of hostilities with the Mahrattas, in 1772, there had been no renewal of the differences between them and the East India Company's authorities; and, in 1774, the latter were called upon to assist one of the aspirants for the supreme rule in the Mahratta territory. When Mahdoo Rao succeeded his father, his uncle, Ragoba Rao, was appointed regent during his minority; and when he attained the proper age, Ragoba wished to retain the authority he had for several years exercised. A struggle ensued between the uncle and nephew, which ended in favour of the latter, and the former was placed in confinement. Mahdoo Rao is described as having been "patriotic, unselfish," and one of the best rulers the Mahrattas ever had.

† Macaulay.

Finding his end approaching, he sent for Ragoba, and earnestly entreated him to be true and faithful to and to guide the counsels of, his brother, a youth of seventeen, who was to be his successor. Ragoba promised, and the brother, Narrain Rao, was formally invested as Peishwa. For some time amicable feelings appeared to exist between the uncle and nephew; but after awhile differences sprung up, and ended in the former being again placed under restraint, which, however, was not long continued.—Narrain Rao had not held his power much more than twelve months, when he was murdered in consequence of a plot formed against him, in which it is doubtful whether Ragoba was concerned; but he was declared Peishwa. He had not long exercised his authority, when the widow of the murdered chief gave birth to a posthumous son, for whom she claimed the office as heir to his father. “Ragoba asserted that the child was spurious; but his title was maintained by a powerful party, and he was installed as Peishwa. In this state of affairs, Ragoba applied to the government of Bombay for assistance.”*

To the north of the island of Bombay lies another small island, called Salsette, now united to the former by an arched stone bridge; and about twenty-seven miles to the north of Bombay is the seaport of Bassein. The possession of both these places had been long desired by the East India Company; and when the application from Ragoba was received, the government of Bombay at once agreed to recognise his title, if he would give up to them the island and port. Before the negotiations were concluded, “intelligence arrived that the Portuguese were fitting out an expedition at Goa for the recovery of Salsette and Bassein,” which were originally settled by them, and had been seized by the Mahrattas. “To prevent these places from falling into the hands of their European rivals, the Bombay government took immediate possession of them, informing Ragoba that the measure was merely precautionary, and not intended to affect his rights.”† In 1775 a treaty was concluded at Surat; and Ragoba agreed to give up, in perpetuity, Salsette, Bassein, and certain other territories, in return for the required assistance.

The force intended to aid Ragoba was collected in April. It consisted of 160

* Thornton.

+ *Ibid.*

lascars, 500 European infantry, 1,400 sepoy, and eighty European artillerymen, with fourteen pieces of cannon. The command was given to Lieutenant-colonel Keating, who first marched to Cambay, an ancient town 230 miles north of Bombay. On arriving there, it was ascertained that Ragoba had been defeated near Arras, by the troops collected to support the claim of his infant rival. Ragoba himself joined the English with a few followers at Cambay; his army having, after its defeat, retreated to the mountains. A forced march was immediately made by Colonel Keating to meet the fugitives, who joined the English detachment, after marching ninety miles without halting, with elephants, camels, bazaar, and baggage, in a wretched state. The able-bodied men amounted to about 12,000.—As it was found that rest was absolutely necessary for both divisions of the confederated army, they halted for several days; when, finding that the enemy was encamped a few miles off, the British tents were struck, and they marched along the banks of the Sabermuttee to the village of Hossomlee; from whence the Mahratta army was perceived on the opposite side of the river, advancing in “battle array.” It presented a formidable appearance, as it consisted of 60,000 men, the greater part being cavalry, with fourteen pieces of artillery, worked by Europeans, chiefly French. The English commander immediately formed his troops into a line for battle; and a cannonade was opened on both sides, and continued across the river for two hours. At length the enemy’s guns were silenced, and their left wing and centre compelled to retire. The right wing kept its ground; and a strong body of the Mahratta horse crossing the river, repeatedly charged a detachment of the English troops, under the command of Captain Stewart and Lieutenant Torriano. There were two field-pieces with this detachment, which were so well directed by the latter officer, that the enemy was repulsed; and, at noon, the whole body was in full retreat, having lost two sirdars, or principal officers, several of inferior rank, and about 400 men; besides three elephants, and a number of horses and camels. On the side of the English, three Europeans and five sepoy were wounded; none killed. As generally happened when the English were acting with Eastern allies, Ragoba’s men appear to have been mere spectators of the strife.

This victory was followed by another at Dabrun, in which the confederated chiefs suffered great loss; 1,200 men being killed and wounded. The British next marched to Hyderabad, where they were again met by the confederates, and a sharp encounter of two hours took place, which also ended in the repulse of the enemy, who suffered severely: very few of the English were either killed or wounded. On entering the plains of Arras on the 18th of May, the enemy was once more perceived advancing in two divisions; and they commenced the attack by cannonading the rear of the English, where Ragoba was stationed on his state elephant; his body-guard having, at his own request, been strongly reinforced from the English detachment. The English line was formed as soon as the cannonading commenced; and a further reinforcement of infantry was ordered to Ragoba's assistance. The confederates far outnumbered the allies; but the artillery of the English soon silenced their guns and dispersed their cavalry; and Colonel Keating then ordered a strong party to advance and seize their cannon. Lieutenant Torriano volunteered to lead the detachment, which consisted of two companies of the Madras European infantry, under Captains Myers and Serle; and a battalion of sepoy, with a howitzer and some field-pieces. On observing their approach, the enemy retired with their artillery at full speed, and threw in a strong body of cavalry between their guns and the British, who twice charged the detachment with great impetuosity, but were repulsed and put to flight. At this moment another large body of cavalry, with several war elephants, penetrated between the British advanced party and the line. As they declared themselves Ragoba's partisans (and their declarations were confirmed by Hurra Punt, one of Ragoba's officers), they were suffered to approach unmolested. But the troops were enemies, and Hurra Punt was a traitor, who was overheard calling upon them to seize the opportunity of striking a decisive blow by cutting off the advanced division; in consequence, they commenced an attack upon that devoted body, and nearly succeeded in surrounding it. Gallantly did the English fight, and repulsed the enemy in front and rear; but many were cut to pieces; amongst them Captains Myers and Serle. By some unaccountable mistake of the officers who succeeded to the command of the grenadiers, that troop,

facing to the right-about to change their ground, commenced a retreat. The other Europeans and the sepoy followed their example; and, to add to the confusion, a tumbril of shells belonging to the howitzers, being pierced by a rocket, exploded. The men maintained tolerable order till they reached a thick hedge of the thorny milk-bush. In an attempt to force their way through it, they were entirely disorganised, and all the efforts of their officers to re-form them were vain; several officers lost their lives in the attempt. Another detachment of the confederated army now came up, and made a fresh attack on the scattered fugitives, the survivors of whom at last reached the British line, which was rapidly advancing to the rescue. A brisk interchange of volleys and grapeshot now commenced; and the enemy was again beaten off, leaving the English masters of the field. Whilst the engagement continued, Lieutenant Torriano recovered a field-piece which had been left in the hands of the enemy. The battle of Arras lasted nearly four hours, and was dearly purchased by the allies, who lost seven European officers killed, and four wounded; eighty rank and file were also killed or wounded, and 200 sepoy. The enemy lost seven principal officers, upwards of 1,000 men, with a great many horses and elephants; and were so dispirited by the result, that they ever after cautiously avoided a regular engagement. The traitor, Hurra Punt, received the fit reward of treason—he was cut to pieces by Ragoba's Arabs.*

It was expected that the enemy would be again encountered at Fazilpoor, a fortified village in the district of Moultan; and as the allies would have to march through deep defiles, and also to cross the Myhee river at a pass where it was fordable, Lieutenant Torriano offered to proceed from Bettasee, and reconnoitre the route; also to examine the fortresses on the banks of the Myhee, where, from the strength of the position, it was supposed the confederates would endeavour to make a stand. His offer was accepted. A select troop of cavalry was ordered to accompany him; and Ragoba also provided a fleet steed, to facilitate his retreat, should it be necessary. He returned, at midnight, with the pleasing information that the enemy had crossed the Myhee after the battle of Arras; and placing a garrison in Fazilpoor, the main body had

* *East India Military Calendar.*

retreated towards the Nerbudda, leaving the pass of the Myhee free; and as the garrison quitted the fort on the appearance of the cavalry, there was no impediment to the passage of the army. The troops were accordingly moved across; and entering the British territories in the Broach pergunnah, they remained a few days to refresh, and then made a forced march to surprise the enemy's camp. They were obliged to halt during the night, and at daybreak the next morning proceeded to the heights of Raughan, from whence they discovered the enemy encamped about three miles distant. As soon as they caught sight of the British advanced guards, they struck their tents with the greatest precipitation, and the bed of the river was soon filled with camels, elephants, and fugitives. Their bazaar, escorted by 700 cavalry, crossed in safety; and though the English were only able to secure an elephant, twenty camels, and 200 horses; and one detachment, without orders, crossed the river, and obtained some plunder from the rear of the enemy's bazaar; the enemy must have suffered considerably in this hasty flight. If the British could have continued their march during the night, they would have taken many prisoners and a great booty.—The army then encamped, in a low situation, by the side of a large tank formed to collect the surrounding waters. The situation was unfortunately chosen, and was the occasion of a great calamity; for the monsoon setting in sooner than was expected, the troops found themselves, in a few hours, in a liquid plain. The soil was loose, the tent-pins gave way, and the tents fell down, leaving the whole army exposed to the contending elements. "It requires a lively imagination," says the author of the *East India Military Calendar*, "to conceive the situation of 100,000 human beings of every description, with more than 200,000 elephants, camels, horses, and oxen, suddenly overwhelmed by this dreadful storm, in a strange country, without any knowledge of high or low ground, the whole being covered by an immense lake, and surrounded by impenetrable darkness, which prevented any object from being distinguished, except such as the vivid glare of lightning displayed in the most horrible forms. No language can describe the wreck of a large encampment thus instantaneously destroyed, and covered with water; amid the cries of old men and helpless women, terrified by the piercing shrieks

of their expiring children, unable to afford them relief. During this fearful night, 200 persons and 3,000 cattle perished; and the morning dawn exhibited a shocking spectacle." Shortly after this calamity, the British retired into winter quarters at Dhalbooe, a fortress in the Guicowar's territories—one of the most magnificent places in the East. Ragoba, with his forces, encamped at Billaspoor. After the monsoon broke up, Colonel Keating employed himself in bringing the Guicowar to terms, who had acted a very treacherous part towards the British at the commencement of the late campaign. In the end a treaty was concluded, by which certain cessions of territory were made, and sums of money paid; part of the latter being sent to the select committee at Bombay, and part divided amongst the troops.

The conduct of the Bombay authorities, in recognising Ragoba, and taking up arms in his cause, was displeasing to the council of Bengal, who sharply reprimanded the former for neglecting the new regulations, which placed the control of the foreign policy of the presidencies in the hands of the governor-general and the supreme council. The council ordered the cause of Ragoba to be abandoned, and said they should send Lieutenant-colonel Upton, of the Bengal establishment, to Poonah, to conclude peace. Of course this was very displeasing to the Bombay authorities; but they could not help themselves; and, in 1776, Colonel Upton proceeded to Poonah, where, after some delay, he concluded a treaty, by which the title of the infant Peishwa was acknowledged; and Salsette, with some small islands near it, were confirmed to the English: but they agreed to give up Bassein, and also the territorial cessions made by Futteh Sing, the Guicowar. The terms of this treaty were never fulfilled. "The Poonah ministry was divided into two parties, one headed by a chief named Moraba, the other by Nanah Furnavese. Moraba and his party were disposed to make Ragoba regent; Nanah professed views nearly similar; but as he proposed to carry them out through the assistance of the French, the government of Bengal became alarmed, and authorised that of Bombay to support Ragoba. A new treaty was hereupon concluded by the Bombay government with Ragoba, in which it was stipulated, that he was to exercise the office of regent, with full power, during the minority of his

rival claimant; and the authorities at Bombay engaged to apply for orders from the company to sanction the following extraordinary arrangement:—that if Ragoba should be able to prove the child supposititious, Ragoba should become Peishwa; but if the child should really appear to be the son of the deceased Peishwa, then, on his attaining the age of seventeen, the government and country should be equally divided between him and his uncle Ragoba.”*

To carry out the views of the authorities in India (which were in accordance with those of the directors at home, from whom despatches were received, approving of the conduct of the Bombay government, which the council of Bengal had censured, a majority of the members being opposed to the governor-general), troops were dispatched to Poonah from both Bengal and Bombay. The force sent from the former consisted of six battalions of sepoys, one company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry, which were placed under the command of Colonel Leslie, and marched across the centre of India; their first rendezvous being Kulpee, a town on the right bank of the Jumna, near Cawnpoor. The force assembled there consisted of 103 European officers, 6,234 native troops, and “camp followers”—including the bazaar, bearers of the baggage, officers’ servants, &c.—to the extraordinary number of 31,000.—This army left Kulpee on the 12th of June, 1778, having a march before it of upwards of 1,000 miles. The expedition was undertaken against the advice of Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, two members of the council; but the death of one of his opponents, and the new member supporting his policy, had given Mr. Hastings the ascendancy. The opponents of the expedition said it was madness to think of sending such a force to Bombay by land. The hardships encountered, from the heat of the weather and the want of water, showed that there was some reason for their opposition; but the result justified the governor-general for persisting in his bold plan, and proved that he did not miscalculate the powers of endurance or the perseverance of the troops. The officer, however, to whom the command was entrusted, was not found adequate to the discharge of his important duties. On crossing the Jumna he met with some resistance from Balajee, a Mahratta chieftain, who was easily overpowered. Balajee then joined his forces to those of the Rajah of

* Thornton.

Bundelcund, and the allied troops attempted to arrest the march of the English. They were defeated; and, by the middle of July, the British reached Chatterpoor, the capital of Bundelcund, where they were joined by a brother of the rajah, who disputed the succession. Colonel Leslie imprudently mixed himself up with the disputes of these brothers; and when he arrived at Rajaghur, one of the principal places of Bundelcund, he remained there so long, that Hastings recalled him, appointing Colonel Goddard to supersede him. Leslie died on the 3rd of October, before the letter of recall reached him. He had been ordered, after he crossed the Jumna, to hold himself at the disposal of the presidency of Bombay: his successor was released from this restriction, and left to act according to his own judgment and discretion. Soon after he assumed the command, he put the troops in motion, and quitting Bundelcund, directed his route through Malwa, or Central India—an extensive table-land, elevated from 1,500 to 2,500 feet above the level of the sea. The army had a march of 285 miles to the Nerbudda; and though the men were not distressed by a want of necessaries, they were greatly harassed by detached parties of Mahrattas, who cut off stragglers, and carried off their cattle. At night also, after they pitched their tents, they were constantly annoyed by rockets being thrown into the camp. Nevertheless, they pursued their route, and reached the Nerbudda on the 1st of December. Here Colonel Goddard waited for despatches from Bombay, which at last arrived, informing him that an army had been sent to Poonah, which it was hoped he would meet in the neighbourhood of that city.

The Bombay army had not been ready to commence operations till the end of November. It consisted of 4,500 fighting men, under the command of Colonel Egerton and Colonel Cockburn, who were accompanied by a controlling committee, at the head of which was General Carnac, who had the lead in the council at Bombay. They had a difficult march through the Ghaut mountains; and after accomplishing that boldly enough, either from the indecision of Colonel Egerton—who, besides being quite inexperienced in Indian warfare, was in infirm health—or the vacillating councils of the committee (always a clog upon the movements of an army), they advanced only eleven miles in eight days. On the 4th of January, 1779, they were, however, in full march for

Poonah; but they saw nothing of the friendly Mahrattas, who, Ragoba had assured the presidency of Bombay, would join the army as soon as it passed the Ghauts. The march was continued till the 9th, when Poonah was only sixteen miles distant; and then the English found themselves opposed by an immense Mahratta force, nearly twenty to one of their own little band. The order was given by the civilians to retreat; and this was the signal for the Mahrattas to attack; and they harassed the English severely. At daybreak on the 12th, it was found that the army was surrounded on all sides; and it had to sustain a most furious assault. In various shapes, the conflict continued for fifteen hours without intermission, and only ceased, at last, through the weariness of the assailants. "The valour, the exertions, and evolutions of our forces were incredible;" whilst "the horse of the Mahrattas returned to the charge with an intrepidity and impetuosity which the grapeshot of the British, well-timed and well-pointed, only could repel. Nothing could appear more formidable than the velocity and fierceness with which they repeated the attacks, sword in hand."* They were principally the troops of Scindia, an able and ambitious Mahratta chief—the first who armed and disciplined his men in the European manner, placing them under Leborgne de Boigne, a French general, whom he had taken into his service. The rear-guard of the British was composed of Captain Hartley's grenadiers; and "this division, encouraged by the spirit and conduct of an officer whom they loved, by keeping up a constant and well-directed fire, probably saved the army from being cut to pieces." Scindia compared this rear-guard "to a red wall, no sooner beat down, than it was built up again."

This engagement was followed by the treaty of Worgaum, which was signed the next day. By this treaty it was arranged that the English were to be on the same footing with the sirdar (or rajah) of the Mahrattas, as they were in the time of Mahdoo Rao; all acquisitions (including Salsette) made since his day, were to be surrendered; the cause of Ragoba was to be given up; and he was, "by his own free consent" (as it was expressed in the treaty), "to commit himself and all his effects to Holkar and Scindia." It was further stipulated, that the English army from Calcutta

* *East India Military Calendar.*

should proceed no further, but return to Bengal, molesting no one on the road. This treaty, it is stated in the document, was framed by the mediation of Holkar and Scindia; and by a separate agreement with the latter, it was stipulated that Broach, with its pergunnah and government, should be delivered up to him, to hold "in the same manner as the Mogul did hold it."† For the fulfilment of these conditions, Mr. H. G. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart were left as hostages: and the army commenced its march back to Bombay. Previously to doing so, an order was sent to Colonel Goddard, ordering him not to advance; which order was countermanded by Carnac and his brother commissioners as soon as the retreating army descended the Ghauts. Nor were any of the other conditions observed; which, in fact, neither the commissioners nor the Bombay government had power to grant; and they were never ratified by the governor-general.

Colonel Goddard had crossed the Nerbudda on the 6th of January, 1779; and, on the 29th, reached Boorhaunpoor, 980 miles from Calcutta, where he remained till he received the order from General Carnac and his colleagues to retire. This order reached him on the 5th of February; but he considered that the commissioners had no power to enter into agreements binding him; as, though he was to act in concert with, he was independent of, the Bombay government. He therefore resolved to continue his onward progress, but, avoiding Poonah, to march to Surat, which is situated on the left, or south side of the river Taptee, 150 miles north of Bombay, and nearly 250 from Boorhaunpoor. The army commenced its march on the 6th of February. The route lay through the most productive provinces in Western India—provinces in which open villages and defenceless towns were every day met with. On the route to and from Bundelcund, the good conduct and admirable discipline of the troops, who abstained from all excesses, and every description of plunder, had gained them the good-will of the inhabitants; and their character appears to have preceded them, for they were everywhere well received; and as it was soon found that they scrupulously paid for all supplies, they were never destitute of necessaries. The march was performed in nineteen days; and on their entering Surat, great was

† *Transactions in India.*

the joy, and loud the acclamations, of the inhabitants.—It was indeed a memorable achievement, that march; and a great moral triumph. Writing home on the subject, Mr. Hastings said—

“Be assured, that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part, of the military force of Bengal, from the Jumna to Surat, has contributed more than, perhaps, our more splendid achievements, to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendancy of our influence over all the powers of Hindostan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting.”*

As a reward for his zeal, his good conduct, and his perseverance, Colonel Goddard was promoted to the rank of general; and the conduct of the war, as well as the terms of peace with the Mahrattas, were placed in his hands. At first, the ministers of the Mahratta rajah at Poonah, on learning that General Goddard was invested with full power to conclude peace, expressed an earnest desire to come to terms with England. And they informed the Bombay government, that they were making great preparations to take the field against Hyder Ali, at the opening of the ensuing season. Ragoba having, however, contrived to escape from Poonah, and to join the British at Surat, on the 12th of June, one of the demands made was, that he should be delivered up. This was refused by General Goddard, and then Holkar and Scindia changed their policy; they opened negotiations with Hyder, which terminated in an offensive alliance against the English; and General Goddard resolved again to take the field.

On the 1st of January, 1780, the army crossed the Taptee, and proceeded to the northward. In order to avoid having an enemy in his rear, Goddard determined first to subdue Futteh Sing, who was in alliance with the Mahrattas. He accordingly attacked and took Dhubbooe, after a trifling resistance; and then proceeded to Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Guzerat, situated on the left bank of the river Sabermuttee. At that time the walls were of immense extent, and for so vast a city, were remarkably strong. Though considered in a comparatively deserted condition, it was supposed to contain more than 100,000 inhabitants; and it was garrisoned by a body of the Guicowar's best troops.—On the 10th of February the batteries were

opened against this important place; and on the 15th the assault was made. Lieutenant-colonel Hartley commanded the storming party; and led in person, accompanied by his staff, the column of grenadiers which followed the forlorn hope, commanded by Captain Gough. On reaching the foot of the breach intended to be stormed, Colonel Hartley found that a trench had been sunk during the night, too wide and deep to be passed. On casting his eye to the right, he saw a tower in which a breach had also been effected; and immediately ordering the forlorn hope and column to wheel to the right, and exclaiming, “Follow me, my lads!” he led the way to the tower, and was the third or fourth on the top of the breach, where the British colours were immediately displayed. The town was carried with some loss to the British; amongst the killed being Captain Gough. Captain Earle, with 500 men, was immediately ordered to take possession of the place, when it was found that three practicable breaches had been made in the walls, a great many houses, &c., battered down, and many hundreds of soldiers and inhabitants lay dead and dying in the streets. On the 16th several thousand barrels of gunpowder were discovered; and the English soldiers being supplied with as much as they could carry, the remainder was thrown into the river.—The place did not remain in the hands of the English above ten or twelve days; for Futteh Sing having agreed to become an ally of the English, and joined the army with a large body of his troops, it was given up to him.

General Goddard's progress to the north was arrested by intelligence that Scindia and Holkar, with a Mahratta army, comprising about 40,000 fighting men, were marching upon Surat; he therefore returned to the south in pursuit of them. On the 4th of March he came up with the Mahrattas; but his attack was delayed by the arrival at his camp of the two hostages left with Scindia as securities for the execution of the treaty of Worgaum. They were liberated without conditions; Scindia not even requiring Lieutenant Stewart's parole not to bear arms against him, but telling him to resume his place in the army, as his sword was his subsistence.—A vakeel accompanied them to reopen the negotiations, which were continued through the month of March; but finding that the Mahrattas were only endeavouring to get time till the

* Letter to Mr. Sullivan.

rainy season set in, General Goddard tore up the papers; and, on the 3rd of April, he attacked and defeated the enemy, surprising them in their camp, and putting them to flight. This placed the entire country between the Ghauts and the sea at the command of the English.

Several other successes were obtained in the course of the year. Arnoult and Bassain, two strong fortresses in the Northern Concan, were besieged and taken by General Goddard; and Lieutenant Hartley, commanding a separate force in the Concan, repeatedly defeated the enemy, which constantly retired before him and his brave detachment. The most important affair took place on the 11th and 12th of December. On the first day, the British troops left their encampment at Dugun, to march to Vissrabei: but they had scarcely started, when they were attacked by the enemy, 20,000 strong, who brought three guns in front and two in rear, from which the loss of the British was very considerable. The engagement lasted from 6 A.M. till sunset, when the Mahrattas retired. Two parties, posted on eminences at each end of the line, being frequently pressed by the enemy's infantry during the engagement, before daybreak, on the 12th, these parties were reinforced, and a 3-pounder sent to each. In the midst of a thick fog that morning, the enemy renewed the attack on the right of the line, the cavalry charging in front, whilst the infantry attacked the flank. The gun posted in that direction in the night, now did great service; and so effectual was the fire from that piece, and from the artillery on the right, that the enemy retreated, and did not return.—On the 15th, General Goddard, who had advanced with the grenadiers and cavalry of his army to support Colonel Hartley, on hearing that he was engaged with the enemy, arrived in the camp; and, on the 23rd, by a resolution of a select committee of civilians which accompanied him, Colonel Hartley's division was placed under his command.

Previously to his junction with Colonel Hartley, General Goddard had received instructions which enabled him to offer the Mahrattas terms, as a basis on which it was reasonably expected a treaty of peace might have been concluded. The leaders of that people, however, thought that the affairs of England at that period were in anything but a prosperous state; and they at once re-

jected the propositions with a feeling very like contempt. In February, 1781, General Goddard made a movement, with a view to counteract this feeling. He resolved to attack Poonah; and marching to the foot of the Bhore Ghauts, he carried the pass by a *coup de main*, though it had not long before been strongly fortified. He reached Condola, a short distance beyond the summit of the Ghaut—a position he determined to occupy as a *dépôt*, from whence he could draw supplies, if necessary, in the progress of his operations, or make it a *point d'appui* in case of disaster. To defend it, he threw a redan across a rocky projection, skirted by a thick jungle, in his front. It was a wise precaution; for the enemy made various attempts to dislodge him. They had collected the whole force of the state to oppose his progress, and thinking that it was possible he might reach Poonah, “they deliberately prepared to set the capital on fire, together with everything intermediate that could furnish forage or subsistence, in the hope of insuring his unconditional surrender.” Finding the immense force opposed to him upwards of 100,000 (of which about 60,000 were horsemen, whilst there were only 200 Bengal, and 500 Klundahur horse with the British army), the general did not move from Condola, from whence the enemy in vain attempted, for weeks, to dislodge him. At length, having lost two large convoys of grain and bullocks, it was found necessary to retreat. The march was commenced at night; “and the enemy, from their more intimate knowledge of the various collateral passes of the mountains, were enabled, on discovering the movement, to anticipate the arrival of the British in the Concan. The general deliberately continued his march to Panwell,” a small town or village, fifty-five miles north-west of Poonah, being continually harassed on the route “by large bodies of Arabs, who availed themselves of the numerous difficulties of a road encumbered with gulleys, rocks, and jungles, to annoy him, by which he lost a considerable number of men, and some valuable officers. Having passed this intricate tract, the enemy dared not venture into the plain, and the general proceeded onwards to Callian, and cantoned for the monsoon.”*

Whilst the events we have recorded were taking place in 1780, others not less important were occurring further to the north. There

* *East India Military Calendar.*

is a small hilly country, called Gohud, which lies between the territory of Gwalior and that of Oude, the rana of which, in 1779, had been originally a Jat zemindar or landholder, who, in the early part of the century, had risen to considerable power, by availing himself of the opportunities for aggrandisement which presented themselves. Towards the close of the above-mentioned year, the council of Bengal had concluded an alliance with this rana, whose country was overrun by the Mahrattas, and he himself shut up in his fortress of Gohud. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, four battalions of sepoys, of 400 men each, with several pieces of artillery, were sent to his assistance; and the council had also another object—to carry the war into Scindia's territory, and thus draw that chief from the west of India, where, as we have seen, he and Holkar were leading armies against the English. The command of the English force was given to Major Popham, whose first attempt was on Lahar, a strong fort in Scindia's territory, which the rana was anxious he should take; and to induce the English commander to undertake the siege with his small force, he represented it as much weaker than it really was. The English sat down before it, and as their artillery only enabled them to make a few imperfect breaches, which there appeared little chance of rendering more practicable, Major Popham determined to make a desperate attempt at storming. By extraordinary efforts a lodgment was made in the place; and "dreadful slaughter ensued on both sides. The enemy defended themselves with desperation; and it was not till the garrison, which had consisted of 500 men, was reduced to their killadar and a few dependents, that quarter was demanded. The British lost 125 men."* After this daring exploit, Major Popham soon cleared Gohud of the Mahratta invaders, and then prepared, in accordance with instructions from Mr. Hastings, to attack Gwalior, the principal fort in the possessions which had been acquired by Mahadjee Scindia and his father—the latter of whom was originally what we should call in England a small farmer. Scindia himself, at this period, was exceeded by few Indian princes, either in the extent of his territories or the uncontrolled power he was enabled to exercise. "He was the nominal slave, but the real master, of the unfortunate Shah Alum, Emperor of

Delhi; the pretended friend, but the real rival, of the house of Holkar; the professed inferior, but the real superior and oppressor, of the Rajpoot princes of Central India; and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer, of the family of the Peishwa."† His extensive possessions in Malwa were, however, the great source of his power. In 1741, Mohammed, the reigning Mogul, had granted that province in jaghire to the Peishwa, who intrusted its management to the father of Scindia: the father and son managed to get nearly the whole of that extensive territory into their possession.

Gwalior is a celebrated hill-fort, in the Gwalior territories. "The rock on which it is situated is completely isolated; though 700 yards to the north is a conical hill, surmounted by a remarkable building of stone; and on the south-east, the south, and the south-west, are similar hills, which form a sort of amphitheatre, at the distance of from one to four miles. The greatest length of the rock, which is from north-east to south-west, is a mile and a-half, the greatest breadth, 300 yards. The height at the north end, where it is greatest, 342 feet."‡ The sides are so steep, as to appear almost perpendicular in every part; for where they are not naturally so, they have been scarped away. The rampart, when Major Popham made his attack, ran all round the rock, close to the edge of the precipice; and the only entrance was by steps running up the side of the rock, which were defended, on the side next the country, by a wall and bastions, and further guarded by seven stone gateways, at certain distances from each other. The area within the ramparts was full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells, and cultivated land, forming a little district of itself. At the north-west foot of the mountain was the town, the houses of which were large, and pretty-well built of stone. To have besieged such a place would have been an idle and impotent undertaking. It was evident it could only be captured by surprise or blockade; and as time would not allow for the latter, the first afforded the only means of accomplishing what appeared to be a most desperate attempt.

It appears that a banditti from Gohud used to commit depredations about the town; and once, in the dead of the night, had climbed up the hill and got into the fort. The rana heard of this, but he was

* Thornton.

† Sir John Malcolm.

‡ Thornton.

afraid, with his own troops, to attempt a similar device for its capture. When he became aware, however, of Major Popham's intention to make an attempt on the fort, he informed that officer of the adventure of the robbers; and the major engaged some of them to conduct a party of his own men to the spot. They succeeded in climbing up in the night; and they found that the guards generally went to sleep after their rounds. The major, on receiving the report of his messengers, ordered ladders to be made, and also shoes of woollen cloth, stuffed with cotton, for the sepoy, to prevent noise. The preparations were carried on with the greatest secrecy; and very few were aware of what was in contemplation, till, on the night of the 3rd of August, a party was ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march under the orders of Captain William Bruce, brother to the celebrated traveller of that name. This was intended to be the storming party; and Major Popham put himself at the head of two battalions, which were immediately to follow it.—The detachment started from the camp at Reypour, eight miles from Gwalior, at 11 P.M.; and, passing through unfrequented paths, reached the fortress a little before daybreak. Just as Captain Bruce arrived at the foot of the rock, he saw the lights which accompanied the rounds, and heard the sentinels cough, which was the mode of signifying that "all was well," in an Indian camp or garrison. This enabled him to ascertain that the rounds were passed. The lights having disappeared, the wooden ladders were placed against the rock; one of the bandits, who had accompanied the party, then mounted, and returned with an account that the guard were retired to rest. Lieutenant Cameron, of the engineers, next mounted, and tied a rope ladder to the battlements of the wall; those ladders being the only ones adapted to the purpose of scaling the wall in a body, the wooden ones merely serving to ascend from crag to crag of the rock, and to assist in affixing those of rope. When all was ready, Captain Bruce, with twenty sepoy grenadiers, ascended without being discovered, and squatted down under the parapet. Three of this party fired upon some of the guard,* who happened to be lying asleep near them (an act not very chivalrous,

firing on sleeping men); this roused the rest of the garrison, who rushed in numbers to the spot where the firing came from, but were stopped by rapid discharges of musketry from the small party of grenadiers. While this was going on, Major Popham and his men were mounting by the ladders; and their appearance caused the garrison to retreat to the inner buildings, from whence they discharged a few rockets at the British; but soon after (probably discouraged and disheartened at a foe having obtained a footing on what they considered their impregnable rock), the privates retreated precipitately through the gate, leaving the principal officers, who, thus deserted, assembled together in one house, and hung out a white flag. Major Popham sent an officer to give them assurance of quarter and protection; and thus, in the space of two hours, this astonishing and important fortress was in the possession of the British, with the loss of only twenty men wounded—none were killed. On the side of the enemy, the governor was killed, and most of the principal officers were wounded.—The company held Gwalior for ten months, and then made it over to the rana,* from whom Scindia recovered it in 1784, by the treachery of one of the rana's officers, after an ineffectual siege of seven months.

Soon after the capture of Gwalior, Major Popham's services being required in another quarter, Lieutenant-colonel Jacob Carnac succeeded to the command of the troops destined to act against Scindia; and having received some reinforcements, the colonel, being then at the head of about 6,000 men, invaded Malwa, where Scindia—withdrawing from Western India, as Mr. Hastings expected he would do, on finding the war carried into his own territories—had assembled a large army. The British penetrated to Seronje, but were so harassed by the Mahrattas, that they were compelled to retreat, suffering many hardships and privations, both from being greatly in arrear of pay, and much in want of provisions. Notwithstanding, the utmost good order was preserved, and the men never lost their spirits. After several days' march from Seronje, learning that Scindia was encamped near the village of Durdah, Colonel Carnac resolved to attack him. This he did in the

* This account of the capture of Gwalior is abridged from a narrative written by Captain Jonathan Scott, the translator of Ferishta's *History of the Deccan*, and of the *Arabian Nights' Entertain-*

ments—then Persian interpreter to Major Popham. The narrative was supplied to Sir John Philippart, the editor of the *East India Military Calendar*, in which work it appeared.

night of the 24th of March, 1781, with complete success. The affair was a surprise on the part of the enemy, and, after some resistance, they fled in great disorder, leaving the guns, a quantity of ammunition, camp equipage, elephants, and a large quantity of grain, in possession of the victors; the latter was peculiarly acceptable. In the route of the enemy, the standard elephant—highly valued in an Hindoo army—was seen separated from the troops; and Lieutenant Shaw crossed the river Scinde, and captured it.—Shortly after this battle, Colonel Muir arrived with reinforcements, and took the command. Scindia, however, declined coming to close quarters with the English after the battle of Durdah; and negotiations for peace eventually commenced. They did not end till the 17th of May, 1782, when the treaty of Salbye was concluded, by which Mahadjee Scindia was recognised as a sovereign prince; and the British authorities agreed to evacuate all the territories he claimed to the right of the Jumna, he engaging to leave the rana of Gohud in unmolested possession of Gwalior, and of the surrounding countries—a condition which, as will be seen from what is before stated, he did not faithfully observe.

We have thought it best to keep the narrative of the Mahratta war uninterrupted, and have not, therefore, referred to steps which were taken in the early part of it, in consequence of the intelligence that war had been declared between England and France. This intelligence was received at Calcutta soon after the march of Colonel Leslie, with a part of the army of Bengal, to the west of India. Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler (the governor-general's two opponents in the council) wished that this force should be immediately recalled: but Hastings refused; insisting that he had sufficient men to defend the Bengal presidency without it. He took effectual measures for that purpose by strengthening the defences of Calcutta, forming a maritime establishment for the defence of the river, raising nine new battalions of sepoy, and forming a corps of native artillery out of the hardy lascars of the Bay of Bengal. The governor-general also resolved to seize all the factories which had been restored to the French in Bengal. The first assailed (Chandernagore) surrendered without resistance; as did Masulipatam and Carical: but Pondicherry having been, contrary to the conditions of the last treaty, strongly re-fortified, closed its gates,

and was invested by sea and land; the marine force being commanded by Sir Edward Vernon, and that on shore by Sir Hector Munro. The French had a squadron off Pondicherry, commanded by M. Tronjolly, which was defeated on the 10th of August, 1778, and immediately retired from that quarter. As the governor of Pondicherry still held out, the sailors and marines were landed to assist in the siege, and rendered good service in the management of the batteries. It was a work of time to effect a breach in the fortifications; but when a breach was made, and a combined assault by the soldiers and sailors planned, the governor, finding further resistance useless, surrendered early in October; and the walls, bastions, and batteries, were again razed to the ground.—Mahé, a settlement and seaport, containing an area of about two square miles, on the Malabar coast, was the only spot left in the possession of the French. The territory in which they stood had not long before been conquered by Hyder Ali, who made it the depôt for the military stores with which he was supplied by the Mauritius. On learning what had taken place in Bengal, Hyder sent a vakeel (ambassador or envoy) to Madras, to say, that if Mahé were attacked, he should invade Arcot. This did not prevent the orders of the governor-general from being carried into effect. In March, 1779, the fortress was invested by a force of Europeans and sepoy, under Colonel Braithwaite, to whom it surrendered on the 19th, not a shot having been fired. The colonel held it till the following November, when, being ordered to join General Goddard at Surat, he removed with his men, first levelling the fort to the ground.

Sir Thomas Rumbold, who was at that time governor of Madras, and whose conduct is not spoken of in the highest terms by contemporary historians (who say he thought more of improving his private fortune than of promoting the interest of his employers), was very anxious to ascertain, if possible, what were the real intentions of Hyder, in consequence of this disregard of his threat to invade Arcot; and he sent to his court at Seringapatam, Schwartz, the celebrated German missionary, who was the only person the Mysorean would receive as an ambassador. He is reported to have expressed the highest opinion of this faithful minister of the gospel, who he said, would not deceive him; and, during the Carnatic

war, his orders were, "to permit the venerable father Schwartz to pass unmolested, and to show him respect and kindness," as he was "a holy man, and meant no harm to his government"—a proof that even Hyder's treacherous and cruel nature could not resist the influence of true Christian principles. On this occasion Hyder received Schwartz graciously, suffered him to convey religious instruction to his European soldiers, and laid no restraint upon his communication either with them or with his native troops. The Indian and the German had frequent interviews; and, as an able historian* of India observes—"Perhaps two more opposite characters never engaged in familiar converse, than when the vindictive, ambitious, and merciless Hyder, sat and talked with the gentle, self-denying, peace-loving missionary, in one of the stately halls of the palace of Seringapatam, overlooking gardens adorned with fountains, cypress-groves, trees grafted so as to bear two kinds of fruit, and every refinement that luxury could suggest." The conferences ended by a verbal assurance from Hyder, that, if the English offered him the hand of peace and concord, he would not withdraw his. but the ambassador was the bearer of a written answer to his mission, in which Hyder enumerated a number of offences committed by the English against his sovereignty, concluding with these words—"I have not yet taken revenge; it is no matter."—Subsequently the Madras government sent a Mr. Gray to Seringapatam, as ambassador, who took with him an English saddle, and a rifle that loaded at the breech, as presents to Hyder. The presents were rejected, and a private interview refused to the envoy: but learning from one of his retainers that the English were desirous of entering into an alliance with him, he replied, that he, at one period, earnestly and repeatedly solicited such an alliance; but he was now able to stand alone. He was, in fact, well aware, from the reports of his spies, of the exact position of the Madras government, and was busily engaged in forming an alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, the object of which was the expulsion of the English from India. The intelligence of this alliance was sent to Madras, by Mahommed Ali, in 1779. It seems to have been utterly disregarded for about eight months; as it was

not till the following June that orders were given that a detachment which had been sent to protect Bassalut Jung (the brother of the Nizam, who had excited that ruler's displeasure by making over the Guntoor Circar to the company in 1779) should cross the Kistna, in order to be ready for service "*in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic.*" The command of this detachment had been transferred from Colonel Harper to Colonel Baillie; but no active steps were taken, after the issue of the order, to put the troops in motion.

At the close of the month of June, Hyder crossed the frontiers at the head of one of the best armies ever marshalled by an Indian power. It comprised 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, eleven battalions of topasses, † 2,000 artillery and rocket men, 400 Europeans, chiefly French, and upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon. This formidable army was accompanied by a complete staff of French officers, at the head of whom was M. Lally; and followed by an immense number of irregulars: it was independent of another body of 30,000 men, which were under the command of Tippoo. The Madras army that had to oppose the inroad of this host, did not amount to more than 6,000 infantry, about 100 cavalry, and a few pieces of artillery; and there was a divided council, with an empty exchequer—two circumstances fatal to success in war. It is true, before hostilities commenced, Lord Macleod arrived with 1,000 highlanders, and the council was promised aid by the nabob of the Carnatic; but Hindoo troops were never found of much utility; and those sent by Mahommed Ali to Madras did not redeem their character; they ran away or deserted, and were only an encumbrance to the English.

The Mahrattas pressed on, plundering Porto Novo, burning Conjeveram, and every town and village they came to—desolating the country from Cape Comorin to the Kistna; and finally laying siege to Arcot.—As soon as the accounts of terrified fugitives, from their ruined homes, put the council in possession of these facts, Colonel Cosby, then at Madras, was ordered by the government to proceed to the southward, there to collect all the disposable force south of the Coleroon; and Colonel Baillie

* Montgomery Martin.

† It has already been stated that these men were descendants from the Portuguese; they took their

name from "*Topee*," the Hindoo term for a hat, which they wore, and which is an article of dress never seen upon a Hindoo.

was ordered to proceed in the same direction—the two detachments to unite at Conjeveram, which was about fifty miles southwest of Madras, where Sir Hector Munro (who had attained the rank of Major-general, and was commander-in-chief at Madras) was to take the command. That officer had planned these strategies, and objected himself to vacate his place in the council, wishing Lord Macleod to take the command-in-chief of the English force. But his lordship, disapproving of the army being united at the distant point of Conjeveram, urged that the troops should be marshalled, with the least possible delay, on St. Thomas's Mount. This suggestion being declined, he refused to take upon himself the responsibility of what he considered the hazardous plan of Sir Hector Munro. It was not till the latter end of August (in consequence of differences in the council as to the course which should be pursued—differences which led to a duel between Sir Hector Munro and one of his colleagues, Mr. Sadlier) that the former was enabled to start for Conjeveram. His force consisted of 5,200 men, of whom the only Europeans were 800 highlanders. He reached Conjeveram on the 29th; but Colonel Baillie was not there. That officer was obliged to take an inland route, was detained eleven days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur, about five miles north of Trepassore, and it was the 6th of September before he reached Perambucam, fifteen miles from the general's position. There he was attacked by Tippoo, with an immensely superior force; for he had under him 30,000 cavalry, 8,000 foot, and twelve pieces of cannon; whilst Baillie's little army barely numbered 3,000 men: it had also been weakened by a mutiny in one of the cavalry regiments, which obliged him to send a part of it prisoners to Madras.—Still the Europeans and sepoy fought with such energy and determination, that they beat off their assailants, achieving what was, under the circumstances, a most splendid victory. It appears that no movement was made on the 7th; but on the 8th, Baillie wrote to Munro, informing him, he had suffered so much in the engagement of the 6th, that it was impossible for him to proceed for the purpose of forming a junction with the main army, in face of such an overwhelming force as was in the field against him. He therefore urged General Munro to join him with that main army, which no doubt he ought to have done.

Instead, he detached Colonel Fletcher, with the flank companies of the 73rd highlanders, under Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Baird, and Captain the Hon. John Lindsay; two companies of European grenadiers, and eleven companies of sepoy, to the support of Colonel Baillie. Some guides were sent with this detachment, whose fidelity Colonel Fletcher suspected; in fact, they were spies of Hyder; and he took an unexpected route, rejecting the one which they would have led him: he thus formed the junction in the night of the 8th, without obstruction—neither Hyder Ali (who had raised the siege of Arcot as soon as he heard of the approach of General Munro) nor his son being able to prevent it.

Both General Munro and Colonel Baillie remained stationary on the 9th of September; and that delay was fatal to the latter, as it enabled Hyder and Tippoo to form a junction; and when, on the evening of the 9th, the colonel commenced his march to join Sir Hector, he had not proceeded above a mile before he fell in with the enemy's pickets. An irregular fire was then commenced, which continued for several miles; and about midnight the men were halted nine miles from the general's camp, and lay on their arms all night, unmolested by the enemy.—On the morning of the 10th the march was renewed, and pursued for two miles, when the troops entered a small grove, where the Mysoreans had raised three batteries—one on each flank, and one in the centre. In these batteries, with the field artillery, were fifty-seven pieces of cannon, from which a heavy and destructive fire was opened upon the devoted English, who were attacked in front, flank, and rear, by not less, says a French officer who was present, than 25,000 horse and thirty battalions of sepoy, besides Hyder's European troops. All these attacks were repulsed; the enemy was driven back; the detachment was gaining ground—advancing in the form of a square, with the sick, baggage, and ammunition in the centre. The action had thus continued three hours, when, the horse being driven back on the infantry, and the right of his line beginning to give way, "Hyder determined to retreat; and a rapid movement, which Baillie made from the centre, appeared to have decided the fate of the day. Orders were sent to Colonel Lally to draw off his men, and to the cavalry to cover his retreat; when, in that instant, two explosions were perceived

in the English lines, which laid open one entire face of their column, destroyed their artillery, and threw the whole into irreparable confusion.* The gallant little band being thus deprived of their ammunition, Hyder's hopes revived. He ordered renewed attacks from the cavalry, which charged in separate squadrons, while bodies of infantry poured volleys of musketry: still a most heroic resistance was offered; and when at last reduced to 400 men, a square was formed on a small eminence, and an undaunted front still presented to the assailants. Having lost many of even that small force, Colonel Baillie at last went forward, and waved his handkerchief as a flag of truce, and as a sign of surrender. After some delay the signal was acknowledged, and an intimation given that quarter would be allowed. But no sooner had the men laid down their arms, than the enemy rushed forwards, and commenced an unresisted slaughter. Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed or died of their wounds (Colonel Fletcher being among the latter), thirty-four were taken prisoners, being wounded, and sixteen unhurt: the carnage among the soldiers was in the same proportion. All (even women and children) received the most brutal treatment, except such as were saved by the humane interposition of the French officers in Hyder's service. Thus this corps, with all its equipments of every description, was irretrievably and irrecoverably lost.† On perusing this faint account of a most heroic resistance to immensely superior numbers, the reader, we are certain, will agree in the opinion recorded by the French officer already quoted, that "too great encomiums cannot be bestowed on the English commander and his troops, who, in the whole of the trying conflict, preserved a coolness of manœuvre which would have done honour to any troops in the world."—The fate of the survivors of this action was worse than that of the killed. They were taken to Seringapatam, and lodged in prison; all who were not wounded being put in irons, and confined in an uncovered shed, with sleeping-places at the corners, supplied with mats; sixpence per day was allowed for food; and when ill, no medicine was allowed, or any care taken of the invalids. Some lived to be liberated, again to serve their country in

the field; but most of the prisoners died: Colonel Baillie was one who thus ended a glorious life.

Why Munro did not march to join Colonel Baillie, has never been satisfactorily explained: had he advanced on the rear of Hyder's army on the 10th of September, it must have been destroyed. It is said, "his rice-bags were empty, and his troops half-starved;" but even if they were, nothing could be gained by remaining idle and inactive. But idle they were, till the news of the events of the 10th was brought to the camp early on the 11th: then there was activity enough. Throwing his guns into a tank, and abandoning his tents and baggage, Sir Hector set out rapidly for the north, and reached Chingleput, thirty-six miles S.W. of Madras, the next day, where he was joined by Colonel Cosby. That gallant officer, when he left Madras‡ with only a few attendants, had, not without difficulty, reached Tanjore, the country being overrun by the enemy's cavalry and light troops. From the garrison of that town, from Trichinopoly, and the Tinnevely country, he collected two regiments of cavalry, and about 2,000 infantry, with six light guns. With this force he proceeded to the northward as rapidly as possible, in order to reach the rendezvous at Conjeveram. On his route he attempted to carry by assault the strong fort of Chitteput, of which the enemy had just obtained possession. The attack was well-planned and daringly executed; but the garrison were prepared, by the treachery of one of his guides; and, after losing a number of men, killed and wounded (two officers, Captain Billcliff and Lieutenant Eastland, among the former), the troops were withdrawn. After a few hours' repose, the colonel proceeded to Wandewash, where he ordered his tents to be pitched on the glacis of the fort, and left standing, as a blind to the enemy. This was the 10th of September; and, although forty miles distant from the scene of action, the sounds of the cannonading, in the engagement between Colonel Baillie and Hyder, were heard. All that night the troops marched on. They had arrived within ten miles of the place of rendezvous, when they encountered a large body of the Mysorean cavalry, flushed with their success, and on the look-out for this very body of men, of whose advance Hyder had obtained some intelligence. Fortunately, a

* Journal of a French officer who was in the engagement.

† Wilks' *Sketches of the South of India*.

‡ See ante, p. 108.

wounded sepoy, who had escaped from the slaughter of his fellows, informed Colonel Cosby of the real state of affairs; and the question was, should he retreat on Cuddalore, to the south, or advance to join Sir Hector Munro? He determined to adopt the latter course; and concealing from all but a few of his officers the alarming news he had heard, he gave as a reason for his change of route, that he had received instructions to move on Chingleput, in order to bring up provisions and stores, which were left there for the army. He formed his men into a compact column, with a regiment of cavalry in front, and one in his rear. The left of the column was protected by the river Panar, and the cannon were placed in front, with orders not to open fire till it was absolutely necessary; then they were to halt, and fire down the right of the column till the rear reached them, when they were to return to the front. There was skirmishing till they reached within a mile of Chingleput—parties from the rear regiment of cavalry, under Major Jourdain, keeping at bay the more daring of the enemy. The advancing troops were discovered by some of the officers of Sir Hector Munro when they were three miles from Chingleput, and were supposed, at first, to be a detachment of Hyder's regular troops. As soon as it was ascertained that they were English, it was known that they must be Cosby's division; and Sir Hector ordered such troops as could be immediately collected, to move down and cover his crossing the river: before, however, the first party reached the ford, the enemy, thinking further attempts fruitless, had retired. "The joy which the main army felt at this junction, was heightened by surprise, as Colonel Cosby had marched nearly 200 miles in a very short space of time, though great part of the country through which he came, from Trichinopoly, was overrun by the enemy."* It determined Sir Hector Munro (who was thinking of making for the Dutch settlement of Sudras, as the most likely place to receive supplies) to march immediately to Madras; and the army reached St. Thomas's Mount, nine miles west of the city, on the 13th of September. -As to Hyder, he followed up

his success over Colonel Baillie—a success which conferred on him no honour, as his troops outnumbered those of his opponent so immensely—by occupying several small undefended places, both in the company's and the nabob's territories; by renewing the siege of Arcot, which was taken; and by investing Chingleput, Vellore, Wandewash, and Permacoil.†

Great was the consternation at Madras when the results of the three expeditions of Sir Hector Munro, Colonel Baillie, and Colonel Cosby, were made known to the council. The first step taken was to dispatch the swiftest sailing-ship in the harbour to Calcutta with the intelligence. This vessel, "flying before the south-west monsoon," speedily reached its destination; and, in the words of Macaulay, "then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph." He resolved to sacrifice all minor objects to preserve the Carnatic; and in twenty-four hours his arrangements were made for the dispatch of both men and money to Madras. The command of the forces was given to Sir Eyre Coote, who, although a veteran in age, and somewhat infirm in health, was still one of the best officers in the company's service—one, too, whose superior rank gave weight to his authority. No time was lost in embarking the troops; and they reached Madras before a French expedition—which was anxiously looked for by Hyder, as he expected to be strongly reinforced on its arrival—had reached the Indian seas. The governor-general also sent another army to the Carnatic, under the command of Colonel Pearse. It consisted of four regiments of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery. This corps marched about 1,100 miles, along the sea-coast, through the province of Cuttack and the Northern Circars, to Madras; and their services were eminently useful in the campaigns which ensued.

Sir Eyre Coote took with him 500 Europeans (picked men), 600 lascars, and between forty and fifty volunteers. The military chest contained fifteen lacs of rupees; and the instructions of the governor-general were, that Sir Eyre should take the supreme command of the army; that the application of the money should be in his hands; and that the governor at Fort St. George should be suspended until further orders.—On the 7th of November, Sir Eyre took his seat in

* *History of the War in India from 1780 to 1784.*

† We are indebted for most of the particulars connected with the expeditions of General Munro and Colonels Baillie and Cosby, to the *East India Military Calendar.*

the council, produced the governor-general's orders, found that they were approved by the majority of that body, and immediately took active measures with the forces at his disposal (7,000 men, of whom 1,700 were Europeans), to check the further progress of Hyder; his object being to protect Wandewash, from which the enemy retreated upon the approach of the English. The latter could not pursue the retreating foe, for the French fleet had arrived off Pondicherry, and Sir Eyre Coote's attention was called for in that quarter.

At the last capture of Pondicherry the place was dismantled, and a very small garrison left there, which Sir Hector Munro had withdrawn when he marched against Hyder. The French officers had not been detained as prisoners, but liberated on their parole; and the fullest protection had been accorded to the inhabitants, who pursued their trade with the same facilities as they did when under the government of their own countrymen. Notwithstanding this lenity, no sooner did they find that the English were losing ground, and that an armament from France was expected, than they imprisoned the English resident, enlisted a number of sepoys, and commenced the formation of a depôt of provisions at Carangooly—a fort at no great distance from Porto Novo. Coote encamped on the hills behind Pondicherry, the inhabitants of which place he disarmed; and having succeeded, on the 19th of January, 1781, in relieving Chingleput, he dispatched Captain Davis, with 1,000 men, to Carangooly, from whence he was informed the French were removing the provisions they had collected there. The force under Captain Davis marched at midnight on the 20th; and on his arrival, instead of the fort being deserted, he found the garrison prepared to receive him. He resolved upon an immediate assault. The gate was blown open by a discharge from a 12-pounder; but on entering, this was found to lead to another gate, and that to a third. All were forced; the garrison from above firing briskly upon the British during the operation. When the former found that the last gate had given way, they rushed to the opposite side, not daring to risk a hand-to-hand encounter, and escaped by scaling-ladders, leaving the fort in the undisputed possession of the English. The latter lost a good many men; but the brilliant success was a revival of that *prestige* which preceding

events had somewhat dimmed; and as the enemy could carry off nothing, the guns and provisions fell into the hands of the victors, the latter being extremely acceptable.

Hyder Ali, as soon as he heard that the French fleet had arrived off the coast (it consisted of seven ships of the line and three frigates), had left the interior, and hovered on the flanks of the English, who in vain attempted to bring him to action. On one occasion, the two armies were so near each other, that Sir Eyre Coote exclaimed to his soldiers, "that the day of victory had arrived." But Hyder laughed at the anxiety of the British to bring on an engagement, and is said to have replied to a summons from Sir Eyre, to try the chance of war in the open field—"What! put my chargers, worth more than a hundred rupees each, in competition with your cannon-balls, that only cost a few pice!*" No, no: you shall hear of me often, but see me never. I will keep you marching until your legs are as big as your bellies, and your bellies the size of your legs; and then you shall fight when I choose, and not when you please."—His aim was to exhaust his opponents by wearisome marches, to relieve Carangooly, and to keep open his own communication with the sea. But the fall of the fort, and the departure of the French fleet, on the 15th of February, for the Mauritius—alarmed by the approach of a superior English force, under Sir Edward Hughes—caused him to retire into the interior; and penetrating into Tanjore, he left desolation behind him wherever his men halted for a brief period. In the meantime, Sir Edward Hughes, having destroyed a small navy which Hyder was collecting in the ports of Calicut and Mangalore, arrived, early in June, at Madras with reinforcements.

Learning that Hyder was threatening Trichinopoly, Sir Eyre Coote marched—about the time that Sir E. Hughes was landing the troops he brought over at Madras—to its relief. On his route, he attacked, on the 18th of June, the fortified pagoda of Chillambaram, near Trichinopoly, and about thirty miles S.W. from Cuddalore. Here he was repulsed with considerable loss. During the attack, all the Indian females belonging to the garrison were collected at the summit of the highest pagoda, where they sung, in a loud and

* Halfpence.

melodious chorus, songs of exhortation and encouragement to their people below. This inspired the latter with a species of frantic enthusiasm, which rendered them proof against all the attacks of their assailants. "Even in the heat of the attack," this musical performance "had a romantic and pleasing effect, the sounds being distinctly heard at a considerable distance."* The English had several officers and 300 men killed and wounded; and so elated was Hyder at this repulse, that he determined to venture upon an engagement before the English had recovered from its effects.

He had taken up a strong position between Cuddalore and Porto Novo, the latter a town at the mouth of the river Vellaur, which, rising near the base of the Eastern Ghauts, and traversing the country for many miles, is very contracted at its embouchure. Here he awaited the hazard of a battle, trusting the day had arrived when he might annihilate the only army that remained to oppose him; and so confident did he feel of success, that he absolutely issued an order, before the action commenced, that no prisoners should be taken.† He had thrown up intrenchments and formidable redoubts, after plans furnished by French officers; and as he had 80,000 men to Coote's 7,000, he might well hope for victory. Thus strong in men and artificial defences, he awaited the attack. The two armies were divided by a plain, beyond which, on the morning of the 1st of July, Hyder drew up his men; and, at nine o'clock, Sir Eyre Coote marshalled his army, and moved forwards, making a rapid advance upon the enemy's guns. At this moment, "a beautiful antelope was perceived, bounding from right to left, between the two armies—a circumstance that, in ancient days, would have been accounted an omen, and would by a Roman general have been turned to some material advantage, in an army where superstition prevailed so much as it did among" the Hindoos.‡ But the British required no aid from superstition; they relied upon their cause and their own stout arms, and the protection of the God of battles; and every man fought as if the success of the day depended upon his single efforts. The line advanced to action under a heavy fire, and the 73rd highlanders were particularly distinguished. The enemy's cavalry made

several charges, all of which were beaten off. After the last charge had been repulsed, and whilst Sir Eyre Coote was deliberating with his staff, whether he should attack the redoubts in front or in flank, an officer discovered a road which Hyder, only the evening before, had had cut through some sand-hills, with the intention, it was supposed, of enabling him, while the battle was raging in front, to come upon the flank of his enemy. Of this discovery Sir Eyre availed himself. Marching a portion of his army along the road, constructed for a very different object, he turned Hyder's position, and, after a fierce engagement of six hours, obtained a complete victory. Hyder, seated cross-legged on a stool fixed on a hill in the rear of his army, saw the disastrous result of the day; and was so overwhelmed with mortification and rage, that for some time he refused to move. At length, an old and privileged servant, forcing his feet into slippers, induced him to rise, and bringing up a swift horse, urged him to mount, encouraging his master by saying, "We will beat them to-morrow." Hyder did mount, and rode off; and his followers and all the troops which remained on the ground followed his example, carrying off their stores and guns, which the English were unable to prevent, having no cavalry. The English lost about 300 killed and wounded, the Mysoreans near 3,000, in this (for the former) glorious battle. During its progress, Sir Eyre Coote observed the bagpiper of the 73rd highlanders "stalking from right to left with astonishing composure, playing a favourite highland march, as if the fate of the battle depended entirely upon his exertions. 'Well done, my brave fellow!' exclaimed the general, 'you shall have a silver pipe when this battle is over.' And, accordingly, his excellency presented the regiment with a hundred pagodas, to purchase a handsome pipe in honour of that day."§

This disaster was a terrible mortification to Hyder, who is reported to have said, "The defeat of many Baillies will not ruin these English." It occasioned the recall of Tippoo from Wandewash, which place he had reinvested on the 22nd of June. Hyder wanted the troops under his son to reinforce his own army. Sir Eyre Coote was also reinforced by a body of sepoy, and he resolved to attempt the recovery of Arcot. Hyder planted himself in the road the

* Munro's *Operations on the Coromandel Coast.*

† Thornton.

‡ Munro.

§ Munro.

English must take, upon the very ground where he defeated Baillie; and a "stronger position could not be imagined. Besides three villages which his troops occupied, the ground along their front, and along their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and watercourses; their artillery fired from embrasures cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of the army laid behind them." In this position they were attacked by the English about 10 A.M. on the 27th of July, and the cannonade, which soon after became general, continued till about sunset. At first, the assailants found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, "as the cannon could not be brought up, without much time and labour, over the broken ground in front." By degrees, however, the English pressed forward, overcoming every obstacle; the enemy retiring, and always finding cover in the ditches and behind the banks. "They were forced from all before sunset; and after standing a cannonade for a short time on open ground, they broke, and fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjevaram."*

The enemy suffered great loss in this engagement, which is called the battle of Perambaucam; and the ground on which it was fought abounded with melancholy reminiscences. It was strewed with the relics of the comrades, friends, and relations of the then active combatants, who had fallen there near twelve months before. "One poor soldier, with the tear of affection glittering in his eye, picked up the decayed spatterdash of his brother, with the name yet entire upon it, not being effaced by the tinge of blood or the effect of weather. The scattered clothes of the flank companies of the 73rd were everywhere perceptible, as also were their helmets and skulls, both of which bore the marks of many furrowed cuts."† The sight animated the soldiers with an earnest desire to continue, without intermission, their operations against the foe who had so cruelly sacrificed, on that spot, many of their comrades after their resistance had ceased. The advantage gained on the 27th of July could not, however, be immediately followed up; for on this, as was the case on all occasions, "Coote was not provided with a sufficient quantity of provisions to render the action decisive. A victory was no

sooner gained than he had to retire to Madras for a fresh supply of grain;"‡ and delay was unavoidable. He lost as little time as possible, however; and his next effort, after obtaining supplies, was to relieve Vellore, which Hyder besieged, and the garrison were reduced almost to extremities by famine. Sir Eyre Coote marched about the 20th of September, with the intention of raising the siege. On the 27th, the two armies met in the pass of Kolinghur, where Hyder was defeated with the loss of 5,000 men; that of the English being about 100. Hyder, who only saved his army by the sacrifice of his cannon, immediately raised the siege of Vellore; Chittore and Palipett were also recovered; and before the army went into cantonments on St. Thomas's Mount for the monsoons, the enemy was either driven from, or had abandoned, all the places he had occupied, except Arcot.

During the campaign, on the 22nd of June, Lord Macartney had arrived at Madras, to assume the government of that presidency. His lordship brought intelligence of war having been declared between England and Holland; and he resolved to take possession of all the Dutch settlements and factories on the Coromandel coast. Sudras and Pulicat (the latter lying forty-two miles to the south, and the former twenty-two to the north, of Madras) offered no resistance; but Negapatam (160 miles to the southward of Madras) was a strongly fortified place, and required a large force to be sent against it. The governor, therefore, very much against the wishes of Sir Eyre Coote, dispatched Sir Hector Munro, with 4,000 men, to take the remaining possession of the Hollanders on the coast. Sir Hector's star, on this occasion, was in the ascendant. He lost no time in conveying his troops to the spot, or in investing Negapatam, which was defended by five lines of redoubts. After a bombardment of fourteen days, these were carried, one after the other; and the garrison of 8,000 men surrendered on the 12th of November. This was a rich prize; for a large quantity of arms, stores, and merchandise, was found in the place.—This success was followed up by the attack and capture of the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, by Admiral Hughes, and a detachment of 500 troops from Negapatam. The expedition sailed on the 2nd of January, 1782; the fort surrendered on the 11th; and thus

* Munro.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Munro.

the Dutch were expelled from all their settlements in the Indian sea.

Notwithstanding these successes of the English arms, it would be difficult to say which party was in the worst position at the commencement of 1782—the English or their enemies. The finances of the company were reduced to a very low ebb; and the effects of war were rendered more terrible by a famine which desolated the Carnatic, and, before the end of the year, produced the most deplorable results. “The streets of the forts, of the Black Town, and the esplanade of Madras, were covered with starved wretches, many of whom were dead, and others dying;” whilst “the vultures, the Paria dogs, jackals, and crows, were often seen eating the bodies before life was extinct.” Hyder Ali was unable to take advantage of the disasters of his enemy. Foiled in every battle by Sir Eyre Coote, he felt that a change of tactics was necessary; and “he determined to concentrate his force; to abandon his scheme of conquest in Coromandel, and to direct his undivided efforts, first for the expulsion of the English from the western coast, and afterwards for the preservation of his dominions, and for watching the course of events. With these views, he commenced, in December, 1781, the destruction of most of the minor forts of Coromandel in his possession; mined the fortifications of Arcot, preparatory to its demolition; sent off, by large convoys, all the heavy guns and stores; and compelled the population of the country, hitherto well protected, to emigrate with their flocks and herds to the Mysore.”*

The first enterprises of 1782 were as successful on the continent as they were in Ceylon. Tellicherry, a seaport town and military station in the district of Malabar, ninety-five miles south-west of Madras, was besieged towards the close of 1781 by a detachment of Hyder Ali's army, under Sirdar Khan, one of his best generals. It was defended by a brave garrison, under Major Abingdon, which was reinforced by a battalion of sepoy, under Captain Carpenter. On the arrival of this reinforcement, Major Abingdon resolved on a bold effort to raise the siege. In the night of the 7th of January, he made a sally, at the head of the garrison, upon the enemy's camp, and obtained a most brilliant and important victory. The Mysoreans were

completely routed and dispersed; sixty pieces of cannon, with all the baggage equipments, were taken, with 1,200 prisoners; one of them was the Sirdar Khan, who died of his wounds shortly after. A number of the besieging force, who took shelter in the dismantled French settlement of Mahé, soon after surrendered at discretion. “The lapse of years,” says the editor of the *East India Military Calendar*, “has caused almost a forgetfulness of such affairs as the sally in question; it was, however, very important at the time,” as “it critically terminated the siege of a position of great military and political importance, and discomfited a large army, with great loss to the besiegers.”

These successes were almost neutralised by a reverse which the British arms sustained in Tanjore, where Colonel Braithwaite was stationed with a detachment of English and native troops, about 2,000 strong, for the purpose of recovering the English ascendancy in that province, where the rajah had been restored, in 1775, by Lord Pigot.† Cut off from all sources of accurate information, and misled by spies, this gallant officer remained in his position on the banks of the Coleroon, perfectly unaware that an overwhelming force, under Tippoo, was gradually collecting around him. On the 18th of February he was attacked by 10,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 400 French, under Tippoo and M. Lally, who had with them twenty pieces of cannon. The attack commenced at early dawn, and was resisted, during the entire day, with the most determined gallantry. The action lasted twenty-six hours before the indomitable British and sepoy were wholly vanquished;‡ and then a bayonet charge by the French upon the decimated and exhausted sepoy, decided the contest. They were obliged to surrender, or were killed; and, after they had ceased fighting, the French had to exert all their energy to protect them from Tippoo's soldiers. Of twenty officers belonging to this detachment twelve were killed or wounded; amongst the latter was Colonel Braithwaite. The survivors were conveyed to the prisons of Seringapatam.

In January, Admiral Suffrein had arrived off the Coromandel coast, with 3,000 land-troops on board his ships, two-thirds of which were veteran French soldiers, and the rest were Caffres. M. Bussy, formerly

* Wilks' *Sketches in the South of India*.

† See *ante*, pp. 85 and 86.

‡ Munro.

famous in the wars of the Carnatic, commanded this force, which he succeeded in landing at Porto Novo, after an engagement, on the 16th of February, between the French and the English squadron, under Sir E. Hughes; in which, though inferior in force, the English inflicted great loss upon the French in men, as well as severely damaging their ships. About the same time, a number of transports arrived in the Indian seas from England with troops, a part of which sailed for Bombay, and a part for Madras. The latter, under General Meadows and Colonel Fullerton, landed safely. Those for Bombay were under the command of Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie; who, on landing, hearing of the dangers to which Madras was exposed, resolved to make a diversion on the Malabar coast. He had with him about 1,000 men; and Major Abingdon having, after raising the siege of Tellicherry, compelled Calicut—a seaport town in Malabar, 335 miles south-west of Madras—to surrender, on the 12th of February, the two commanders formed a junction at that place, from whence they made repeated incursions into Hyder's territories, capturing every place that resisted them, and driving the Mysorean force in the district from all its positions. Such were their successes, that Hyder was obliged to weaken his army in the Carnatic, to reinforce that in Malabar.

The French at Porto Novo were soon joined by Tippoo, exultant at the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite; and the first movement of the allied forces was to lay siege to Cuddalore, situated on the estuary of the river Panar, a hundred miles south of Madras. This place surrendered on the 3rd of April, and was immediately converted into a naval and military station by the French. It is said, that its surrender might have been easily prevented by Sir Edward Hughes; but he disdained to receive orders from the company's servants. Others of the king's officers, both naval and military, evinced a similar disposition; and to this difference between the authorities some disasters were owing, whilst it caused many advantages to be thrown away.—Sir Eyre Coote did not take the field till the 17th of April, his inactivity being occasioned by the want of supplies and differences with the civil authorities. At that time Tippoo was besieging Wandewash, which Coote relieved. Permacoil was, however, taken; and then Coote

marched in the direction of Arnee, encamping, on the 24th, on the spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy twenty-two years ago. The enemy would not fight, but retreated before him; and the English threatened Arnee, where Hyder had a large depôt of provisions, and also a well-stocked military chest. Coming up with the Mysoreans under Hyder near this place, the English defeated them with considerable loss; but while the battle was raging, Tippoo removed both provisions and money from the fort. Coote then returned to Madras, and on the route one of his European cavalry regiments was drawn into an ambuscade, and cut to pieces.—And now circumstances seemed culminating against Hyder. Bussy was obliged to retreat upon Pondicherry; Hyder took up cantonments on the coast; whilst Tippoo, with sepoys and a French detachment, hurried off in the direction of Calicut. The Nairs were rising to join Colonel Mackenzie; and the English concluded a treaty with the Mahrattas. This was the greatest blow to Hyder; but his policy did not fail him. He contrived to keep Sir Eyre Coote in inactivity, by pretending that he would join the Mahrattas in their alliance with England; and, at the same time, he was employed in recruiting and strengthening his own forces, and in arranging with M. Bussy for an attack on Negapatam.

In July and August the armies were nearly inactive; but there were several encounters between the English and French at sea. On the 2nd of July, Sir Edward Hughes fell in with the French, under M. Suffrein, steering for Negapatam. The English succeeded in bringing on an action, in which, though no captures were made, the French were so severely handled, that M. Suffrein was compelled to return to Cuddalore to refit. Sir Edward's vessels were also obliged to return to Madras for the same purpose. The French were first at sea, and being joined off Ceylon by two ships of the line, with troops on board, Suffrein attacked Trincomalee; and the garrison, weak and quite incapable of making a lengthened defence, surrendered on the 31st of August. Lord Macartney, who had heard of the departure of the French from Cuddalore, earnestly entreated Sir E. Hughes to follow, for the purpose of preventing any attack upon Negapatam and Trincomalee. Unfortunately, the indisposition before referred to, to receive instruc-

tions from those who derived their authority from the East India Company, influenced the admiral to turn a deaf ear to Lord Macartney's representations. He did not sail till the 20th of August; and, arrived off Trincomalee, he found that it had surrendered three days previously. He then made a disposition to attack the French in the bay; but M. Suffrein preferred fighting in open waters; and he came out, with sixteen ships, to attack the English with twelve. The action was one of the most desperate fought in those seas. The French were defeated, notwithstanding they had one-third more vessels than the British; and their ships made for Trincomalee in such confusion, that one ship ran ashore, and two others missed the entrance of the bay, and made down the coast. The slaughter on board of these vessels had been terrible—not less than 1,000 were killed and wounded, 380 of whom were on board Suffrein's own ship.

If Sir E. Hughes had known how to make the best use of his victory, he might, by landing his seamen and marines in the confusion, have retaken Trincomalee. But he returned to Madras, only to leave it again, as the monsoons were coming on, during which the anchorage was unsafe—refusing to act with Sir Eyre Coote in the reduction of Cuddalore. He sailed for Bombay on the 15th of October, and getting well out to sea that day, escaped the terrible monsoon which came on that night. The merchant ships at Madras were dashed to pieces; many of them had rice on board for the troops and inhabitants, all of which was lost, and then the horrors of the famine which we have mentioned as visiting the Carnatic in 1782, were aggravated to an inconceivable extent. The usual population of Madras and its neighbourhood had been increased by thousands of *Hindoos*, who had taken refuge there from Hyder's barbarity, and who called upon the English for succour, which they could not afford. Great numbers of these poor creatures perished; and of the inhabitants, it is said, that not fewer than 10,000 died before supplies for them could be obtained. The total number of victims, in the Carnatic, to this famine is estimated at half a million. It is painful to read, even at this distance of time, of the sufferings of the people, and of the patience with which they bore them. The natives, "whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous

days, had fallen short of our severest fasts—silent, patient, resigned, without complaint,"* met their fate. If the French or Hyder had been aware of the state of things, and had attacked Madras, it must have fallen; but they made no attempt even to prevent the arrival of supplies, which were received in time, from the Northern Circars and Bombay, to arrest the progress of famine, and to prevent the reign of pestilence.

Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Madras on the 19th of October, with five sail-of-the-line, having troops on board. He followed the admiral to Bombay; and not only was Cuddalore left unmolested, but the enemy was suffered to attack Negapatam. Sir Eyre Coote, from increasing infirmities, felt himself unable to continue his active exertions, and he embarked, before the end of October, for Calcutta. He was succeeded by General Stuart, whose first acts were to send 500 men to reinforce the garrison of Negapatam; 400 Europeans to strengthen General Goddard, who was at the head of a detachment, preparing to invade Mysore; and to reinforce the army in the Circars with 300 of the same force. The enemy at this time appeared to have fallen into complete inactivity, probably the result of the ill-health of Hyder, which rendered him unable to undertake himself, or to direct others to undertake, active operations. The only scene of hostile movements was Malabar, where the English, under Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie and Colonel Macleod, were opposed to Tippoo, at the head of 20,000 Mysoreans and 400 Frenchmen. Early in September the English took the field, and captured several forts. In October they sat down before Palagatcherry, or Palghat—a fine structure, built by Hyder Ali in 1757. The heavy artillery had been left at Calicut from the want of draught cattle; and, as it was found that Palghat could not be taken without the battering-train, Colonel Macleod resolved to encamp at a position near Paniany, a seaport, about thirty-five miles from Calicut, till it arrived. The army moved from before Palghat on the 22nd of October; and, from the conduct of the officer who conducted the movement in not giving proper orders, the baggage and stores were placed in the rear, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The English, however, reached Paniany, where they remained a month, waiting for their cannon

* Moodie's *Transactions*, &c.

and a fresh supply of stores. On the 28th of November they were attacked by Tippoo, and, after severe fighting, the Mysoreans were repulsed. Daily expecting a second assault, they were surprised to hear that Tippoo and his army were hastening to the frontiers, and they soon found that not a single Mysorean was left in Malabar. They were at a loss to account for this movement, which was caused by the intelligence Tippoo received of the death of his father on the 7th of December, in his camp near Arcot. Hyder Ali was one of the most powerful, perhaps the most powerful enemy the English ever had to contend with; and he was certainly the most distinguished amongst the Hindoo potentates, both for ability and crime. Thornton calls him "the fortunate adventurer, the energetic soldier, the accomplished dissembler, the unscrupulous usurper, the tyrant ruler, the ruthless invader, the rapacious and cruel extortioner, the achiever of many conquests, the perpetrator of many crimes, the author of countless miseries." Yet he was superior to Tippoo, his son and successor, in many respects; for the latter "had all the insatiable ferocity of the wild beast, whose name he bore,* when the fearful relish for human blood has once been acquired; and none of his victims could have suggested a more appropriate badge than the stripes of the royal tiger, which formed part of his insignia. With him, the delight of inflicting pain and degradation, physical and moral, seems to have been an instinct developed even in early boyhood." †

Two Brahmins, who were the chief ministers of Hyder Ali, and were also in the interest of his son, had suggested, when the recovery of the former appeared quite improbable, that his death, whenever it might occur, should be concealed till Tippoo could be communicated with. "The proposal was adopted, and the necessary measures concerted with those officers and domestics to whom the event must necessarily be known. Immediately after the stroke of death the body was removed, in a chest filled with aromatics, and sent, under an escort, in the manner in which treasure was accustomed to be conveyed; the persons entrusted with the charge being directed to deposit it in the tomb of Hyder's father, at Colar," a town in the native state of Mysore, sixty-six miles west of the spot where Hyder breathed his last. "It was subsequently removed by

Tippoo to the superb mausoleum at Seringapatam; and, on that occasion, 40,000 pagodas were distributed in alms, and in donations to the priesthood, for prayers offered up for the soul of the deceased, the number of whose villainies was almost equal to the acts of his life. Tippoo assumed the government with an extraordinary affectation of humility and grief. Hyder, at his death, had in the field armies numbering 88,000 men; and his treasury at Seringapatam contained cash to the amount of about three millions sterling, besides a great accumulation of jewels and other costly articles: the extent of the territory of which he had military occupation, though in some parts precarious and imperfect, comprehended 90,000 square miles, being three times the area of the present territory of Mysore." ‡ This was a splendid inheritance, the value of which Tippoo well knew; but the resources of which he was at a loss to develop; whilst he endangered its permanency by his rapacity and ambition.

The policy of the ministers of the late Hyder Ali did not prevent the government at Madras from receiving early notice of his death. Lord Macartney urged General Stuart to take instant advantage of the event, and to attack the Mysorean army whilst disturbed and unsettled by the loss of their chief. But the general claimed the right to exercise an independent authority, and would not move till the 5th of February, 1783. Dissensions also existed between Lord Macartney and the governor-general, Hastings, which induced the latter to send Sir Eyre Coote to the Carnatic, invested with an independent authority. On his voyage, the vessel on which he was on board was chased, for two days and a night, by a French ship of the line; and the agitation this occasioned, it is supposed, hastened Sir Eyre's death, which took place four days after he landed at Madras—thus, probably, preventing a decided breach between the governor-general and Lord Macartney; as the latter was not likely to submit to any intrusion upon what he considered his just rights and legitimate authority. General Stuart now continued in the command; and having withdrawn the garrisons from Wandewash and Carangoli, which he held it to be impossible to maintain (and for once Lord Macartney agreed with him), and blown up these fortifications, he marched against Tippoo, who was at the head of an immense army of native and European

* The "Tiger."

† Montgomery Martin.

‡ Thornton.

troops, with a fine park of artillery, whilst the British forces did not exceed 14,000 men. The enemy did not, however, wait for General Stuart to come up with him, for he withdrew as suddenly from the Carnatic as he had from Malabar in the previous December, recalling his garrisons from Arcot and other places, and making his way to the westward with all possible speed.

Tippoo found this movement necessary to defend his own dominions. The English, under Colonels Humberstone Mackenzie and Macleod (whom he had left, in December, at Paniany), divided after his departure—the sepoya proceeding to Telli-cherry, and the Europeans to Merjee. Here they were joined, towards the close of December, 1782, by General Mathews, who had been sent by the government of Bombay to invade Mysore with a considerable army, which he had reinforced by collecting the troops from the different towns he passed on the coast. That officer now assumed the command; and the first operations were directed against Onore, or Honahwar, a fortified seaport, situated on the north side of an extensive estuary, or rather inlet of the sea, which receives the Gairsoppa or Sheravutty, a river flowing from the Western Ghauts, at its south-eastern extremity. The town is in the Northern Canara, 340 miles south-east of Bombay, and 410 north-west of Madras. Formerly occupied by the Portuguese, on the decay of their power it was taken by the sovereign of Bednore, from whom it came into the possession of Hyder, and now formed part of the dominions of Tippoo. It was invested on the 1st of January, 1783; a practicable breach being made on the evening of the 4th, a flag of truce was sent, summoning the garrison to surrender. They refused; and the next day it was taken by storm. Several of the enemy fell in the first fury of the assault; the rest, to the number of near 2,000, received quarter, and were soon after (with the exception of a few officers) set at liberty. The number of those killed in the assault was about 350. Captain Torriano was appointed to the command of this fort and its dependencies, which General Mathews constituted the grand magazine of the army.—Cuddapah, however, being taken on the 16th, the magazine was transferred to that place.

On the 23rd, Fortified Island, a port near the northern entrance of the river, capitulated to Captain Torriano; and the town of

Bilghie, twelve or fifteen miles from the head of the Bilghie Ghaut, was taken by Captain Carpenter, the few troops there merely discharging their matchlocks at the entrance of the town, and retiring. A considerable booty of rich shawls, &c., was found in the palace of the rajah. This was one of the neatest and cleanest places the officers had seen; and those circumstances, and the romantic picturesque nature of the scenery, made their residence extremely pleasant and agreeable. February was ushered in by the intelligence that General Mathews had forced the formidable pass of Hussingurry; that he was in possession of Bednore; and that Hyat Saheb, the governor of the province, had delivered himself up to him. Before the 11th, Govindgurry and Ancola were taken possession of. On the 17th, the governor of Sedashugar having fled in the night, it was occupied by a detachment under Captain Carpenter. On the 26th, Annantapoor was taken by assault; on the 9th of March, Mangalore capitulated to General Mathews; and, on the 18th, Lieutenant Fyfe took Soupie by escalade.—There appears to have been very little resistance at any of these places—at some of them none at all.

There was a considerable amount of treasure found in the captured forts and towns—£800,000 being taken, it is said, from the treasury at Bednore alone. The application of this sum occasioned serious disputes between General Mathews and the other commanders, who wished it to be applied in discharging large arrears at that time due to the army. General Mathews refused to consent to any such appropriation; and Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, Colonel Macleod, and Major Shaw, left the army and proceeded to Bombay, to represent the conduct of the commander-in-chief to the governor and council. Those authorities were so displeased with his rapacity and selfishness, that they superseded him by appointing Colonel Macleod to the chief command. The three officers embarked on board a vessel, for the purpose of being conveyed to the head-quarters of the enemy. Unfortunately, they fell in with a Mahratta squadron, the commanders of which were, or pretended to be, ignorant of the treaty concluded with Scindia in the previous May.* The English vessel was attacked and captured by these Mahrattas, who were,

* See *ante*, p. 107.

in fact, no better than pirates. In the strife, Major Shaw was killed, and the other two officers wounded—Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie mortally; and he soon after died; whilst Macleod remained a prisoner, and was taken to Gheriah, from whence, however, he was liberated shortly after. But before any alteration in consequence of these events could take place in the command of the army, General Mathews had weakened his force, by dispersing a considerable portion of it amongst the small forts which had fallen into the possession of the English, and fixing his headquarters at Bednore: he remained there in the most careless military attitude possible, being alike destitute of the means of defence and of provisions. Whilst in this condition of fancied security (for if anticipating an attack, no man could have evinced so much indifference to the evident paucity of stores, ammunition, and men), Tippoo appeared before the city on the 29th of April, with the army which he had withdrawn from the Carnatic. The troops retired into the fort, which the Mysorean invested, the siege operations being conducted by M. Cossigny, a French engineer. A brave resistance was made; but it was overpowered by the superior force of the enemy; and at the end of April General Mathews capitulated, Tippoo professing to grant honourable terms. No sooner, however, had the troops laid down their arms, than, on a frivolous and unfounded pretence of a violation of the treaty, 600 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy were treacherously made prisoners, treated in the most ignominious manner, and marched with savage cruelty to different fortresses in Tippoo's dominions. They were closely confined, treated with great cruelty, and numbers died—amongst them General Mathews and several officers, who are said to have been put to death. The fortress of Annantapoor, invested by a part of Tippoo's army, and its feeble garrison being unable to make a successful resistance, had capitulated on the same conditions; but the garrison, on marching to Bednore, were made prisoners. The field-officers and captains were separated from the subalterns; the former being disposed of in different garrisons; and the latter, linked together in pairs by irons on their wrists, were marched off to Chittledroog, where they remained.

In April, in consequence of a panic occasioned by the sudden arrival of the enemy

in the Hydernugger Ghaut, Cuddapah was abandoned, and an attempt to retake it by a party from Onore failed; several officers and men falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 4th of May, a detachment from Tippoo's army attempted to retake the fort of Govindgurry; but it was repulsed, with the loss of two guns.—About the same time the enemy's camp near Mangalore was stormed, and four large guns, with their tumbrils, bullocks, and ammunition, were captured. Tippoo attached great importance to the possession of this place, which had one of the best harbours on the Canara coast. He invested the fort with some of his best native and European troops in the middle of May; and the gallant resistance of the garrison detained him before it for more than nine months.—On the 15th of May, Onore was invested by an army, 10,000 strong, under Lutoph Ally Beg, a Persian officer in Tippoo's service. The garrison then numbered 743 individuals, of whom only forty-two Europeans, thirty native cavalry, and 270 sepoy, were regular troops. Till the 25th of August, the operations of the siege were actively carried on; and the brave little garrison made several sallies, spiking the enemy's guns, &c. On that day Captain Torriano received intelligence from General Campbell, that a cessation of arms had been concluded with Tippoo, in which Onore was included; but a strict blockade was established till the final conclusion of peace.

During the siege of Onore and the subsequent proceedings, Captain Carpenter maintained himself at Sedashugar, and also kept the ports dependent upon it, having blown up and dismantled Ancola. The time was not spent in inactivity; the enemy were attacked, and sometimes they attacked the English; but the success was always on the side of the latter. The two last affairs were the most important. Towards the close of November, or early in December, an advanced post on Hydernugger Ghaut, under Lieutenant Ross and Ensign Price, and said not to number more than seventy or eighty rank and file, was attacked, about 7 A. M., by a large body of the enemy pressing upon them from the jungles on all sides. The steadiness of the sepoy, who were encouraged by the exertions of their officers, baffled all attempts to dislodge them; and on the approach of reinforcements, under Lieutenant Fyfe, between 1 and 2 P. M., the enemy retired. Captain Carpenter re-

solved to retaliate this attack upon the enemy, who had been long observed to have taken up a position at a village on the strand westward of the Terring, a river that ran at the foot of the Ghauts. This post, it was determined, should not remain undisturbed; and one morning, before day-break, the gallant captain put himself at the head of about 600 rank and file, and marched towards the enemy. The affair was completely one of surprise and affright; for as soon as the pickets of Tippoo's troops saw our advanced guard, they fled and gave the alarm to the main body; and the whole appear to have retreated, under a sharp fire, from the advancing British. Some of them returned the fire; but their movements were so rapid, that they could not be overtaken; and ultimately Captain Carpenter took up a position very near the one evacuated, where he remained, unmolested by the enemy, during the remaining period of hostilities.

There was not much more fighting in the west. A huge body of horse, under Rushan Khan, made an attack on the pickets of the army, which was repulsed: and, after a cessation of arms had taken place, the enemy attacked and cut in pieces one of its advanced posts. Colonel James Stuart was dispatched with a detachment in pursuit of the party which had thus violated the truce, but could not overtake it.

The army in the Carnatic under General Stuart, was left, after the departure of Tippoo to the westward, without any enemies to contend with, except the French, who, under M. Bussy, remained behind their fortified lines at Cuddalore. In the beginning of June, the English army set down before these lines; and, on the 13th, they made a general attack upon them, which led to severe fighting and skirmishing throughout the day. The French had four 26-pounders, from which they discharged canister and grape upon the English as they advanced, occasioning great carnage. In an attempt made by the grenadiers to turn the flank, and get in the rear of this powerful battery, the English had to wade through water and mud for half-an-hour; and a young corps, which came into action for the first time, retired panic-struck. Nevertheless the battery, and all the small works along the lines, were taken possession of; but a reinforcement of four regiments coming to the aid of the French, the English had to retire, having lost 1,500 killed and wounded. The loss of the French was quite as great.—On the

20th, there was an engagement at sea between Sir E. Hughes and M. Suffrein, in which the vessels on each side were much damaged, and a number of men were killed and wounded. It was a drawn battle; for, on the 22nd, M. Suffrein succeeded in getting into the harbour of Cuddalore, where he landed all the men he could spare, to assist M. Bussy in his defence.—On the 25th, a sally was made on the English trenches, in which the enemy were beaten off; Count Dumas, who led their left column, and about one hundred men, being made prisoners. Amongst those taken was a young sergeant, Bernadotte, who subsequently rose to the rank of a marshal in the French army, and died king of Sweden. In this affair, the number of killed and wounded was considerable on both sides; and the success of the British was, in a great measure, owing to the gallantry with which the native troops charged with the bayonet themselves, and the firmness with which they met the charge of the enemy.—Still the siege lingered, and M. Bussy attempted several times to surprise the English, but always without success. The situation of the latter, however, began to grow extremely critical. "A great scarcity of provisions prevailed, so that the cattle for the carriage of the tents, &c., were dying in the lines, and the army was unable to move for want of means to convey guns, tents, or ammunition. Thus everything wore a most gloomy and unpromising aspect; when, most unexpectedly, a flag of truce arrived from the enemy, announcing a peace in Europe between France and England, which was confirmed from Madras next day; and a cessation of hostilities took place, at a time when the ruin of the army seemed inevitable."*—General Stuart was ordered to proceed immediately to Madras, where, being engaged in fresh disputes with Lord Macartney and the council, they dismissed him from the company's service. Sir John Burgoyne, who was second in command, supported him in his resistance to the authority of the governor; but the latter ordered his arrest, and he was soon after taken to England.

After the reception of the news of peace being concluded with France, a detachment was sent from the army before Cuddalore, to join the southern army under Colonel Fullarton. The junction was effected near Dindigul; and the united force constituted

* *East India Military Calendar*.

a respectable body of men; but they were left to their own resources to obtain supplies, and suffered many privations in consequence. Out of this evil, common at that time, good arose; for to the early difficulties with respect to paying and supplying the troops, the excellence of the commissariat establishments in India, and the admirable regulations in force for the conveyance of provisions and stores, may be traced.—Colonel Fullarton's first operation, after the junction, was the capture of Palghat. To obtain access to the fort a road had to be cut through the Animallee forest—a work of immense labour, which was successfully accomplished. The fort was regularly invested in the midst of the rainy season, and the bombardment kept up with spirit. The Hon. Captain Maitland, when it had continued a few days, took the opportunity of a heavy fall of rain, to push forward his corps, and dash through the first gate, which was opened to admit some stragglers. The second gate was closed; but a parley ensued, and the place surrendered. Independently of guns, ammunition, and stores, 60,000 pagodas were found in the fort, which Colonel Fullarton divided at the drum-head, ninety falling to the lot of a subaltern.—Further successes attended the operations of this branch of the British army. Caroor, Dindigul, and Coimbatore were taken; and Colonel Fullarton was preparing to ascend the Ghats, and march on Seringapatam, when his career was arrested by the intelligence that peace had been concluded with the sultan of Mysore; and he was ordered to suspend operations, and give up all the places he had captured. These orders were received on the 28th of November, and the gallant colonel hesitated at obeying them; doubting, from what he knew of Tippoo's disposition, the sincerity of his desire for peace. He suspended his retrograde movement, therefore, till the middle of December, when a more peremptory order was received, which he was compelled to obey; and his army retraced their steps, after having accomplished a most extraordinary march, and reduced territories which “extended 200 miles in length, afforded provisions for 100,000 men, and yielded an annual revenue of £600,000.”* And though negotiations had been going on from the commencement of August, it turned out that they were not

concluded when the orders were sent to Colonel Fullarton. Tippoo was resolved to capture Mangalore before he signed a treaty. That fort was defended by Colonel Campbell, who had not 4,000 men in the garrison; whilst Tippoo had certainly fifty or sixty thousand native and European troops before the place, with a hundred pieces of cannon. † Breach after breach was made, which the besiegers attempted to storm; but they were invariably driven back at the bayonet's point. Not a thought of surrender was entertained, though the garrison was reduced to the greatest straits, and had to eat “horse-flesh, rats, mice, frogs, snakes, and carrion-birds.” Twice did General (late Colonel) Macleod appear off the port, with ships filled with troops; but, instead of landing them, and attacking Tippoo in his camp, he made agreements with that barbarian for permission for the garrison to procure supplies; which agreements Tippoo carried out, by ordering all persons to sell them nothing but damaged and putrid stores. At length, on the 23rd of January, 1784, Colonel Campbell surrendered, on the undertaking that the garrison were to march out with all the honours of war. For once Tippoo kept his word; and the heroic little band, which had so long defended the place (the possession of which the sultan considered as intimately connected with the fortunes of his house), marched to Tellicherry, taking with them their arms and accoutrements, and their baggage—the sick and wounded amounting to no inconsiderable part of their number. Soon after their arrival the gallant Colonel Campbell died, in consequence of the fatigue and sufferings he had undergone.

Mangalore captured, Tippoo suffered the English commissioners—Messrs. Sadler, Staunton, and Huddleston, whom he had treated with the greatest indignities, and who are said to have submitted “to nearly every form of derisive humiliation and contempt” ‡—to resume negotiations; and, on the 11th of March, peace was concluded. “The most important provisions of this document were, that Tippoo should evacuate the Carnatic and release the British prisoners; and that reciprocally, the Mysorean prisoners should be released by the British authorities; that the British government should cause the evacuation of all places occupied by their forces in Canara and

horse, 30,000 foot, 600 French infantry, and an irregular troop of French, Dutch, and Portuguese.

† Thornton.

* Fullarton's *View of the English Interests in India.*

† Some accounts estimate Tippoo's force at 50,000

Malabar; that rajahs and zemindars who had favoured the British, should not be molested on that account; and that all commercial privileges given to the British by Hyder Ali, should be renewed and confirmed.* Amongst the places surrendered to Tippoo, by virtue of this peace, was Onore, which was given up on the 28th of March, after a blockade of seven months, during a great part of which the sufferings of the garrison were very great: they "lived upon buffalo and horse-flesh mixed, to reconcile which to their loathing stomachs, there was constantly a dish at the commanding officer's table. Rats were roasted in all quarters; and, on the report of any cavalry horse being at the point of death, his throat was ordered to be cut, and his flesh was given to such Mohammedans, sepoy, and lascars as ate flesh, who flocked greedily to receive, and as voraciously devoured it."† The surviving officers and privates, taken at Bednore and other places, arrived at Madras in May. They had resisted all the entreaties and threats which Tippoo made use of to induce them to enter his service, and "gave an appalling account of the dreadful and wanton cruelties which they had endured."‡

In addition to the Mahratta and Mysore wars, there were, during the administration of Warren Hastings as governor-general, differences with Tanjore, Benares, and Oude to adjust; and those with Benares, at one time, threatened serious consequences. The dispute with Tanjore arose out of claims made by one of the company's servants upon the rajah Tooljajee, after he had been restored to his authority by Lord Pigot. These claims arose out of a debt, or a pretended debt, due from the rajah to Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, which he assigned to Mr. Paul Benfield, and which was supposed to be a collusion on the part of those two individuals, for the purpose of defrauding both the company and the rajah. The proceedings led to disputes between Lord Pigot and the Madras council, and the latter took the extraordinary step of arresting the governor, whose spirits and health succumbed to the insult, and he died eight months after his arrest, which led to the recall of the members of the council to England, where they were fined £1,000 each. Colonel Stuart, who had actually arrested the noble lord, was tried by a court-martial at Madras, and acquitted. The claims made

upon the rajah were, in the end, compromised; and, in 1781, a treaty was concluded between that prince and the company, by which the former agreed to pay an annual tribute of 114,286 star pagodas, and to advance 400,000 pagodas as a subsidy. This was the first alliance entered into between the British and the Rajah of Tanjore.§

The dispute with Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, is one of those occurrences which, though the impartial historian is bound to record, the friend of his country would wish to find blotted from the memory. We have seen that this Hindoo chief was guaranteed in the possession of his territories by the English authorities, upon his agreeing to pay a certain tribute.|| It appears that he did pay that tribute punctually; but the necessities of the company occasioned Hastings to make a further demand upon him, as a subsidy, which he paid, stipulating that the demand should not be repeated. It was, however, repeated; and as it was not complied with, troops were sent to enforce it, and the payment of an additional sum of £2,000 as a fine. In the third year the subsidy was again demanded and enforced, with a fine of £10,000, though the rajah sent Hastings a present of £20,000, which he transferred to the company's treasury. The next year, troops as well as money were demanded, and Cheyte Sing sent 1,000 of the worst characters his territory could produce. At this time he was detected in a correspondence with the enemies of the English authority, as he had been previously in an amicable intercourse with Clavering and Francis, the enemies and the opponents in the council of the governor-general: then Hastings, in his own words, "resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses."¶ In August, 1781, he set out for Benares, taking Mrs. Hastings with him as far as Monghir. Cheyte Sing went to Buxar to meet him; and when they encountered, he expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English, laying, at the same time, his turban in the lap of the governor-general—a mark, in the East, of the most profound submission and devotion. The two great men entered Benares together on the 14th; and directly after the demands of the English were made, and endeavoured to be warded off by the rajah, who was in return arrested by

§ Thornton.

|| See ante, p. 97.

¶ Hastings' *Narrative of the Transactions at Benares.*

* Thornton.

† *East India Military Calendar.*

‡ Thornton.

Mr. Markham, the resident, in obedience to the commands of Hastings, and placed in the custody of two companies of sepoy—an event which, though it occasioned neither opposition nor outcry at the moment, was the cause of a demonstration on the part of the inhabitants, that threatened the safety of the governor-general, on whom the fortunes of the English in India depended.

The inhabitants of Benares are amongst the most athletic and vigorous of all the various tribes of Hindoos; the city itself was the holy city of the worshippers of Brahmah; and was, at that time, filled with crowds of devotees, who looked upon the arrest of the rajah as an insult to their religion. The devotees joined the inhabitants in hastening to the palace to effect the release of Cheyte Sing, and an immense multitude, all armed, surrounded the building, and, attacking the sepoy who had charge of the prince, “the tumult,” in the words of Macaulay, “became a fight, and the fight a massacre.” The English officers fell, fighting sword-in-hand; very few of the sepoy escaped; and the gates were forced. The prize, however, had escaped—Cheyte Sing, during the sanguinary skirmish, had formed a rope of the turbans of his attendants, let himself down from a window, got into a boat, and escaped to the other side of the river, taking up his abode at the palace of Ramnaghur, opposite Benares. The devotees and inhabitants, when they found where he was gone, flocked after him: had they, instead, proceeded to the quarters of the governor-general, “it is probable that his blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of his party, would have been added to the carnage.”* As it was, nothing could be more critical than their position. With little money, no provisions, and surrounded by enemies, Hastings found means to apprise his friends of the difficulties and dangers by which he was surrounded, by an expedient that but few would have thought of. The Hindoos wear large gold ear-rings at home, which they lay aside when they travel, that the cupidity of robbers may not be tempted, keeping the orifice of the ear open by the insertion of quills or rolls of paper. Hastings wrote some despatches in the smallest of hands, which he rolled up and placed in quills, and these were inserted in the ears of messengers, whom he sent to his friends; one being addressed to Sir Elijah Impey, the chief

* Hastings' Narrative.

justice of Bengal, who, with his lady, accompanied Mrs. Hastings and the governor-general when they left Calcutta; and who, as soon as he received his message, exerted himself to the utmost to send relief to his friend. The same day, about 400 sepoy were collected round the quarters of the governor-general; and the officer who commanded one party which had rapidly advanced from Mirzapore, on receipt of one of the “quills,” rashly attacked the palace of Ramnaghur, where Cheyte Sing had taken shelter. The result was, that his men were mostly cut to pieces, and he himself was killed. This event inspired the multitude with fresh *furor*; and Hastings, leaving the wounded sepoy behind, availed himself of the shades of night, and retreated to Chunar, a fortress built on a rock, seventeen miles below Benares, and which rises several hundred feet above the level of the Ganges. It would be difficult to describe the exultation of the populace at Hastings' retreat: doggerel rhymes were composed in ridicule of his flight; for miles round, the whole population took up arms; and whilst the people of Benares quitted their various occupations to rally round their rajah, those of Oude appeared disposed to rise against their nabob, who being protected by the English, all his cruelties and exactions were laid at their door. “Even Bahar,” we are told, “was ripe for revolt.” These demonstrations encouraged Cheyte Sing to assume a haughty tone—that of a dictator, rather than of a dependent; and he even threatened to sweep “the white usurpers” into the sea. But Hastings was popular with officers and men. Though some of his messages miscarried, most of them reached their destination; and he was soon supplied with both money and troops, the latter under the command of Major Popham.—After the affair at Ramnaghur, the first hostile collision took place on the 29th of August, when a body of Cheyte Sing's men were routed near Chunar, leaving a quantity of rice and their baggage behind them. On the 3rd of September a larger corps was defeated, and several pieces of artillery taken; and on the 20th, the pass of Sukroot was carried, and the town of Pateeta, five miles south of Chunar, stormed. A few hours after, “the allegiance of the country was restored as completely, from a state of universal revolt to its proper channel, as if it had never separated from it.”†

† Letter from Mr. Hastings.

Cheyte Sing fled to Bidjey Gurh, or Biji-garh, a ruinous fortress, "on the top of a high mountain, covered from its base to its summit with wood," and situated fifty miles to the south of Benares. No time was lost by Major Popham in marching against this place; but, on hearing of his approach, the rajah took to flight, with everything valuable that he could remove. The governor-general says, he took with him an immense sum, and jewels of great value; but treasure to the amount of a quarter of a million was found in the fort, which was divided amongst the troops, whose pay had been in arrears for upwards of five months.—The rajah fled to Gwalior, where he died in 1810: his nephew, a minor, was nominated to the vacant rajahship, but merely as a viceroy under the English, who raised the tribute to forty lacs of rupees, and placed the executive—even to the management of the mint—in the hands of the governor-general.

Though the annual revenue of the company was increased by these transactions by the amount of £200,000 per annum, yet the immediate relief required was not obtained, for the treasury at Calcutta still remained empty; and as Asoph-ad-Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, was really indebted to the company to the amount of £1,500,000, the governor-general had applied for repayment before he went to Benares. The character of this chief is variously represented. One writer describes him as "one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes," whose "life was divided between torpid repose and the grossest sensuality." Another says, that though indolent and sensual, he "was not devoid of a certain description of ability and kindly feeling." But whatever his character, he had greatly involved his finances by extravagance; and the payment of the British troops quartered upon him, without whose aid he would have found it difficult to maintain his authority, was a constant drain upon his finances. He was on his way to Benares, for the purpose of meeting Hastings, when he heard of the events we have just described; and instead of returning to Lucknow, he proceeded to Chunar. There the governor-general again urged a settlement of the company's claims, and the nabob pleaded poverty; one reason of the exhausted state of his treasury being, he alleged, the large sums bequeathed, out of the revenues of the state, to the widow of

Sujah-ad-Dowlah and his mother—his own mother and grandmother. "The domains, of which they received the rents and administered the government, were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late nabob—a treasure which was popularly estimated at near £3,000,000 sterling—was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling; while Asoph-ad-Dowlah held his court in the stately palace of Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges."* These ladies—Begums, as they were called in the East—were said to have been active in exciting the people of Oude to insurrection in favour of Cheyte Sing; and also to have endeavoured to embarrass the government of the nabob himself; whilst detachments of the company's troops had been attacked by their retainers. A mass of evidence—most of it worthless—was collected by Sir Elijah Impey in support of these imputations; but on the presumption that they were true, a treaty was concluded at Chunar between the governor-general and Asoph-ad-Dowlah, by which it was agreed that the nabob should resume the jaghires of which they drew the revenues; and that their treasures should be seized, and paid over to the company. This treaty was signed on the 19th of September; and the nabob, charging himself with its execution, took possession of the jaghires without difficulty: but it was not so easy to get at the treasure. The Begums would not surrender it, and very severe measures were taken with their servants—especially with two eunuchs—to obtain the large sums they were supposed to possess. A detachment of British troops was also sent to take possession of Fyzabad, which surrendered without resistance. In January, 1782, about half a million was paid over to Middleton, the company's resident at Lucknow; but as it was supposed the Begums possessed much more, their servants were continued in prison for some months longer.—When intelligence of these events reached England, the directors were very indignant, and ordered restitution to be made; nor would they suffer Hastings to retain £100,000, for which sum the nabob had given him bonds.—Ultimately the jaghires were restored to the Begums, who "made a voluntary cession of a large share of their respective

* Macaulay.

portions" of the proceeds;* and who, many years after, were living at Lucknow enormously rich, as was one of the eunuchs who had been imprisoned, Almas Ali Khan.†—The money which Hastings obtained was all employed in payment of the army, and in carrying out the operations against Hyder Ali and Tippoo; and without such a supply, no doubt those operations must have been suspended; and probably the British empire in India would have come to an end. We cannot think, however, after all that has been written on the subject, that the end justified the means which were adopted to achieve it.

The administration of Hastings was quiet and undisturbed after the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo; and—the directors having refused to recall him, in defiance of a resolution of the House of Commons that they ought to do so—he remained at Calcutta till February, 1785. Before he gave up his office, Colonel Pearse and 2,000 sepoy, the remains of the army of 5,000, which had made the memorable march from Calcutta to Madras, returned to the former place; and they were received by him with the greatest marks of distinction; every honour he could confer being heaped upon them. One of his last acts was to issue a general order to the army of Bengal, thanking them for their past services, and stimulating them to future ones, for the advantage of their country; and when, on the 8th of February, he resigned his office, divested himself of the pomp of power, and, a private man, walked to the place of embarkation, he had a complete ovation, from the government house to the river-side. Many of his friends accompanied him down the Hooghly; and some went with him on board the vessel, returning with the pilot who took her out to sea. In fact, no governor-general ever left India more deeply regretted by those over whom he had been a temporary ruler. That Warren Hastings committed many faults—that he was guilty of some acts which cannot be justified—we think all must admit. But there cannot be a question, that all were done for the advancement of the company's interests, not his own; and under many disadvantages, and an accumulation of adverse circumstances which would have daunted and disheartened a weaker mind, he persevered, and left the company's empire in India in a

much better position than that in which he found it.—When he first assumed the government, it was saddled with a debt of more than £2,000,000, contracted in peace, and a revenue of £3,000,000, barely equal to its expenditure. He quitted it, after a long, arduous, and successful war, with its empire considerably extended, and with a revenue of £5,500,000—about £2,000,000 beyond its expenditure. His entire administration was marked by energy and determination: under the most adverse circumstances, *he* never quailed.

"When the standards of Hyder Ali floated over the desolated field of the Carnatic, which the inert rulers of Madras had left exposed, at every point, to invasion; when a league of Mahratta leaders brought combined disgrace and discomfiture on the immature efforts of the government of Bombay; when internal rebellion threatened the peace of Bengal, and the opposition and violence of his colleagues embarrassed and impeded all his measures"—then "the mind of Hastings derived energy from misfortune, and fire from collision; and no one, we are convinced, can dispassionately read the history of the period to which we allude, without being satisfied that, to his intimate knowledge of the interests of the government which he administered, to his perfect acquaintance with the characters of every class of the natives, and to his singular power of kindling the zeal and securing the affections of those he employed, we owe the preservation of the British possessions in India."‡

Warren Hastings reached London in June, 1785, where royalty smiled upon him, and the directors and proprietors of India stock awarded him their thanks.—His impeachment for various acts of his administration followed—not immediately; for though violent speeches were made against him, the proceedings did not commence till February 13th, 1788, and they did not terminate till April 25th, 1795, when he was pronounced "Not Guilty." Sir Elijah Impey was impeached with him, on six charges; but his defence on the first was so successful, that nothing was heard of the others afterwards. The expenses of the trial impoverished Hastings; but the directors voted him a pension of £4,000 per annum, and lent him £50,000, without interest, for eighteen years. He received many honours in the latter years of his life, being made a privy councillor, and the university of Oxford conferring upon him the degree of D.C.L.: and he lived to good old age—expiring at Daylesford, the place of his birth, on the 22nd of August, 1818, having nearly completed his eighty-sixth year.

* Letter of Mr. Hastings.

† Lord Valentia's *Travels*.

‡ *Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii., p. 408.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. MACPHERSON'S TEMPORARY ADMINISTRATION; ARRIVAL OF LORD CORNWALLIS; HIS ANTECEDENTS; SPIRIT OF HIS GOVERNMENT; TIPPOO'S BARBARITIES TO THE CHRISTIANS, AND OUTRAGES UPON THE MOUNTAINEERS OF COORG AND THE NAIRS; HIS ATTACK ON TRAVANCORE; THE PACIFIC POLICY OF THE ENGLISH; WAR WITH TIPPOO; SUCCESSES OF GENERAL MEADOWS; LORD CORNWALLIS TAKES THE FIELD; CAPTURE OF BANGALORE; DEFEAT OF TIPPOO; SUFFERINGS OF THE BRITISH ARMY; A RETROGRADE MOVEMENT; CAPTURE OF NUNDY DROOG; GALLANT DEFENCE OF COIMBATOOR; CAPTURE OF SAVAN DROOG; CAMPAIGN OF 1792; SUCCESSES OF THE BRITISH BEFORE SERINGAPATAM; NEGOTIATIONS WITH TIPPOO; SURRENDER OF HIS SONS AS HOSTAGES; CONCLUSION OF PEACE; CLOSE OF LORD CORNWALLIS'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER the departure of Warren Hastings, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, who was senior member of the council, discharged the functions of governor-general of India till the arrival of a successor to the former. Mr. Macpherson's connection with India commenced in 1766. In that year he went out to the East in a vessel belonging to his uncle, in which he discharged the duties of purser. Whilst in India, he had an opportunity of rendering some services to the nabob of Arcot, who appointed him his agent in England. He did not remain long in this country, but returned to India, where, by an active attention to business, and taking advantage of those opportunities which so frequently presented themselves at that time in the East to an enterprising, intelligent man, of advancing his fortunes, he constantly continued improving his position, till at length he became, for a time, the first man in the country. His administration was characterised by prudence, and a strict regard for the interests of the company. There were no wars during the term of his government, which was distinguished by the acquisition of Prince of Wales Island, near the northern entrance of the straits of Malacca, off the western coast of the Malay peninsula. The company had long been desirous of acquiring a port in the straits of Malacca; and after several endeavours to obtain Acheen, the island was fixed upon, and purchased of the King of Quedah (a native state on the Malay peninsula) for an annual payment of 6,000 Spanish dollars.* Other traits of Mr. Macpherson's short rule at Calcutta, were the substitution of a prudent economy in the finance department for the system which had previously prevailed, and which

Hastings had not been able to put a stop to; the adoption of measures to discharge all arrears due to the army; regulations for the relief or better maintenance of invalided native officers and sepoy; with other measures for securing the attachment of the native troops to British officers and to the service. His government ended on the 12th of September, 1786, on the arrival of Lord Cornwallis; and such was the sense of the court of directors of the benefits derived from his administration, that he received their unanimous thanks when he resigned his functions into the hands of the noble lord.

Lord Macartney had been originally appointed to succeed Warren Hastings as governor-general. Before his acceptance of the office, he resolved to go to England, to consult the ministers and the board of directors upon certain questions intimately connected with the administration of Indian affairs. On his arrival in London, he found that he should be seriously opposed at Calcutta by the friends both of the late governor-general and Mr. Macpherson. Under the idea that it would give him additional weight and authority, he solicited a British peerage; but the only answer given to his application was the appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the high office of governor-general in his stead. His lordship, the son of the first Earl Cornwallis, was born December 31st, 1738; received his education at Eton and St. John's, Cambridge; entered the army on leaving college; served in the seven years' war as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby; and in the American war, with the rank of major-general, under Generals Howe and Clinton. He defeated the Americans at Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780; and at Guildford, on the 15th of March, 1781—superior numbers being opposed to him on both occasions.

* The island is also called Penang, as it resembles, in form, an areca-nut, for which Penang is the Malay term.

In the autumn of that year he was besieged in York Town by the united French and American forces; and, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to surrender, with all his men, on the 19th of October, 1781. The practical military knowledge he acquired in America, notwithstanding the unfortunate termination of his command in that country, was considered an additional qualification as governor-general of India, where war had been so frequent; and by an express provision of an act of parliament, passed in 1786, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, as well as the supreme head in civil matters. The administration of his high and responsible functions was rendered much more easy than in the time of Hastings, by the judicious alterations contained in Pitt's India bill of 1784; and the amending acts of 1786: and he brought to that administration the aid of many excellent natural qualities. He is described as "high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equitable in temper; anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business."* Both the English government and the East India Company were very desirous that no more wars should be undertaken in India for the extension of territory: his instructions were therefore of a pacific tendency, and he earnestly endeavoured to carry them out. He also applied himself as earnestly to prevent the waste of the public finances: he established a fixed land-tax throughout Bengal; the proposal for which, it is due to Mr. Francis to say, originated with him; and he instituted a judicial system to protect property; he also reduced the tribute paid by Asoph-ad-Dowlah from eighty-four to fifty lacs of rupees per annum.

The dream of peace indulged by Lord Cornwallis was dissipated, but not till he had been in Calcutta somewhat more than three years. During that time, Tippoo Saib had shown that increased age brought no mitigation of his savage and cruel disposition. One of his first acts after he had established peace with England, was to expel from the Canara the natives who had been converted to Christianity by the Portuguese; inspired, as he affirmed, by a recollection of the deeds of Cardinal Menezes, "which made the rage of Islam

to boil in his breast," and impelled him to take revenge upon the Nazarenes. He collected an immense number of them (estimated by some authorities at 30,000, and by others at 60,000), whom he first circumcised, and then sent into slavery, where they perished miserably; two-thirds of them, it is affirmed, dying in the first year.†—His next outrage was upon the Coorgs, a nation of mountaineers, who inhabited a district lying to the south and west of Mysore. They were, he said, shockingly immoral; and he particularly condemned their practice—most abominable, if they were guilty of it—of several brothers having only one woman as their wife. He invaded Coorg, and carried off, it is said, 70,000 persons, whom he "*honoured* with the distinction of Islamism."‡ On the day upon which this rite was performed, he assumed the title of *Padishah*, which had, up to that time, been appropriated to the Great Mogul, who was the suzerain of Mysore, and had been acknowledged as such by Hyder Ali; and, till that time, by Tippoo himself. He not only assumed the title, but ordered the name of Shah Alum to be omitted, and his own substituted, in the prayers for the sovereign put up in the mosques.—At this period, Tippoo appeared to be animated with a perfect rage for propagating the Mohammedan faith. Descending the Western Ghauts, he entered Malabar proper, where he compelled the Nairs, a numerous and influential body, who ranked next to the Brahmins, to embrace his creed—circumcising them, and obliging them to eat beef, which was their abomination. In 1778 he quarrelled with the Nizam, which induced the latter to recognise the right of the British to the Guntoor Circar (to which they had become entitled on the death of Bassalut Jung, in 1782), in the hope that they would have united with him in an attack on Mysore. This, however, the instructions of Lord Cornwallis prevented him from doing; and the barbarous despot was permitted, for a short time longer, to run his career unchecked. At length he took a step which compelled the British to interfere.

Travancore is a native state in the south of India, having on the north the territory of Cochin and the British territory of Coimbatore; on the east the districts of Madura and Tinnevely; and on the south and west

* Macfarlane's *India*.

† Wilks' *History of Mysore*.

‡ His own language; applied to the transaction, in

a work he wrote, called the *Sultaun-u-Towareekh*, or "King of Histories," which has been translated into English.

the Indian Ocean. "Its first political or commercial relation with the East India Company was in 1673, when that corporation, by permission from the rajah, established a factory at Anjengo, on the sea-coast. During the prolonged warfare waged by the British with Hyder Ali and Tippoo, they invariably found the rajah a steady ally; and in that relation he was, in 1784, included in the treaty between the company and the Sultan of Mysore."* The latter, however, looked with an eye of desire upon this small territory, which he eagerly longed to add to his own dominions. The rajah obtained some intimation of the hostile designs of the Mysorean, and applied to Lord Cornwallis for assistance. A representation was accordingly made to Tippoo, that any attack upon Travancore would be considered as a declaration of war against the English. Tippoo *professed* peace, while he really *intended* war.

Travancore was defended by lines constructed in 1775, which extended for a distance of thirty miles, and, consisting of a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds almost flanking each other, they looked imposing; but their extent rendered them incapable of resisting, successfully, the continued attacks of a determined enemy. These lines Tippoo attacked on the 24th of December, 1789. A numerous body of his troops made a feigned assault on the principal gate; and while this was going on, the sultan, with about 14,000 men, found means, by an unexpected passage, to penetrate the right flank, and he hastened onwards, hoping to be able to open the first gate he reached to his army. The garrison at first retreated before him; but reinforcements reaching them, they made a stand at a large square building which was used as a barrack, and also as a magazine. Here, after a short struggle, the Mysoreans began to give way. On being pressed by the defenders, they fell back upon a troop which was advancing to their assistance, and threw it into disorder. This completed the confusion. The assailants endeavoured to repass the ditch, and in doing so, numbers were killed: the ditch, for a short distance, was nearly filled with dead bodies, over which Tippoo himself escaped with difficulty, and not without being so severely bruised, that he suffered

* Thornton.

from the effects as long as he lived, the pain frequently causing him to limp considerably as he walked. The Travancoreans took his palanquin, his seals, rings, and personal ornaments; and at least 2,000 men of his army were sacrificed in this unjustifiable attack upon the dominions of a chief who had not broken faith with the treacherous Sultan of Mysore; whose only pretence for making war with Travancore was, that the rajah had purchased of the Dutch the ports of Cranganore and Jaycottah (in the provinces of Cochin and Malabar), to which Tippoo asserted his right, his father having claimed all the Malabar coast, from Cape Ramus to Ponany. The ports, however, were situated beyond Ponany; and Tippoo could have no claim to them in consequence of the conquests of Hyder.

Notwithstanding the many evidences of his personal presence at this assault upon the frontier of Travancore, Tippoo, in a letter he sent after the failure to the English authorities, treated the affair as entirely an unauthorised aggression on the part of his officers. These representations were received with the contempt they merited; and the government of Bengal began to make vigorous preparations for war; though, in accordance with the tenour of his instructions, which so urgently pressed upon him to preserve peace, Lord Cornwallis, before he commenced hostilities, made an attempt to avert them by negotiations. Tippoo was informed, that if he could show a good title to the disputed ports of Cranganore and Jaycottah, they should be given up to him; and an offer was made to submit the question to a joint commission of English and Mysoreans: but he was distinctly informed that he would not be allowed to take possession of them by force, or to make war on the Rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of England, and under its protection. Some delay was of course occasioned by these negotiations, which was employed by both Tippoo and the rajah in organising their forces and strengthening their hands for war. During the time over which they extended (and they continued for about five months), Tippoo "obtained from Mysore battering-guns and stores without molestation; whilst the rajah, on the other hand, making the like use of this interval, through the influence of religion, encouraged by his temporary success, assembled about 100,000 Hindoos, who were

carefully distributed on the lines.* Still, it was evident to all who knew the relative strength of the two potentates, that Tippoo would soon crush his opponent, if the latter were left unaided. Since his accession to the throne, he had greatly strengthened the defences of his empire. He had improved the fortifications of Seringapatam, and added to those of other towns; had trained and disciplined his troops by skilled French officers; had collected a numerous and admirably organised artillery; and had 400 trained elephants, besides a great number of bullocks; his facilities for transit far exceeding those of the English. It is true, the mass of his infantry were irregulars, who formed a sort of feudal militia, finding their own horses, arms, and accoutrements, and only taking the field on some great emergency; but, in themselves, they were superior to most of the troops of the rajah; and the nucleus which his regular army afforded gave him an immense superiority.

The negotiations failed; and Lord Cornwallis, finding war inevitable, formed an alliance with the Nizam, and the Peishwa of the Mahrattas. Thus "three powers, representing three systems of civilisation, took the field under one flag—the Mahrattas, representing the fiery races of Western India; the Nizam, being the leader of the Mussulman arms; and the company, a new influence sprung from the bosom of Christendom."† They were united against a power less barbarous than the first, more barbarous than the second, but equally hateful to all; and which was destined ultimately to fall before the triumphant arms of the third. Before, however, they were prepared for action, Tippoo had recommenced hostilities. On the 12th of April, 1790, he forced the lines of Travancore, driving before him, in wild confusion, the Hindoos placed to defend them; and who would have been annihilated, but for the protection afforded by two companies of Madras sepoy, under the command of Captain Knox. On the 7th of May, Cranganore and, two or three days after, Jaycottah, were taken; and the country of the rajah was mercilessly desolated, the people of the towns and villages flying for protection to the mountains and the jungle.—The English were not prepared to take the field till June. Then General Meadows, at

the head of 16,000 men, chiefly composed of the Madras army, advanced on the side of Coimbatore; whilst General Abercrombie, with the troops from Bombay, attacked the territories of Mysore on the Malabar coast. Now Tippoo would have negotiated; but General Meadows refused. "The English," he replied, "equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment you attacked their ally, the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift; but generally, success to those whose cause is just: upon that we depend." His overtures rejected, Tippoo changed his tactics from those of offence to defence. He repaired to Seringapatam; ordered all his regular troops to assemble in the neighbourhood of his capital; and, leaving his eastern territories to be defended by irregulars, he concentrated his efforts to prevent the enemy's advance into the centre of his dominions.

General Meadows soon captured Coimbatore (where he fixed his head-quarters), Caroor, Palghat, Dindigul, and some other less important places; whilst General Abercrombie, on the Malabar coast, defeated the enemy near Calicut, and captured Cannanore and several other towns, clearing the coast of the Mysoreans, and affording the Polygars and Nairs an opportunity, of which they were not slow to take advantage, of revenging the insults and injuries inflicted upon them. These people, as did the tribes dwelling on the frontiers of Mysore, hailed the appearance of the British amongst them, and exulted over the anticipated downfall of the tyrant who so ruthlessly oppressed them. One of the last places taken by General Meadows' army, was Sattiyamangalam, 40 miles to the N.N.E. of Coimbatore, and commanding the important pass of Gujelhatti, "the great gorge down the bottom of which flows the Moyaar, a large torrent, and the sides of which are formed, towards the south-west, by the precipitous brow of the Neilgherries, having an elevation of from three to four thousand feet above the torrent; and towards the north-east by the steep declivities of the mountains rising towards Mysore."‡ This pass opened the road into the heart of the Mysore country, and Colonel Floyd was stationed there with 2,000 men. It was intended to penetrate into the very heart

* *Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan*; by Roderick Mackenzie, a soldier of the 52nd regiment.

† Horace St. John.

‡ Thornton.

of Mysore; but before the movement could be made, Tippoo, who appears to have been kept well informed of the movements of the British by his spies and scouts, early in September, with several thousand men, chiefly horse, descended the pass, and attempted to surround Colonel Floyd and his small detachment. The sepoys defended themselves gallantly; entirely cut off several squadrons of Tippoo's horse; and though they were themselves exposed to great slaughter from one of Tippoo's batteries, when Colonel Floyd, passing along the line, expressed his concern at seeing so many fall, they exclaimed, "We have eaten the company's salt; our lives are at their disposal; and God forbid that we should mind a few casualties."* So determined was the resistance of the British, that at night Tippoo withdrew. The losses of the former were, however, so severe, that Colonel Floyd found it necessary, the next morning, to commence a retreat. He was followed by Tippoo, at the head of 15,000 horse and foot; and about noon the hostile forces again came in contact. The British were marching in single column when the Mysoreans overtook them; but they halted, formed in order of battle, and repulsed the onslaught of their numerous assailants. Then they marched on—were again overtaken, and again attacked, with the same result. This occurred repeatedly; and the gallant little band, if it had not succumbed, would have been at last annihilated, had not a troop of cavalry been seen in the distance, advancing northward, on the road from Coimbatore. Under the impression that this was the main body of the English, under General Meadows, the Mysoreans retired by the pass, and Colonel Floyd was enabled to join the main army, having lost above 400 men in killed and wounded, besides the derangement of the plan for invading Mysore. He lost six guns in the engagement in the pass, and in the retreat; but the stores and magazines, which had been collected and formed on the proposed line of march, were removed. Notwithstanding these "untoward events," General Meadows marched in pursuit of Tippoo's army. The sultan, however, eluded him; and again changing his tactics, he entered the Coromandel territory, and having first menaced Trichinopoly, he marched northwards, and ravaged the Carnatic with little opposition. He burnt and destroyed

* Wilks' *Sketches of the South of India*.

towns, villages, houses, and levied contributions on the people: and finally opened negotiations with the French as he approached Pondicherry. About this time, he sent an envoy (M. Leger) to Paris, to apply for a reinforcement of 6,000 French troops, with whose aid he promised to drive the English out of India. Louis XVI., however, would not listen to the proposal. "This resembles," he said, "the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now; the lesson is too severe to be forgotten."†

The general impression at Calcutta was, that though the Europeans and sepoys had fought bravely (and this was so generally their habit, that nothing less was expected from them), yet, that little military skill had been evinced in the conduct of the campaign; though its result was, the re-establishment of the Rajah of Travancore in all his dominions. Lord Cornwallis determined, therefore, in the next, to take the field in person. His excellency left Calcutta for Madras in December; and on the 29th of January, 1791, he assumed the chief command of the army. We are told, by one of the actors in the serious drama that ensued,‡ that he had under him the flower of the native troops. Several detachments of grenadiers had been brought from Bengal; and no body of sepoys that had previously taken the field came up to them in appearance. The sepoys of Madras were also fine men; and there appeared to be, throughout the army, a warm feeling of attachment to the governor-general, as well as one of pride and exultation at being led to the fight by an English peer.—The Bengal sepoys reached Madras by sea. A strong objection existed in that corps against embarking on board ship, which had its origin in the loss of two grenadiers, "belonging to detachments sent from Calcutta in 1767, being lost in returning by sea to Calcutta in 1769. This circumstance, coupled with their religious prejudices, made such an impression, that it required much conciliatory management to overcome. The firm and temperate conduct of Lord Cornwallis," with the encouragement which he extended to native soldiers, surmounted their scruples; and on the present occasion, when 900 volunteers were wanted to fill up the battalions serving in Mysore, such was

† Wilks' *Sketches of the South of India*.

‡ Roderick Mackenzie.

the spirit of emulation evinced by the Bengal troops, that more than the required number turned out forthwith, and reached Madras in eight days from the requisition.*

The second campaign was opened in February; the governor-general putting the army in motion on the 5th, and on the 11th passing through the city of Vellore to Amboor, as if he meant to ascend the mountains in that direction, where Tippoo was prepared for him, having the passes occupied by his light cavalry. But after keeping several days in that direction, the English general changed his course, and by a circuitous march of four days, reached the pass of Mugli, which being open and undefended, he passed through it without impediment, and entered the table-land of Mysore, much to the surprise of Tippoo; who had only time to remove his harem from Bangalore, when the English set down before that strong fortress on the 5th of March. It was too extensive to be invested, and operations could only be carried on against it by breach and battery. Tippoo was able, therefore, to reinforce the garrison with men and stores, and to dispose his army so as to make a desultory warfare on the besieging force. On the 6th, Colonel Floyd was dispatched with a strong party of cavalry, to cover a *reconnaissance*; and when this duty was performed, as he was about to return to the camp, he saw the rear of Tippoo's army in such a position that he could not resist attacking them. The charge was made with great fury, over ground which was excessively broken and uneven; and as the enemy retreated rapidly, there was very great assurance of victory, when the colonel was shot through the jaw by a musket-ball, and fell down as if dead. The men, left without orders, were falling into confusion; but Major Gowdie coming up with a body of infantry, covered their retreat, and stopped pursuit. Seventy-one men, and nearly 300 horses, were lost in this affair.

When the army had laid several days before Bangalore, it was determined to attempt the capture of the pettah or town, which was of considerable extent. It was surrounded by a wall and turrets of no great strength; but there was a wide and deep ditch, whilst the gate was covered by what is called in the East a "bound-hedge," or "broad, strong belt of planting, chiefly the bamboo-tree, the prickly pear, and such other trees

and shrubs as form the choicest fence." These "bound-hedges" were found encircling most forts and villages; the large forts generally having one "that inclosed a circuit of several miles, as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding country against the incursions of horse."† The bound-hedge at Bangalore, formed of bamboos, aloes, and the prickly pear, was a great impediment to a storming party. When the British advanced, they were exposed to a destructive fire from the turrets lined with musketry, which were, in their turn, put under a strong fire from the field artillery and six battery-guns, under the command of Colonel Moorhouse. The first barrier being carried, some 18-pounders were brought up, which succeeded in forcing the gate; and the troops, cheering as they went, dashed into the town. Tippoo had thrown in a strong corps whilst the attack was going on, and a heavy fire of small-arms was opened upon the assailants; who, however, rushed forward, and drove the enemy before them through the streets and lanes with such irresistible impetuosity, that, after losing 2,000 men in killed and wounded, the survivors were glad to take refuge in the fort, and the English remained in possession of the town. They lost 131 men in the attack, Colonel Moorhouse being among the killed—a brave and accomplished officer, who rose from the ranks: "but Nature had made him a gentleman; uneducated, he had made himself a man of science;" and he passed through a career of "uninterrupted distinction, commanding general respect; his amiable character exciting universal attachment."‡—The fort still remained in the hands of the Mysoreans; and it was determined that it should be stormed in the night of the 20th of March, though the breach effected was not exactly practicable. It was not known, however, what movement Tippoo might make with his army; and it was thought best to lose no more time before the place. Eleven was the hour appointed; the signal for advancing was whispered through the camp; and the ladders were planted, and a few men had mounted to the ramparts, before the garrison were alarmed. Then their resistance was desperate, but vain. The killadar, Bahander Khan, headed his men, though seventy years of age, with all the ardour of youth; but he fell, and the garrison was driven from place to place at

* *Rise of British Power in India*; by Peter Auber.

† Dirom.

‡ Wilks.

the point of the bayonet. Then—upwards of 1,000 having been killed—as many as could, rushed from the walls and gates; the rest surrendered; the assault lasting about an hour, when the English were established in the fort. The fugitives encountered Tippoo, who had concentrated his troops, and was marching at their head to raise the siege. On their informing him that the place was in the possession of his enemies, he is said to have been greatly shocked, and to have remained sunk in silence and stupor for the whole night.

The capture of Bangalore did not place the English *substantially* in a better position than they were in before, from the want of provisions and draught cattle; and whilst Tippoo took up a position behind the river Cauvery, some miles in advance of his capital, Lord Cornwallis sent a part of his army northwards, to obtain supplies, and also in the hope of being joined by 10,000 horse, which the Nizam had promised. He kept his promise after a fashion; and the contingent was met by the English detachment. The men were well mounted, their horses were in excellent condition, and their “first appearance was novel and interesting. It is probable that no national or private collection of ancient arms in Europe, contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not have been traced in that motley crowd. The Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form.” They wore “metallic helmets of every pattern;” “defences of bars, chains, or scale-work, descending behind or on the shoulder:” with “cuirasses, suits of armour, or detached pieces for the arm, complete coats of mail in chain-work, shields, bucklers, and quilted jackets”—all sabre-proof.* In the men, there was as great a want of order as there was of uniformity in their equipment; and the contingent was found rather an incumbrance to the army than otherwise, particularly when its members began to plunder the villages which Lord Cornwallis had promised to protect; and, not unfrequently, English soldiers were found defending the Mysoreans from the devastations of their own allies.

But though this reinforcement promised to be so utterly ineffective, and the commissariat and transport departments of his

* Wilks.

army were far from complete, Lord Cornwallis resolved to advance on Seringapatam; instructions being sent to the Bombay army, under General Abercrombie, to march at the same time, and invade Mysore on the Malabar side. Leaving everything that was at all superfluous at Bangalore, and adopting most extraordinary means of conveyance (for cannon-balls were committed to women and children to carry), the army marched on the 4th of May, taking a circuitous route. Both Lord Cornwallis and General Abercrombie had to encounter great difficulties, the route of the latter lying across steep mountains for a considerable distance. Jungles, rivers, and ravines were in the way of both; and the country was devastated; all grain and forage having been burnt or buried, and not an inhabitant was to be seen. From the absolute impossibility of carrying them, a considerable quantity of the stores taken with Lord Cornwallis’s army was destroyed; and although some grain was found at a fort called Mahavelly, the troops had to be put upon half the usual allowance of rice; and famine was impending over them, when, on the 13th of May, they reached Arikera, nine miles from Seringapatam, where they encamped, to the great dismay of Tippoo; who, since Bangalore, which he had deemed impregnable, had fallen, could not believe that his capital was safe. The walls of the principal streets and houses in that capital he had had decorated with caricatures of the English; these he ordered to be removed. He had also prisoners still at Seringapatam, who ought to have been liberated under the treaty of 1784; and there were twenty English youths there, whom, with a refinement of cruelty, he had educated and trained as the dancing-girls of the East are educated: these were ordered to be assassinated, that his secret crimes, and his violation of the treaty, might be concealed. A few escaped; and it is from the narrative of one of them, published in London, that these facts are gleaned.

In the expectation of an attack, Tippoo had drawn up his army in a strong position. Its right was protected by the Cauvery, the left by a chain of hills; there were also hills in the rear, and a swampy ravine in front, the passage of which was defended by batteries running along the whole line.—The English were on the other side of the river; and Lord Cornwallis was fully aware of the difficulty of attacking an army so

strongly posted as the sultan's; but having ascertained that there was a practicable, though a very difficult, route to the right of the English, by which it was possible to turn the enemy's left flank and gain his rear, Lord Cornwallis determined to make a night-march in that direction on the second night after his arrival at Arikera. Soon after eleven o'clock, therefore, on the 14th of May, six European regiments, twelve battalions of native infantry, one European, and three native regiments of cavalry, with three pieces of artillery, started from the camp, leaving the tents standing. The Nizam's contingent was ordered to follow in the morning.—It would have been very difficult to have made a combined advance by the road the army had to take, even in the daytime, intersected as it was by ravines, inclosures, and ruined villages: in the night, it was quite impossible that the men could be kept together; and to increase the difficulties arising from the bad road, an awful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, prevailed during nearly the whole night. Notwithstanding, the most arduous part of the march was accomplished before the day dawned; but it was found impossible to get in the rear of the enemy, as Lord Cornwallis had hoped to do, and thus cut off his retreat to the city; and the only alternative was, to force him to fight on other ground than the position where he was so strongly intrenched. Tippoo, who was aware of the movements of the English, evinced no anxiety to avoid the battle. On the contrary, observing that a body of the English was in motion to seize a hill which commanded his left, he sent a detachment of infantry and cavalry, with eight guns, to occupy it. They arrived before the English, and established themselves on the hill, whilst the sultan changed his front to the left; his flanks being protected by the ravine and hills which before covered his front and rear. Lord Cornwallis having reconnoitred the new position of the enemy, drew up his forces for the attack in two lines—the first under General Meadows and Colonel Stuart, the second under Colonel Harris; and Colonel Maxwell, with five battalions, was sent to attack the Mysorean troops who had taken up their position on the hill. There the battle commenced. As Colonel Maxwell advanced, the eight pieces of cannon were withdrawn, but the infantry and cavalry remained till charged with great

impetuosity by the Europeans and sepoys. Then they broke and fled down the hill, pursued by the English, who overtook them and some of the guns, which they captured, notwithstanding the infantry made a stand to defend them. The hill in possession of Colonel Maxwell, the two lines advanced, and the battle became general. The artillery and rockets of the enemy did great execution amongst the English, who were unable to use their own guns with effect, and as soon as possible came to close combat. Then their superiority over the enemy was soon evinced: as point after point was assailed, the Mysoreans broke and fled; till the whole of Tippoo's army was driven from the ground, and compelled to take shelter under the walls of Seringapatam. The English lost 500 men in this engagement: the loss of the enemy must have been much more severe.

“As a mere evidence of superiority, this victory was complete; but an old officer applied to it the observation of Sir Eyre Coote, on a parallel occasion: ‘I would gladly exchange all these trophies, and the reputation of victory, for a few days’ rice.’”^{*} The English were suffering from disease and want of food, besides the fatigue resulting from their march, made under such disadvantageous circumstances; it was therefore impossible for Lord Cornwallis to improve his advantage. He expected succour from the Mahrattas; but found it too hazardous, in the state of his army, and especially as the season was far advanced, to wait for it; and instead of reaping the fruits of his victory, he felt compelled to give the order to retreat. He was also obliged to destroy his guns, and all the heavy equipments and stores, as he had no means of transport, most of his cattle being dead or dying; the immense number of 40,000 bullocks, it is stated, having perished in the campaign. Having sent off orders to General Abercrombie not to advance to the westward, the English army turned their backs on the scene of their late victory, and started for Bangalore: that Tippoo did not pursue them, is a proof of the complete temporary demoralisation of his forces by the late defeat. When the retiring troops had got over about six miles of the road to Bangalore, a party of horsemen rode up *most unexpectedly*, and proved to be the *avant couriers* of the long-looked-for Mahratta reinforcement, which

^{*} Wilks.

soon after joined them, under Hurri Punt and Purseram Bhow. They had repeatedly sent messengers to announce their approach, who had been cut off by Tippoo's light troops; and the reason that they did not join before Lord Cornwallis left Bangalore, arose from their having aided Captain Little, with a detachment from Bombay, in the siege of Darwar, a fortress on Tippoo's northern frontier. The garrison made a stout defence; but hearing of the fall of Bangalore, they capitulated, as did all Tippoo's possessions north of the Tumbudra.—The junction of the Mahrattas afforded the greatest relief to the distressed Europeans and sepoys which composed Lord Cornwallis's army. They brought ample supplies of provisions and draught cattle; and a bazaar (usual with the Mahrattas) accompanied them, which comprised almost every imaginable article, "from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water, to the silver earrings of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt-fish of the Concan." In addition, there were the tables of the moneychangers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East; "and amongst the various trades carried on with remarkable activity, was that of a tanner; so that the English officers were able to obtain, by means of ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports—excellent sword-belts."*—Accompanying the Mahrattas, were a tribe of travelling merchants, called *Brijaries*. They were corn-dealers, who traversed the country with their wives and children, supplying all the military powers of Hindostan with that necessary article. They formed a distinct class, and appear to have enjoyed, everywhere, complete immunity for life and property, based on the great services which they rendered to all parties; having done so from a very remote period. As Lord Cornwallis did not now want for funds, he procured ample supplies for his army through the means of these men; but as the season was so far advanced, he continued his march to Bangalore, where, after capturing Hooliordroog, and several other forts on its route, the army arrived on the 11th of June.

Active preparations were immediately set

* Wilks' *Sketches of the South of India*.

on foot for the next campaign; for which the co-operation of the Mahrattas was secured by a subsidy of £150,000. These auxiliaries were dispatched to operate in the south-west; while the Nizam's troops were detached to the south-east. The English and sepoys, under Lord Cornwallis, also first took a south-east direction, advancing to Oosoor, which was evacuated by the garrison, and blown up.—Several other small forts having been captured, and a communication with the company's territories established, the army retraced its steps, and, in September, the important fortress of Nundydroog, thirty miles north of Bangalore, was invested. This fort stands on a huge granite rock, one of three, which rise close to each other to a height exceeding 1,500 feet. It was accessible only on one point, where there was a double line of ramparts; and "three weeks were expended by the besieging force, in regularly working up the steep acclivity, and in breaching."† Two breaches having been made, Lord Cornwallis gave orders for an attack in the night of the 19th of October. The breaches were stormed by two parties, who were received by the enemy with a discharge of musketry and rockets; whilst heavy stones were rolled upon them when they were under the walls. The Europeans, however, forced through the breaches, and opening the gates, were soon followed by a number of the sepoys: and the garrison fled. Some, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes, and thus getting into the jungle, made their escape; the rest took shelter in the principal pagoda, and were made prisoners.—In the siege of Nundydroog the English lost 120 men, killed and wounded of whom thirty fell in the assault, being chiefly killed by the stones precipitated from the walls.

The Mahrattas, who were dispatched to the south-west, evinced a disposition for freebooting rather than military operations, and they failed to support and co-operate with General Abercrombie, as it was intended they should do; and thus the movements of that officer were impeded, and an opportunity was afforded for a body of the enemy to invest Coimbatour. The command of that fort and Palghat had been entrusted to Major Cuppage, who, doubting the possibility of successfully defending the former, removed the heavy guns and ammunition to Palghat, leaving Lieutenant Chalmers, with a garrison of

* Thornton.

120 topasses, and about 200 Travancoreans, at Coimbatore. That officer, knowing the importance of the place, resolved to put it into a state of defence. Finding three heavy guns, that had been cast aside as unserviceable, capable of being used, at any rate for a time, he mounted them, by forming carriages out of various old wheels and fragments lying about the fort. But he had only damaged powder, and about 500 shot, which he had obtained from Major Cuppage.

Very soon after the latter had retired to Palghat, Coimbatore was invested by a body of 2,000 infantry, a considerable number of cavalry, and irregular troops, with eight pieces of cannon. They encamped on the north-west side of the pettah, which they summoned to surrender, threatening death to every person within the walls and enclosures, except the women and children, were resistance attempted. No signs of surrender were made; and the summons was repeated, after an interval of two days, with no better effect. Then a battery was thrown up, and surrender being refused after a third summons, a fierce bombardment was commenced. A second and a third battery were erected; and the little garrison could make only a very feeble return to the discharges of shot, shell, and rockets which were thrown into the place. That garrison was considerably reduced, for many of the Travancoreans had deserted as soon as they found that the enemy was investing the fort. The others were insubordinate; but the topasses behaved gallantly; and the efforts of Lieutenant Chalmers were ably seconded by M. de la Combe, a young French officer in the service of the rajah of Tanjore.—An assault, made after the place had been invested several weeks, was repulsed, chiefly from a barrel filled with combustibles being thrown in the midst of a large body of the enemy, and caused such confusion amongst the assaulting party, that it broke, gave way, and finally retired, many being killed and wounded by stones and pieces of rock thrown from the ramparts. When they had reached their camp, and the besieged had time to look about them, it was found that the number of the dead and dying the enemy had left behind them, exceeded that of the garrison.

Shortly after this assault, the besieging force was attacked by a party from Palghat, aided by a body of revenue troops under Mr. Macleod, and driven from the pettah.

The English chased them to the Bawany river, a distance of twenty miles; when they returned to Coimbatore, the garrison of which was reinforced to the number of about 700 sepoy and topasses; the additional troops being under the command of Lieutenant Nash. Supplies of food and ammunition were also afforded. Thus reinforced, Lieutenant Chalmers employed his men in repairing the breaches, and putting all the defences into as complete a state as circumstances would admit. He had scarcely completed these preparations, when the pettah and fort were reinvested by 8,000 regular infantry, accompanied, as before, by a large body of cavalry and irregulars. The besieging train consisted of fourteen guns and four mortars. The pettah was again occupied; and several batteries were speedily brought to bear upon the fort. Major Cuppage, aware of this fresh attack, advanced from Palghat at the head of three battalions of sepoy, two battalions of Travancoreans, and six pieces of cannon, with the intention of compelling the Mysoreans—who were commanded by an excellent officer, Kummer-oo-Deen—to raise the siege. At the same time, a large convoy of oxen, intended for General Abercrombie's army, was assembled at Palghat. Kummer-oo-Deen, as soon as he heard of the advance of Major Cuppage, made a movement for the purpose of getting in his rear. This movement was defeated after a sharp fight, in which the Mysoreans suffered considerably. But it exposed the danger of the convoy, as well as the impediments which might be thrown in the way of Major Cuppage's return to Palghat; and determined him to leave Coimbatore to its fate. Surrender now became inevitable; and a practicable breach being effected (whilst Lieutenant Chalmers and Lieutenant Nash were both wounded), negotiations were opened, and honourable terms were granted to the brave garrison, who, instead of becoming prisoners of war, were to be permitted to march to Palghat. The Mysoreans entered the fort on the 3rd of November; but the terms, either through the treachery of Kummer-oo-Deen or his master, were not carried out. The sepoy and topasses were detained, under various pretences, thirteen days at Coimbatore; and were then marched to Seringapatam instead of Palghat, where they were submitted to every indignity.

After the capture of Nundydroog, Lord Cornwallis—anxious to leave no place of im-

portance in the possession of the enemy, so as to enable them to harass his rear in the advance upon Seringapatam, which he contemplated making—attacked Savandroog, another strong hill-fortress between Bangalore and Seringapatam, nineteen miles to the west of the former. It was situated, like Nundydroog, “on a vast, bare rock of granite, amidst dense forests and thickets. A small river, rushing through a deep ravine, washes the south base of the rock, which is divided, by an intervening chasm, into two great summits, each surmounted by a fortress independent of the other, and both abundantly supplied with water. The circuit of the base is about eight miles, and the sides are so precipitous, as to appear inaccessible when viewed from below.”* This fort (the meaning of the Hindoo name of which is the “Rock of Death”) Tippoo called “*Gurdam Sheikho*,” or “the Neck of Majesty;” and he was rejoiced when told that the English had sat down before it, for, if not absolutely impregnable, he fully calculated that the troops of Lord Cornwallis would suffer so severely from the malaria of the jungle, that they would either be obliged to retreat, or be so much weakened as to offer an easy prey to the garrison. As on many other occasions, so on this, the sultan of Mysore was at fault.

Lord Cornwallis, having determined to attack this stronghold, gave the command of the assailing party to Colonel Stuart, who, on the 11th of December—with the 52nd and 72nd European regiments, three battalions of sepoy, and a park of artillery under Major Montague, consisting of four 18-pounders, four 12-pounders, two howitzers, and the field-pieces belonging to the regiments—encamped on the north side of the rock, at the distance of about three miles. The main body of the army was posted in the rear, so as to afford effectual support; and three strong detachments, under Lieutenant-colonel Cockerell, Captain Walsh, and Captain Alexander Reed, occupied the northern, middle, and southern roads, from Bangalore to Seringapatam.†—A thick forest of bamboos intervened between the camp of Colonel Stuart and the rock, through which a road had to be cut; “and the labour of opening a road through such a forest, can only be known to those who are acquainted with the nature of the bamboo, which, growing in clumps, even from the

crevices of the rock, resists, more than any other tree, the action of the axe and of fire.”‡ This road was cut, and the guns dragged over it, in five days, and on the 17th of December two batteries were thrown up, one at 1,000, the other at 700, yards distance. A fire from these batteries was instantly opened; and on the 19th another battery was erected within 250 yards of the rock. A practicable breach was effected by the night of the 20th, and the assault was ordered for the morning of the 21st, Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows arriving to witness it; and the flank companies of the 71st and 76th Europeans having joined Colonel Stuart’s detachment, dispositions were made for the storming party, under Lieutenant-colonel Nesbitt, of the 52nd, to move on various points: that party consisted of the grenadiers of the 52nd, and the flank companies of the 76th, under Captain Gage; the light company of the 52nd, under the Hon. Captain Monson; the flank companies of the 71st, under the Hon. Captain Lindsay and Captain Robertson; the 52nd and 72nd to follow the flank companies. These bodies had to attack the two hills and the path between them; while other parties, under Lieutenant-colonel Baird and Major Petrie, were sent round the rock, at once to attract the attention of the enemy and prevent their escape.§ All the preparations being complete, at 11 A.M. the band of the 52nd regiment played “Britons strike home;” and to the inspiring strains the grenadiers and light infantry mounted the breach.

The greater part of the garrison was collected to defend the point assailed; but Tippoo’s soldiers appear to have shrunk from a hand-to-hand encounter with men who had overcome obstacles they deemed insurmountable; and, as the English approached, the Mysoreans fled in confusion; some falling down, others tumbling over them, and all eager to reach the citadel on the western hill before the English, who pursued them as rapidly as the nature of the ground would permit—Captain Gage, with his division, made for the eastern hill, according to his orders; and he carried it without opposition, not encountering any of the enemy’s troops, who had entirely forsaken that quarter. Those who endeavoured to reach the western hill were followed up the steep and narrow path which led from the breach by the English under Captain Monson, who encountered amongst

* Thornton.

† Rafter’s *Military History of India*.

‡ Dirom.

§ Captain Rafter.

the rocks a party of the garrison, which had been detached for the purpose of taking the assaulting party in flank. Captain Monson had with him, besides the light company of the 52nd, a sergeant and twelve grenadiers of the 71st; and the party of the garrison, instead of attacking them, turned their backs and fled, followed by the English, who pressed hard upon their heels. The Mysoreans reached the citadel, which some of them entered hastily; and a soldier was closing the gates, when he was shot by the sergeant of the 71st. Part of the English instantly marched through the gate; others leaped the barriers with the fugitives, killing several, and amongst them the second killadar; the first killadar was taken prisoner; as were the soldiers who did not fall, or precipitate themselves, from the rocks in endeavouring to escape. More than a hundred lost their lives; but the greater part evaded their pursuers; for the number of prisoners was small.—Thus this important position was taken by the English; the time occupied in the assault being scarcely an hour, and only one of the storming party losing his life—a private soldier, who was not killed by the enemy, but struck by one of the balls from an English cannon, which rebounded from the rock, as he was passing on to the breach.

After the fall of Savandroog, several other hill-forts were captured; one of them being Ostradroog, about eleven miles from Savandroog, and thirty from Bangalore. The commandant of this fort was summoned to surrender, liberal terms being sent to him. The staff-officer who accompanied the flag of truce, and was the bearer of these terms, was signalled from the ramparts to advance, but, on doing so, a fire of musketry was opened upon him. An assault was immediately ordered; and, under cover of a well-directed fire from the field-pieces, Captain Scott, of the Bengal army, with four battalion companies of the 52nd and 72nd regiments, and his own sepoy, scaled and carried the lower fort. The killadar immediately sent to request a parley; but while it was going on, the garrison were observed to be busily employed in removing the guns, and placing them in positions from which they could bear upon the English. Negotiation was immediately broken off, and the assault was continued, Lieutenant M'Innis, of the 72nd, this time leading the storming party, followed by the pioneers, commanded by Lieutenants Dowse

and M'Pherson, and supported by Captain Scott. The hill was surmounted by five or six ramparts, rising to the top, amphitheatre-fashion. These were carried one after the other, some of the assailants scaling the walls, others dashing through the gates, which were broken open by the pioneers. The garrison kept up an irregular fire; but as soon as they caught sight of an Englishman or a sepoy, they fled; and the summit of the rock was gained, without the loss of a single life on the part of the stormers, and with very few wounded. The killadar was made prisoner, with a part of the garrison; but, as at Savandroog, many precipitated themselves from the rock, thus meeting death in a different shape from that which they anticipated, had they fallen into the hands of the English—from whom, owing to the treachery shown to his prisoners by Tippoo, they expected no mercy.

Under the rock of Ostradroog Lord Cornwallis concentrated his army previous to his march upon Seringapatam. He found it useless to rely upon the Mahrattas for aid, who, under Purseram Bhow, still remained plundering in the south; and left a detachment of 700 men, under Captain Little, which was attached to this contingent, to encounter a strong body of Mysoreans, who had thrown themselves into a thick forest, having the river Toom, and some deep ravines, in front and on their flanks. Captain Little, on the 27th of December, attacked this force, and dislodged it—a success which was followed by the fall of Simoga, and the throwing open to the allies a portion of Tippoo's territories which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. Leaving his marauding allies, therefore, to pursue their own course, the commander-in-chief sent orders to General Abercrombie—who, with his army, about 8,400 strong since the retreat in May, had occupied cantonments near Tellicherry—to move on the Mysore capital; and having remained in camp long enough to collect and refresh his own troops, his lordship, on the 1st of February, 1792, commenced his march to Seringapatam, at the head of 22,000 men, with forty-four field-pieces, and a battering-train of forty-two guns. The advance was made in three lines, the infantry and light troops occupying the flanks, the artillery and heavy baggage the centre; and on the 5th, this army once more encamped within sight of Seringapatam, under the walls of which city, on the north side of the Cauvery. the sultan was found ir

a fortified camp, very nearly in the same position as that he occupied in the previous May, with an army consisting of about 50,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. This camp was pitched within an enclosure, formed by a bound-hedge and the river; its front was protected by six redoubts, on which 100 pieces of cannon were mounted, as well as by a large tank or canal; and it appeared to offer an insurmountable obstacle to the advance of the English upon the capital itself.

That capital was a place of great strength, even independent of the army in its front. Seringapatam is built upon the western extremity of an island, formed by two branches of the Cauvery, which, after separating and opening a space about one mile and a-half in width, reunite again at the distance of about five miles. The walls of the city rise from the water on the northern and south-west sides; and on those sides were the weakest part of the artificial defences, Tippoo "confiding in the difficulties which the river presented to assailants, though it may be forded in the dry season. In the rainy season, however, it is a great torrent, utterly unfordable; and, at all times, the rapidity of the current and roughness of the bed, filled with rocks and fragments of granite, rendered the fording it a matter of some difficulty. On the east and south sides, which are not washed by the river, Tippoo Sultan erected defences very massive and heavy; and, though not skilfully planned, offering great resistance to an attack. The ground-plan of the enclosed space is an irregular pentagon, measuring in diameter, from the south-east to the north-west angle, about one mile and a-half, and three-quarters of a mile in breadth."* Strong redoubts and batteries—connected by an intrenchment, with a deep ditch—ranged along the east and south sides of this pentagon, on which, and in other parts of the fortifications, 300 pieces of cannon were mounted.

Such was the formidable position which Lord Cornwallis contemplated taking possession of; but first, it was necessary to remove the army by which it was protected. His lordship resolved that should be done forthwith; and, in concert with his officers, he arranged an attack upon Tippoo's fortified camp, to take place on the night of the 6th of February. That evening the troops, on being dismissed from parade, were ordered to reassemble at seven o'clock; and by eight

the army was on its march, in three columns, led by General Meadows, Colonel Stuart, and Colonel Maxwell, with a reserve under Lord Cornwallis himself. The moon shone brilliantly, and the men were in the greatest spirits. They advanced unchallenged, till near eleven o'clock, when they encountered a body of Mysoreans, who were marching towards the English camp for the purpose of throwing in a quantity of rockets, as they had done on the previous night. The rocket-men were escorted by a body of cavalry, who, on discovering the English, galloped back to the camp: the rocket-men remained hovering on the flanks of the British, and occasionally discharging rockets amongst them, which had very little effect. The British pushed on; and the first attack was made by Colonel Maxwell, with the flank companies of the 72nd, upon the Carighant hill—that hill which the same gallant men carried on the 14th of May, 1791, when it protected the left, as on this occasion it did the right, of the enemy's camp.† It was defended by a double breastwork, in front of a stone redoubt; and a considerable body of infantry, but no artillery. It was soon in possession of the English; whilst the right and central columns also forced the enclosure, penetrated into the camp, and drove the Mysoreans before them, who, taken completely by surprise, offered very little resistance, but soon made for the river in their rear. Pursuing the fugitives, the first English troops that reached the Cauvery, crossed under the very walls of Seringapatam without opposition; and a party, under Captain Lindsay, made for the gate, which, however, was closed, and the drawbridge up. A second party crossed shortly after, and forced open the western gate of the pettah, of which they took possession; the enemy, alarmed and confused, having retreated within the fortifications, from whence an irregular and ill-directed fire was kept up.—The reserve, under Lord Cornwallis, also forced the bound-hedge, and entered the camp. It was to have co-operated with the right column, under General Meadows; but, for a time, the two divisions missed each other; and Lord Cornwallis, attacked by a greatly superior force, had some difficulty in maintaining himself. At length part of General Meadows' division came up, the other part having crossed the camp to the Carighant hill, where it remained, while Colonel Maxwell and his division dashed across the

* Thornton.

† See *ante*, p. 128.

Cauvery. This was the course taken by Lord Cornwallis and the part of the right column which had joined him; and on the morning of the 7th of February, the left column, part of the central and right columns, and the reserve, were in the pettah of Seringapatam, part of the right and of the centre being on the Carighant hill.

And where was Tippoo? It was afterwards ascertained that he had taken his evening meal in a strong redoubt on the river, called "the Sultan's redoubt," where he was when the English forced their way into his camp, and he saw some of the assailants making for the river. Alarmed lest his communication with the city should be cut off, he went to the ford himself, crossed it just in advance of the English, and, having had several of his attendants killed around him, he entered the same gate which Captain Lindsay assailed, only a few minutes before the arrival of the latter. His treasurer also secured the money he had with him in camp—the army having to be paid on the following day—by placing it in bags, on camels, which were driven across the ford, intermingled with the British troops. Reaching the other side, the faithful servant collected his beasts of burden, conducted them, by the glacis, to a gate in a different direction to that in which the English were advancing, and succeeded, we are told, in getting into the city without the loss of a single rupee.—The greater part of the army that remained faithful to the sultan was also in Seringapatam; but as he was served from fear, not love, many deserted; and one corps, 10,000 strong, composed of Coorgs, compulsorily embodied, left the camp with their wives and children, and dispersed in the woods.—Many Europeans, forcibly detained in the service of Tippoo, also went over to the English; amongst them was M. Blévette, a Frenchman, under whose superintendence the fortifications of the camp had been constructed.

The following day was employed in efforts, by the English, to establish themselves in the camp and on the island, and by Tippoo to dislodge them. Attack after attack was made by the sultan's forces, under cover of discharges from the artillery of the fort: but all failed. These attacks were more especially directed to "the Sultan's redoubt," which was occupied by about one hundred Europeans and fifty negroes, under Captain Sibbald, of the 71st.

This little band defended themselves with an indomitable heroism deserving the highest praise. The day had been oppressively sultry; and after the last attack, "within the narrow limits which bounded the efforts of the garrison, two officers and nineteen privates lay dead; while three officers and twenty-three privates, miserably wounded, were passionately imploring water, which their companions had not to bestow, being without a single drop even for themselves. Thus surrounded within by death and suffering, and exposed without to the attacks of a vast army, supported by the guns of a well-appointed fortress, did this gallant band maintain, not their post alone, but their own honour, and that of the country which they served. Great were their labours and their difficulties, but brilliant and unfading is the glory by which they were compensated."*

In the affairs of the night of the 6th and the 7th, the English lost, in killed and wounded, 535 men; the loss of Tippoo, exclusive of the deserters, could not be less than 4,000.—The morning of the 8th found him, with the remainder of his army (except the cavalry, which was on the other side of the Cauvery), shut up within the walls of Seringapatam, which the English were preparing to besiege. Preparatory to their operations, they took possession of the Laul Baugh, on the eastern part of the island, where there was a handsome palace, a beautifully laid-out garden, and the rich mausoleum of Hyder Ali. The buildings were converted into hospitals; and all the magnificent cypresses and other trees were cut down to afford materials for the siege.—Whilst the preparations were progressing, General Abercrombie arrived; the Mah-rattas, under Purseram Bhow, also joined; the Nizam's contingent encamped on the north of the Cauvery (where the headquarters of the English still remained); and Lord Cornwallis's force was superior to any army that Tippoo could, at the moment, organise against him. This induced the sultan to liberate Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash (whom he had kept in confinement, in violation of the conditions under which the garrison of Coimbatore had surrendered), and to send them on a pacific mission to Lord Cornwallis. Simultaneously with their arrival, a select body of Mysorean horse made its way into the camp, being suffered to pass, under the impression

* Captain Rafter.

that they were a party of the Nizam's contingent. They inquired for the tent of the commander-in-chief; but the person they addressed supposed they wanted Colonel Duff, the commandant of artillery, and his tent was pointed out to them. As they approached it, they put their horses into a gallop, drew their sabres, and cut down all before them. A body of sepoy, alarmed by the noise, turned out, and seeing these horsemen ride wildly up to the tent, they fired upon them. This arrested their course, and finding the camp was alarmed, they turned their horses' heads, and dashed for the hills.—It is supposed, the object of these men was to assassinate the commander-in-chief.

Lord Cornwallis accepted the overtures of Tippoo, who dispatched an officer of distinction, Gholam Ali, to the English camp, by whom his lordship sent his ultimatum to the sultan; which included the surrender of territory, the payment of a large sum of money towards the expenses of the war, and the deliverance of hostages for his faithful performance of the terms. Tippoo hesitated to accede to these hard conditions. But in the night of the 18th of February, while a small detachment, under Major Dalrymple and Captain Robertson, made a demonstration on the south side of the fort, the trenches were opened on the north—the first parallel being completed without the loss of a man. The approaches were carried nearer on the 21st and 22nd; and by the 23rd, fifty heavy guns were in position, and ready to open upon the walls. Then Tippoo called together his principal officers. They met in a mosque, the Koran before them; and having detailed the terms to which only the English would agree, he said, "You have heard the conditions of peace, and you have now to hear and answer my question—shall it be peace or war?" They pronounced for peace; and, on the 24th, he signed the following articles, which were transmitted to the British camp:—

1st. That one-half the dominions which the sultan of Mysore possessed previously to the war, should be ceded to the allies, from the countries adjacent to theirs.—2nd. That the sultan should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees [£3,500,000], one-half immediately, and the remainder by instalments, at intervals not exceeding four months.—3rd. That all prisoners taken by the four powers—the English, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and the Sultan—from the time of Hyder Ali, should be restored.—4th. That two of the sultan's sons should be delivered up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.—5th. That when the hostages should have arrived at the camp, with articles under the seal of Tippoo, a

counterpart should be sent from the allies, hostilities should cease, and the terms of a treaty of alliance and perpetual friendship should be agreed upon.

On the 26th a crore of rupees was paid; and the young princes, Abd-ul-Khalik, about ten, and Mooza-ud-Dien, about eight years of age, were delivered up. When they departed, the walls were crowded with spectators, the sultan being amongst them. They were each mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, and seated in a silver howdah, their dresses glittering with jewels. The vakeels who had conducted the negotiations attended them, and they were preceded by several messengers mounted on camels, and seven standard-bearers, carrying small green flags, suspended from rockets: 100 pikemen, with spears inlaid with silver, and 200 sepoy, brought up the rear. They departed under a salute from the fort, and were received at the British camp with twenty-one discharges from its park of artillery. The vakeels delivered the royal children to Sir John Kennaway, the governor-general's agent; and when they reached Lord Cornwallis's tent, his lordship received them most kindly, took one in each hand, and placed them at his side. The head vakeel concluded the ceremony by a graceful appeal to the feelings of that nobleman. "These children," said he, "were this morning the sons of the sultan, my master. Their situation is now changed; and they must look up to your lordship as their father." The governor assured them the trust should not be misplaced; and he religiously kept his promise to protect the persons of these youthful scions of royalty, and to promote their happiness.

There were great difficulties to encounter with Tippoo before a definite treaty of peace was signed. Sir John Kennaway conducted the negotiations with the sultan's vakeels, who were particularly instructed to resist the demand that the dominions of the rajah of Coorg should be restored to him. Other objections were made; and Tippoo having employed the interval in restoring his damaged walls, and intimated that he would not comply with the required conditions, Lord Cornwallis issued orders to recommence the cannonade, and sent off the princes to Bangalore. Tippoo feared the result, and signed the treaty; his vakeels announcing to Sir John Kennaway, that all his terms were acceded to. The royal hostages were immediately recalled; and, on the 18th of March, they received the

treaty from the hands of their father's vakeels, and delivered it on the following day to Lord Cornwallis. By this treaty, the rajah of Coorg obtained repossession of all his territories. The English gained the dominions of Tippoo on the Malabar coast; the important town and fort of Dindigul, and the territory surrounding it; a tract in the west of the Carnatic; together with Baramahal, a subdivision of Southern India, Salem, and the Lower Ghauts—giving a strong frontier to Comandiel. These cessions increased the revenues of the company something more than £500,000 per annum.—The Nizam received the territory between the Kistna and the Pennar, including the forts of Gunjecotah and Cuddapah.—The Mahrattas recovered the dominions that had been taken from them, as far as the river Tumbudra.—Bangalore was restored to Tippoo; but he was so disgusted with that place for having been the head-quarters and grand depôt of the English army, that he ordered the fortifications to be levelled with the ground; an order which was not carried into execution. As soon as he got repossession of the Laul Baugh, he commenced purifying that spot by disinterring the Europeans who had been buried there, and throwing the bodies into the river. The mausoleum of Hyder was repaired, fresh trees were planted, and every pains taken to obliterate the traces left by the late occupiers.—They (the mass of the army) were not all pleased with the treaty; they would have infinitely preferred storming Seringapatam. As some set-off to their disappointment, and as a reward for their conduct (which had been excellent throughout the campaign), the commander-in-chief ordered, that six months' batta should be paid to them; his excellency and General Meadows giving up their share to increase the dividend to the remainder. This sum was advanced out of the crore of rupees which Tippoo had paid when the preliminaries of peace were accepted and signed by him.—The batta paid, the troops were marched back to the company's dominions, except such portions of them as were left as garrisons in the principal towns and forts of the ceded territories.*

The conclusion of the peace with Tippoo had been accelerated by the information

* The *Narratives* of Major Dirom and E. Moor; Colonel Wilks' *Sketches of the South of India*; Auber's *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of British Power in India*; and Sir John Malcolm's *Political*

received from Europe relative to the differences between England and revolutionary France—differences which, it was apprehended, might end in war. But for that intelligence, Lord Cornwallis probably would, as his army wished, have rejected Tippoo's first overtures, and carried on the war till Seringapatam had fallen, and the power of the Mysore chief had been entirely broken up; but his excellency did not wish to have the French and the sultan of Mysore to contend with at the same time. Soon after the peace with that chief was signed, the news of war having broken out between England and France was received by his lordship at Calcutta; and he again hastened to Madras, to take the command of the army, with a view of recapturing the French settlements on that coast, which had been given up to them when the last peace was signed. Before he arrived, Major-general Braithwaite, at the head of an army from Fort St. George, had attacked and captured Pondicherry; and the other French factories were seized without resistance.—About the same time (in 1793), the company's charter was renewed for a term of twenty years; and soon after Lord Cornwallis resigned the governor-generalship, and returned to England. The last few months of his administration had been peaceable. Having allowed the Nizam to retain the services of a British detachment, Nanah Furnevese, the guardian of the young Peishwa of the Mahrattas,† made an application for the permanent annexation of a similar stipendiary force to the Mahratta army. As it was avowedly to be employed against Scindia, who was at peace with England, this application was refused. A new convention was stipulated with the Nizam, by which the management of his revenues, partially assumed by Lord Cornwallis during the war, was restored to him. The governor-general had also endeavoured to induce Asoph-ad-Dowlah, the licentious and extravagant nabob of Oude, to introduce something like order and economy in his dominions, with little effect.—Various changes were introduced into the company's territories with regard to the administration of justice and the collection of the revenues; the zemindars, or collectors of the land revenues, being elevated into a

History of India; are the principal authorities from which the foregoing narrative of the war with Tippoo has been compiled.

† See *ante*, p. 94.



LOLD HOWE'S VICTORY, JUNE 1ST, 1794 (from a painting by Touthorbourg)

body of landed proprietors, and their land-tax being considered as rent. This change has been much complained of. It is certain, however, that the noble lord did not leave the company's affairs in a worse position than he found them. Their dominions were greatly extended; and the state of their finances considerably improved: the revenue, for the year ending April, 1793, being £8,225,628; and the expenses, of every description, £7,007,050; being a clear

surplus of £1,218,578. As a whole, Lord Cornwallis's government had been very successful; great designs had succeeded, though some minor reforms had failed. He left a good name and a high reputation behind him in India; and on his arrival in England, the approbation of the sovereign and his government was expressed by his elevation to a marquise, and his being appointed master-general of the ordnance.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR JOHN SHORE'S ADMINISTRATION; CHANGES IN INDIA; THE MAHRATTAS; THE NIZAM; THE CARNATIC; OUDE; MYSORE; ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MORNINGTON; HIS ARRIVAL IN INDIA; HIS ANTECEDENTS; HIS FIRST MOVEMENTS; WAR WITH TIPPOO; BATTLE OF SEDASEER; BATTLE OF MALAVELLY; SECOND SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM; TERMS OFFERED TO TIPPOO; CAPTURE OF SERINGAPATAM; DEATH OF TIPPOO; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DISINTERESTEDNESS; ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SERINGAPATAM AND MYSORE; FAMILY OF CHAM RAJ; APPROPRIATION OF TERRITORY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE NIZAM.

SIR JOHN SHORE (who had been many years in the service of the company) succeeded Lord Cornwallis as governor-general; the high office having been offered to General Meadows, who declined it. Sir John's local knowledge of India was extensive; he was intimately acquainted with the financial system, and his disposition was pacific. He assumed the government on the 28th of October, 1793; and on the same day, Major-general Sir Robert Abercrombie became commander-in-chief. Sir John Shore was the first governor of the merchant princes' territories whose administration was undisturbed by active war; though, in 1795-'6, chiefly through the zeal of Lord Hobart (the governor of Madras), the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, and Cochin were taken possession of. During his government there were several changes in the neighbouring states, which it is necessary to allude to, as some of them led to the events that occurred under his successor, the Earl of Mornington.—The sovereignty of India was exercised at that time by the English, the Mahrattas, Tippoo Sultan, and the Nizam; and the Mahratta power was divided

between four chiefs, the Peishwa (nominally the head of the whole Mahratta states, and who was completely in the hands of his minister, Nanah Furnevese), Mahadjee Scindia, Holkar, and the rajah of Berar. Of these chiefs, Scindia was the most powerful; and he exercised complete control over the aged emperor of Delhi, Shah Alum. His pride and arrogance increased with his power; and it is probable that the other Mahratta chiefs would have taken steps to humble him, but he died of fever in February, 1794. His great-nephew and adopted son, Dowlut Rao Scindia, succeeded him; and shortly after, the whole of the Mahratta states made war upon the Nizam: Dowlut Rao, Holkar, the Guicowar, and the rajah of Berar, all gathering together for the last time, under the nominal authority of the Peishwa, Madhoo Rao II.* The Nizam solicited the aid of the English, which Sir John Shore refused to grant; and, defeated by the Mahrattas on the 11th of March, 1795, near Beeder, he took refuge in Kurdlah, a small fort in the now British district of Ahmednugger. Here he was completely hemmed in by the enemy, and constrained

* Duff.

to accede to an ignominious treaty.* By the terms of this agreement, the fort and district of Dowlatabad, near the north-west frontier of the Nizam's territory, were ceded to the Mahrattas, with other districts, yielding a yearly revenue of thirty lacs of rupees: the Nizam also agreed to pay immediately three crores of rupees, and to yield his prime minister as a hostage into their hands.† These injurious stipulations were not enforced. The peace had scarcely been signed (towards the close of 1795), when Madhoo Rao, the Peishwa, who had attained the age of twenty-one years, under the influence of a feeling of depression at the tyranny exercised over him by Nanah Furnevese, threw himself from a terrace of the palace at Poonah, and received so much injury, that he died in two days. He wished that his cousin, Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, should succeed him; but Nanah Furnevese, fearing the loss of his own power, set up an infant, whom he had succeeded in persuading the widow of Madhoo Rao (herself quite a child) to adopt as Peishwa. Dowlut Rao Scindia espoused the cause of Bajee Rao; and arriving at Poonah with a large force, he placed him on the musnud, and from that time became lord of the councils at Poonah instead of Nanah.‡ These dissensions enabled the Nizam to procure a release from three-fourths of the cessions and tributes stipulated for by the treaty of Kurdlah; and an insurrection set on foot by his eldest son, Ali Jah, rendered him again desirous of cultivating the friendship of the English, which had been interrupted by the refusal of Sir John Shore to assist him in his war with the Mahrattas. At the same time he permitted a French faction to establish itself at Hyderabad, which seriously interfered with the re-establishment of British ascendancy.§

In 1795, Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Omdut-ul-Omrah. This event brought, at the moment, no change in its train, as far as the relations with England were concerned. Sir John Shore wished to make some new arrangements with the young nabob; but he persisted in adhering to those concluded with Lord Cornwallis in 1792, and he paid his debts to the company through the agency of usurers, who preyed upon his people. ||—

* Thornton.

† Sir John Malcolm's *Political History of India*.

‡ Thornton.

In 1797, Asoph-ad-Dowlah, nabob of Oude (who, in 1794, had succeeded to the treasures and territory of Fyzoollah Khan, the Rohilla ruler of Rampore), died. He left the nabobship to his son Vizier Ali, seventeen years old, whose title the English at first acknowledged. It was disputed, however, by the brother of the late nabob, Sadut Ali, who contended that Vizier Ali was illegitimate. This proved to be the case; and on visiting Lucknow, Sir John Shore not only convinced himself of this fact, but also of his unpopularity; and that all the other children of Asoph were likewise supposititious. He therefore recognised Sadut Ali, who, on being proclaimed sovereign of Oude on the 21st of January, 1798, agreed to increase the subsidy paid to the company, in return for the military establishment they were obliged to keep up for the defence of Oude, to £760,000 per annum; also to cede to them the fortress of Allahabad, and to pay £80,000 for the repair of the fortifications. It was further stipulated, that "the British troops in Oude were not to consist of less than 10,000 men, including Europeans and natives, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; and should it become necessary to increase this number to 13,000 men, or more, the nabob agreed to pay the additional expense thus occasioned."¶ The nabob also pledged himself not to hold communication with any foreign state; to employ no other Europeans in his service; and not to suffer any Europeans to settle in his dominions without the consent of the company.—With regard to Mysore, the two sons of Tippoo had been restored to him in 1794; and in 1795, Cham Raj, the titular rajah, died. He had been a prisoner in his palace from the time he succeeded to his visionary title; and on his death, Tippoo, who previously, "had once in the year at least manifested some outward show of respect for his nominal lord, did not go through even the formal ceremony which the melancholy occasion required. The family of the rajah were expelled from the palace, robbed of all they possessed, down even to their few personal ornaments, and lodged in a wretched hovel."** The sultan, from that time, did not even pretend to show any deference to a superior power. In 1797 he made fresh overtures to France, sending an ambassador

§ Auber.

|| Penhoen, *Empire Anglaise*.

¶ Thornton.

** *Ibid*.

to the Mauritius, where he arrived in January, 1798. Nothing was gained but a proclamation "inviting volunteers to enlist under the flag of Mysore, to aid in driving the English from India. The invitation was, to a small extent, responded to; but the volunteers were the mere refuse of the island. With these, however, the emissaries of Tippoo embarked; and though their master could not but feel disappointed with such a reinforcement, he received the adventurers with great cordiality, externally sympathised with their creed of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity,' and even became a member of a Jacobin club, where he was received and described as citizen Tippoo."*

Early in 1798, the governor-general (who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth), on account of ill-health, resigned his office, leaving the country peaceful, but not secure. The Mahrattas and the Mysore chief were still animated by feelings the reverse of cordial to the English; and the refusal of Sir John Shore to aid the Nizam against the former, had very much lessened English influence in the Deccan. On his return to England, Lord Teignmouth was threatened with an impeachment; but he was supported by the government, and by Mr. Wilberforce and his numerous friends, who opposed Mr. Hastings and advocated the cause of his lordship, on account of the warlike propensities of the one, and the pacific tendencies of the other; and no proceedings were taken. He was succeeded by a nobleman of a very different stamp—the Earl of Mornington: and about the time of Lord Teignmouth's resignation, Lord Clive (son of the great Lord Clive) was appointed governor of Madras.

Richard Colley, second Earl of Mornington, was the son of the first earl, whose name is known as the composer of some of the finest glees and chants in the English language.† His mother, who was daughter to the first Viscount Dungannon, is described as being "highly gifted both in person and intellect, and especially remarkable for force of character, which she retained unimpaired even to advanced age, and transmitted to at least three of her sons."—The earl was born at Dublin, in 1760; received his education at Eton and

Oxford; and succeeded to his title in 1780, on the death of his father, before he was of age. As Earl of Mornington, he took his seat in the Irish house of peers in 1781; but he soon looked out for a wider sphere of action; and coming to England, he was first returned to the House of Commons (being an Irish peer) for Beeralston, and subsequently for Windsor. In 1793 he was created a privy-councillor; in 1796 he was appointed a lord of the Treasury, and one of the members of the Board of Control; in which capacity he took every opportunity of making himself acquainted with the history of India, and the nature of its government. On being appointed to succeed Sir John Shore as governor of India, he was raised to the British peerage, by the title of Baron Wellesley. His brother Henry, afterwards Lord Cowley, accompanied him as his private secretary. Another brother, Arthur, subsequently the great Duke of Wellington, had been for some months in the East, being colonel of the 33rd regiment, which formed part of the Indian army. The noble earl, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley, arrived at Madras in April, 1798; and after a brief stay, proceeded to Calcutta, where the former assumed the office of governor-general on the 17th of May; "a day ever to be remembered in the annals of British India, because we date from it a new and splendid era in our history."‡

His lordship took the government at a critical period. Whilst civil reforms were much needed, an interruption to the peace of India was threatened, both on the side of the Mahratta territory and from Mysore. When at Madras, his lordship had concerted with General Harris—who performed the duties of governor of that presidency from the departure of Lord Hobart till the arrival of Lord Clive—measures for strengthening the army, and putting it in a condition to take the field. On his arrival at Calcutta, he turned his attention to restoring those ties of alliance with several of the native powers, which had been seriously shaken during the government of his predecessor. With the Nizam his task was rendered easy, by the insolence of the French, who had established themselves at Hyderabad, and some of whom that chief had taken into his service, to assist in disciplining his troops. He had a corps of 14,000 sepoy,

* Thornton.

† Among the Musical Compositions the glee: "Here in cool Grot is the best known.

‡ Lushington's *Life and Services of General Lord Harris*.

under M. Raymond and other French officers; whose conduct had so effectually disgusted both the Nizam and his minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, that they assented at once to a proposal for disbanding this force, and increasing the English contingent. M. Raymond died while the negotiation was progressing: and his successor, M. Piron, was little adapted to conciliate the offended prince and his minister. Finally, the Nizam agreed to disband all the French corps, and to give up the French officers to the British government: the latter, on their part, assented to stipulations for augmenting the subsidiary force to 6,000 sepoys, with a due proportion of field-pieces, and for defending his territories against the Mahrattas; for which services he was to pay a subsidy of 2,417,100 rupees per annum. The provision that the French officers should be delivered up to the British seems a strange one, and abstractedly indefensible; but those officers were not popular with their troops, and expressed themselves as glad to receive the protection of the government of the East India Company.* After they had left them, the sepoys mutinied for arrears of pay. Some battalions of the English sepoys, under Captains Malcolm and Roberts, were on the spot: they prevented all violence; and very soon tranquillity and order were restored.

With the Mahrattas the governor-general was less successful. M. Perron, a Frenchman, was at the head of a disciplined force in their territories; and those who acted for the Peishwa would not disband it. It was ascertained that negotiations were going on between them and Tippoo; and, in the event of a war, there was every reason to expect that the Mahratta and Mysorean force would be united against England. But it was on the side of Mysore that the most immediate danger threatened. A few weeks after his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Mornington was informed of the embassy sent by Tippoo to the Mauritius; and a copy of the proclamation, of which we have given the substance,† was sent to him. As time progressed, other evidence of the intrigues of Tippoo with the French came to light. The secret committee of the court of directors apprised the governor-general of the reason there was to believe that an armament which had left Toulon for the conquest of Egypt, might, that object accomplished, next attack India; and the following letter from General Buonaparte

to Tippoo, was intercepted, and sent to Lord Wellesley:—

To Tippoo Saib.—Buonaparte, member of the National Institute, and Commander-in-Chief.

“You have already learned that I have arrived on the shores of the Red Sea, at the head of an innumerable and invincible army, burning with desire to free you from the iron yoke of England. I seize this occasion of expressing my wish to learn from you, by way of Muscat and Mocha, the circumstances of your political position. I even desire that you would send to Suez or Cairo some persons with sufficient ability, and strong enough in your confidence, to treat with me. May the Almighty give you glory, and destroy you enemies.”

This information naturally caused the Indian government to direct its utmost attention to the organisation of its forces, and to the preparation of the most extensive means of offence and defence. The intelligence which was received in October of the defeat and destruction of the French fleet by Nelson, in the bay of Aboukir, did not cause any relaxation in these efforts. The arrival of Lord Clive at Madras had greatly facilitated all the preliminary steps; and as soon as Lord Mornington had an army ready to take the field, he demanded explanations of Tippoo, requiring his faithful observance of the conditions of the treaty of Seringapatam. To the first application, Tippoo merely returned empty expressions of good-will. He was then required to abandon his French connections, and to receive Major Doveton as an envoy from the British government. The reply was, that he entertained no hostile intentions towards the English; but he evasively declined to receive the envoy. Further conditions were sent to him, his rejection of which, he was informed, would be the cause of war. In this communication his intrigues with the French were enumerated; and he was required to expel all Frenchmen from his service and dominion; and, as an indemnity for the expense of the armaments which the British government had been compelled to organise, the cession of the maritime province of Canary, the payment of a stipulated sum of money, and the establishment of accredited agents of the English government and of their allies, at his capital, were required.‡ The despatch containing these conditions reached Tippoo about the 24th of January, 1799. No answer was received till the 13th of February. It was brief, merely stating that the sultan was going upon a hunting excursion, and that Major Doveton, with a few attendants,

* Sir John Malcolm.

† See *ante*, p. 139.

‡ Wellesley's *Despatches*.

might be sent after him. At the same time he dispatched an envoy to the French Directory, urging their immediate aid to enable him "to attack and annihilate for ever their common enemies."*—Ten days before this note reached him, Lord Mornington had put his army in motion. As soon as it was received, a declaration of war was issued, which appeared on the 22nd of February; and on the 5th of March, the British force, under General Harris, with the Nizam's contingent, under his son, Meer Alum, crossed the frontier of Mysore, *en route* for Seringapatam.

This army had been collected at Vellore, and consisted of 4,381 European, and 10,695 native, infantry; 884 European, and 1,751 native, cavalry; with 608 gunners; forming in all, 18,319 fighting men: the artillery comprised forty battering guns, fifty-seven field-pieces, and seven howitzers; and there were 1,483 lascars, and 1,000 pioneers. This array of force was not merely formidable in numbers; it was, in every respect, effective; and "an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India." The Nizam's contingent comprised 10,157 infantry and 6,000 horse, with a field-train. It was, as we have stated, commanded by his son; but the 33rd regiment was attached to it, and the command of the united force given to Colonel Wellesley. Besides this force, General Stuart, with 6,420 men (1,600 of whom were Europeans), was marching from Malabar to cooperate with it. A third corps, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, under Colonels Reid and Brown, advanced to threaten the enemy in flank, and to aid in securing regular and competent supplies of provisions, &c., to the invaders. The force which Tippoo had to resist the allies, "may be stated, in round numbers, at 33,000 effective firelocks, including the garrison of Seringapatam, but no other garrison, and exclusive of officers; with a numerous artillery, amounting to 18,000 more; and about 15,000 cavalry and rocket-men: making an effective total, including officers, of about 66,000 fighting men; of which, at the commencement of hostilities, about 5,000 were detached, and eventually were not available during the war."† The fortifications of Seringapatam have already been described,

* Wellesley's *Despatches*

† Thornton.

and they were now much strengthened. Six thousand men had been at work upon them for six years, repairing any damages done in the former attack, and adding to the bastions and ramparts wherever it was possible. The number of guns was also increased.

The first operations of General Harris in the Mysore were directed to the capture of several hill-forts; and the sultan would have acted wisely, had he concentrated his forces to resist this main attack. Instead, however, of marching to the east to meet General Harris, he went nearly 200 miles to the west, hoping to encounter and defeat the small force under General Stuart, while entangled in the jungles of Coorg. That general had stationed Lieutenant-colonel Montresor, at the head of a brigade of three native battalions, upon the hill of Sedaseer (or Ladisseer), eight miles in advance of his own position; and on the morning of the 5th of March, that officer was informed by the rajah of Coorg, who had been surveying the Mysore territory from the top of the hill, that an encampment was forming in his front near Periapatam, a town on the south-west frontier of Mysore. Before night closed, several hundred tents were pitched; and, as a green one was conspicuous amongst them, it denoted the presence of the sultan. On being apprised of this circumstance, General Stuart reinforced Colonel Montresor with an additional battalion of sepoy, but determined not to move himself till he had discovered more of the intentions of Tippoo. He was not kept long in suspense. General Hartley, his second in command, advanced at day-break the next morning to reconnoitre. He found the enemy in motion; but, from the nature of the country, added to a thick mist that prevailed, he found it impossible to define his object. This was soon apparent. Tippoo had expected to surprise Lieutenant-colonel Montresor; and by 9 A.M., having penetrated the jungle, he made a furious attack upon the front and flanks of the sepoy on the Sedaseer hill. The attack was received with the greatest firmness, as it certainly was made with great gallantry. The Mysoreans repulsed, returned to the charge; and this they did repeatedly, the sepoy maintaining their ground for something more than five hours. This enabled General Stuart to come up with the main body to their relief. He first encountered a division of the Mysore

army, which was passing to the rear of the English sepoy: after a sharp conflict, this division was broken and defeated. The English then rushed to the front, where Lieutenant-colonel Montresor's brigade was still fighting bravely, though almost exhausted by fatigue, and their ammunition nearly expended. The fate of the day, which trembled in the balance—Tippoo's army so greatly outnumbering Montresor's brigade—was now decided: the Mysoreans broke, cast away their arms, and many of them their turbans (which were found on the road), and fled to Periapatam, having lost 2,000 men in killed and wounded; the English loss being about 150. As he remained at Periapatam five days, whilst General Stuart withdrew the brigade from the Sedaseer hill, and concentrated his forces, the sultan claimed a victory in the face of the facts we have stated.

About the 12th of March, the sultan of Mysore directed his course to the westward, to meet General Harris, whose advance to the eastward was retarded by the usual accompaniments to an Indian army—the unwieldy baggage, arising from the profusion of unnecessary equipments, and the immense number of camp-followers. Much of the former had to be sacrificed; and not only were superfluities thrown aside, but such a quantity of powder, shot, and military stores was lost or wasted, that some alarm began to be excited; whilst the draught and carriage bullocks died by hundreds and thousands—60,000 perishing on the march. No enemy was encountered till the invading army reached the neighbourhood of Malavelly—a large mud fort, situated about two miles from an extensive tank or artificial lake, on the principal road to Seringapatam, from which it was distant twenty-five miles. Here Tippoo's army was discovered; and both the Mysorean and the English generals seemed resolved upon an encounter—the one hoping to arrest the march of an enemy upon his capital; the other seeking to clear away obstacles to his advance. Tippoo, with one of his officers, Poorniah, had arranged a plan of attack that promised well. That officer, at the head of 300 men, was to charge and break through the right flank of the English; making way for the entire force of Tippoo's cavalry, who were to follow up the attack. But General Harris had also made his preparations. General Floyd being with the advance guard, about a mile from Malavelly,

ascertained the position of the enemy, and that a movement was in progress. He informed General Harris, who resolved upon an immediate attack; and he had just completed his arrangements, when the 300 horsemen, under Poorniah, were discovered coming furiously on, having partaken largely of stimulating draughts. Just as they burst from the jungle, the order to fire was given, and forty horsemen fell to the ground. The charge failed; and the right wing, composed of the Nizam's troops, General Floyd's cavalry, and the 33rd regiment, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, advanced against Tippoo's left; General Harris himself attacking the right. For a short time the Mysoreans kept up a vigorous discharge of artillery and rockets; and 2,000 picked men advanced to charge the 33rd. The English reserved their fire till the enemy had come to within sixty yards, when they threw a well-directed volley into his ranks, and followed it up by a bayonet charge. The Mysoreans did not attempt to stand; they broke at once and fled, and were followed by the entire army; their retreat being accelerated by a charge of the British cavalry, which speedily scattered the ranks that remained entire, and captured six standards. A number of Tippoo's best troops were sabred and bayoneted; and the defeat of the Mysoreans was complete. They lost nearly 2,000 men; the British only fifty-six, in killed, wounded, and missing.

Tippoo now employed his men in removing or destroying all the forage and other supplies upon the main road to Seringapatam, burning even the grass as it grew. But General Harris took another route. He turned to the left after leaving Malavelly, and crossing the Cauvery at the ford of Soorilly, marched on Seringapatam by the south side of that river, instead of the road pursued by Lord Cornwallis seven years before, as the sultan had expected. Tippoo did not hear of this movement till it was accomplished, and the British army, with its battering-train, were within fifteen miles of his capital. He then felt that all was lost; and summoning his principal officers, he communicated to them the state of affairs, saying, "We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" The unanimous reply was, "To die along with you;" and they separated, resolved to make another effort to arrest the progress of the English, by contesting the passage of the ford across the stream to the island

upon which Seringapatam is built. But here again the sultan was disappointed. Instead of proceeding to the east, General Harris took a circuit to the south-west side of the capital; and there, on the 5th of April, he took up his position at a distance of about two miles from the fortress, into which Tippoo had marched his troops, with a determination to defend it to the last extremity.—The English position was a strong one. Their left was protected by the Cauvery; their right by elevated mounds; and there were ample materials round them, in the jungles and forests, for the fascines and gabions necessary for their works. The enemy held a defensive position behind a watercourse in their front, from which the besiegers might have been considerably annoyed. This post Colonels Wellesley and Shaw were ordered to attack in the night of the 5th. Owing to some confusion, occasioned by the darkness of the night, the attack failed; but it was renewed in the morning, and succeeded. The Mysoreans were thus dislodged from their strongest outwork.

The siege was pushed on with diligence; and whilst the necessary steps were taking to make the approaches, General Floyd was dispatched with a detachment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to meet General Stuart and the Bombay army, and escort them to Seringapatam. Tippoo sent a detachment to intercept them, but failed; and on the 14th of April, the junction was effected. Tippoo now attempted to re-open negotiations; but rejected, at once, the terms proposed for a treaty, viz., that he should surrender his maritime territories, and half of the other portions of his dominions; pay two crore of sicca rupees; and entirely renounce his French alliance. These terms were certainly harsh; and the probability is, that they were proposed under the idea that they would not be acceded to. The wish of the Indian government must have been to crush Tippoo entirely, as he had given ample proofs of his treachery and bad faith; and it was deemed desirable, either to effect his complete downfall, or so to reduce his power, that he would be no longer dangerous. With a view to the former, the siege was vigorously pressed. General Stuart succeeded in taking up a position on the northern bank of the Cauvery, from whence he could support the main attack: on the 20th and 21st, Colonel Sherbrooke and Colonel Wellesley

carried two strongly-intrenched posts that defended the approaches to the wall: on the 22nd, the garrison made a sortie in considerable force, attacking General Stuart and his army; but were repulsed with the loss of 600 men; and, on the morning of the 30th, a close breaching-battery was opened on the fortress. On the 28th, Tippoo had renewed his proposals to negotiate; but was informed, that no ambassadors would be received, unless four of his sons and four of his generals (including Seyed Ghofar, one of his most faithful and bravest chiefs) were delivered as hostages, and a crore of rupees paid, in proof of the sincerity of his wish for peace. To these proposals no answer was returned; and Tippoo appears to have abandoned himself to what he deemed his fate, never believing, however, that Seringapatam would be taken.

On the 2nd of May, two more batteries were completed, at a distance of less than 400 yards; and on the 3rd, the walls were so much damaged, that Colonel Wellesley reported the breach to be practicable, and preparations were made for an immediate assault. In the course of that night, Lieutenants Farquhar and Lalor forded the river, and marked out a fordable passage, with sticks, for the troops; and on the 4th, the men destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches before daybreak. For a few days previously, the sultan had forgotten all his military skill, and abandoned himself to the devices of superstition; had entreated the Brahmins, whom he had hitherto persecuted, to put up prayers, and to perform the *jebbum* (a strange sort of magical incantation) in his behalf; and had consulted the astrologers, from whom he received such answers to his questions as were not calculated to inspirit him; and it is said, that they predicted the 4th of May as the time when imminent danger would be pending. On the morning of that day, his faithful servant Seyed Ghofar, observed that the English trenches were unusually crowded, and he sent a messenger to the sultan, to inform him that the assault was about to commence. There were those around Tippoo, however, who persuaded him that the English would not have the temerity to make the attack by daylight; and he appears to have assented to their representations, and to have gone through some incantations prescribed by the astrologers;—consisting of an ablution, the offering of a sacrifice, and the contemplation of his

face in a jar of oil! While Tippoo was thus engaged, Seyed Ghofar was struck by a cannon-ball, and killed. The sultan had gone through his mummeries, and had sat down to his noontide repast, when he was informed of the death of his best officer, and that the assault had commenced. He then determined to act: and taking a gun in his hand, he hastened to the northern ramparts, where he stationed himself before one of the traverses, fired on the assailants, and, it is believed, killed several of them.

The storming party consisted of 4,376 selected men, 2,494 being Europeans, the rest natives. They were led by Major-general Baird, who had requested that post of honour, from a desire to avenge the unjust captivity he had suffered within the walls of the fortress; he having been one of the officers who surrendered with the remains of Colonel Baillie's detachment, in 1780.* Colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop commanded two columns under him. It was one o'clock—an hour when the most perfect tranquillity appeared to prevail over the city; and the trenches seemed to be quieter than usual, and to contain only their ordinary guards: then Major-general Baird leaped upon the parapet of the advanced trench, drew his sword, and shouted, with the voice of a stentor, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!" The forlorn hope (a sergeant and twelve men) led the van of either column; they instantly sprang forward, followed by the two corps under Colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, and all plunged into the river, under a heavy fire from the besiegers, who were roused into activity by the appearance of the martial figure of Baird on the parapet. In less time than it takes to describe the movement, the forlorn hope had crossed the river, followed by the two columns, and mounted the *fausse-braye* and the breaches together. The foremost of the assailants encountered on the slope a small but resolute body of Mysoreans; and nearly the whole perished. But the English pressed on; and a sergeant, shouting at the time, "Success to Lieutenant Graham!" (that being his own name, and the gallant fellow anticipating a commission for his daring), planted the British flag on the rampart: that instant he was shot through the head! There was still much hard fighting; the traverses were stronger than was expected; and

* See *ante*, p. 103.

the Mysoreans, having their sultan once more amongst them, fought bravely. The two columns of the assailants filed off—Colonel Sherbrooke taking the right, and Colonel Dunlop the left. The former carried everything before them, the enemy retreating at the point of the bayonet; and in less than an hour, this column had swept the whole of the southern ramparts, and arrived in triumph at the eastern gateway. The column under Colonel Dunlop had a somewhat more difficult task. That officer was wounded at the breach; and as the column was fired upon both in front and flank as it advanced, all the leading officers were soon either killed or disabled. Then Lieutenant Farquhar placed himself at the head of the column, but had scarcely done so, when he received a wound, and instantly fell dead. Captain Lambton, aide-de-camp to Major-general Baird, then took the command; and the Mysoreans were driven before them, till, at an opening to the right, the column of Colonel Sherbrooke was seen. The enemy was now thrown into great confusion; and many of the garrison, seeing that a longer defence was impossible, attempted to escape by uniting their turbans and lowering themselves from the bastions. Some succeeded; but numbers were subsequently found at the base of the walls, who had been maimed or killed in the attempt. In the midst of this confusion, the sultan was seen to mount a horse and make for a gate in the interior, "apparently without aim or object. There he received a wound in the right side. He rode forward a few paces, when he was again wounded in the left breast, and, at the same moment, his horse was brought down. He was placed by a follower in a palanquin, under an arch," and a few Mysoreans gathered around him. In a few minutes the British approached, and the sultan's turban being a conspicuous object, attracted the notice of a grenadier, who rushed forward and attempted to seize "his sword-belt, which was very valuable; and had he submitted to lose it, the man would probably have passed on, contented with his prize; but Tippoo, weak and helpless as he was, seized his sword, and, with a feeble hand, made a stroke at the soldier, who thereupon shot him through the head."† Some more of the English troops came up at this moment, and the palanquin was overturned, the Mysoreans cut down, and the corpse of Tippoo,

† Thornton.





SURRENDER OF THE SONS OF TIPPOO SAIB AT MYSORE.

stripped of everything valuable, was left amongst the dying and the dead.

Thus perished Tippoo Saib; but his fate being unknown to General Baird, who was informed that several persons, apparently of high consideration, were collected in the palace, amongst whom it was supposed the sultan might be, Major Allan was dispatched with a flag of truce, and instructions to offer protection to all the occupants of the building, including the sultan, if he were amongst them. The major found the means of entering the palace by a broken wall, all the gates and doors being secured. A number of armed fugitives were assembled there, who offered no resistance, though they hesitated for some time to take Major Allan to the apartment where, they informed him, the family of Tippoo were concealed; but the sultan himself, they said, was not there. At length the major was admitted to the presence of the princes, who were seated on a carpet, in the midst of their numerous attendants. The generous heart of the soldier was moved by the sight of fallen royalty, and he was particularly affected by recognising Mooza-ud-Dien, whom, seven years before, he had seen, with his brother, delivered up to Lord Cornwallis. He succeeded in removing the fears which the princes not unnaturally entertained, and obtained a warrant from them for the occupation of the palace. They also agreed to accompany him to General Baird, who, with that portion of the attacking force which surrounded him, was found in a state of great excitement, it having just been ascertained, that thirteen Europeans, who were taken during the siege, had been massacred by their captors. Under the influence of this feeling, General Baird gave vent to threats against the illustrious captives and their attendants, which were forgotten as soon as uttered; and the sons of Tippoo were treated with the respect due to their rank, and the sympathy which their altered fortunes demanded. Whilst their removal and reception by General Baird was taking place, the royal apartments in the palace were searched for the sultan; but even under these circumstances, which might have excused less ceremony; our gallant countrymen were careful not to violate the seclusion of the ladies of the harem, who were suffered to remove to other rooms before those they occupied were examined. The sultan was not found; but at length,

a killadar confessed that his royal master was lying wounded, as he supposed, under a gateway, to whom he offered to conduct the English officers. They followed him (General Baird having joined them), and, after searching for some time by torch-light, as evening had set in, the body was found, stripped of every ornament except an amulet on the right arm, immediately below the shoulder. It was formed of a metal the colour of silver, surrounded by mottoes in Arabic and Persian, and enveloped in several pieces of silk. The features of the sultan were not distorted, and the dark, full eyes shone with such a life-like appearance, that Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan were not convinced, till they had narrowly scrutinised the inanimate countenance, and felt the pulse and heart, that life had actually departed. On examining the body more minutely, four wounds were found—three in the body, and one in the temple, where the ball had entered a little above the right ear, and lodged in the chest. The corpse was then removed to the palace, and deposited there for the night, with every mark of respect.*

During the night there were several acts of insubordination on the part of the captors. The city was set on fire; the treasury of Tippoo was forced, where some soldiers, headed by an officer, were busily loading themselves with gold; and other outrages were committed, which General Baird immediately exerted himself to suppress. The officer who disgraced himself by joining in the plunder of the treasury, soon after died; and out of respect, it is supposed, to the feelings of his family, General Baird concealed his name.—The next day, the remains of Tippoo Saib were, under the superintendance of the principal Mohamadan authorities, interred beside those of his father, Hyder Ali, in the superb mausoleum of Laul Bang; the chiefs of the Nizam's army joining with the surviving followers of the sultan in the procession to the tomb, and in paying the last marks of respect to his memory. A guard of honour, composed of the European flank companies, accompanied the funeral *cortège*, and minute guns were fired from the batteries during its progress.—The funeral was scarcely over, when a terrible storm passed over Seringapatam, the rain descending in torrents, the lightning darting its forked rays incessantly on every side, and thunder roll-

* Major Allan's *Narrative*.

ing awfully around. Two British officers and several privates were killed; and it has been observed, that this tempest, "terrific to an extent remarkable even in that tempestuous district, formed a fitting close to the funeral rites of the second and last representative of a brief but blood-stained dynasty."—The bravery of Tippoo has caused many to overlook the vices of his character, and to deem his fate a hard one; but the career of few men in his position has been so stained, not merely with crime, but with many revolting monstrosities. Thus, his laws were enforced by penalties, some of which will not bear repetition. "History exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example; combining the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule, and obscene mutilation—the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."* It was a great mercy to the people he ruled when his despotism ceased; and his name was no more mentioned amongst them.

The capture of Seringapatam, and the fall of the dynasty of Hyder Ali, were attained with less loss than might have been expected. From the 4th of April to the 4th of May (both inclusive), 22 officers, 181 British non-commissioned officers and privates, and 119 native troops were killed; and the number of wounded was—45 officers, 622 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 420 native troops: total, 322 killed; 1,087 wounded. There were, besides, 22 Europeans and 100 natives missing; making a grand total of 1,531 put *hors de combat*. The loss of the enemy, in the assault alone, was estimated at 8,000 men—about double the number of British troops engaged in that closing scene of the Mysorean wars. The trophies which were taken at Seringapatam were numerous and of immense value. The most splendid article was the sultan's throne—a crouching tiger, bearing a seat covered with sheet gold on its back, and a superb canopy, the fringe of which was composed of pearls—valued at 60,000 pagodas (£25,000); Tippoo's treasure and jewels were valued at £1,143,216 sterling; and the total number of pieces of ordnance was 922; *i.e.*, 373 brass guns, 72 mortars, 11 howitzers, and 466 iron guns; of these, 287 were mounted on the fortifications. There were also 49,000 small arms; and the ammunition comprised 424,000 round

* Wilks' *Sketches*.

shot, and 520lbs. of gunpowder. The fortress was found to be supplied with everything necessary for defence. It contained 11 large powder-magazines, 72 "expense" magazines, 11 armories for making and furnishing small arms; three buildings with machines for boring guns, four large arsenals, 17 other storehouses, containing accoutrements, swords, &c., and many granaries abundantly filled with provisions of every description.† The importance of the capture, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. It was highly thought of in England. The governor-general was created Marquis Wellesley; but as it was in the Irish peerage, he did not attach much value to the honour. He was also informed, that his majesty's ministers and the court of directors had agreed, that a portion of the spoils of Seringapatam, to the value of £100,000, should be appropriated to his use, the remainder to be divided among the troops. Lord Wellesley, though not in a position of affluence, refused to accept this large sum; he considered it at once as an encroachment on the claims of the army, and as likely to be an injurious precedent, holding out to future governor-generals of India temptations to pursue an aggressive and belligerent policy. A star of the order of St. Patrick, made of some of Tippoo's jewels, was then presented to him; and in 1801, the court of proprietors voted him an annuity of £5,000. It is to be regretted, for the honour of the British army, that the disinterestedness of the governor-general was not imitated by some of the military officers. The commander-in-chief, and Generals Hartley, Floyd, Baird, Popham, Bridges, and Stuart, were considered to have appropriated to themselves an undue share of the spoil—General Harris taking one-eighth of the whole, instead of one-sixteenth: their conduct did not escape the censure of the home authorities."

Seringapatam conquered, then came the question—who was to be the governor? General Baird expected the appointment; but he was not considered a fit person to be placed in that position; and General Harris conferred the post upon Colonel Wellesley, to the great displeasure of Baird, who, subsequently, in alluding to the arrangement, said, "Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer." The governor-general not only confirmed the appointment of his brother as

† Beatson's *War with Tippoo*.

governor of Seringapatam, but invested him with the superintendance of the civil government of the Mysorean territories attached to the company's dominions. He did so, because, from his "knowledge and experience of the judgment, temper, and integrity" of Colonel Wellesley, he "considered him the most proper person for the service."* The result proved that Lord Wellesley's judgment was correct; and that the confidence he placed in his brother was well-founded.

By the orders of the governor-general, the fortress of Vellore, in the Carnatic, was fitted up for the family of Tippoo, who left four legitimate, and seventeen illegitimate children; twenty-four having died before their father. The allowance made for the support of them was more liberal than that which Tippoo assigned for their maintenance; and the manner in which the chief officers of the late sultan were provided for, strikingly contrasted, also, with the parsimonious conduct of their former master, and impressed them with a conviction that they would be gainers by the change of rulers. The Hindoo population were also delighted by the generous treatment of the family of the late Cham Raj. They were found in the wretched hovel in which Tippoo had placed them on the death of the rajah,† and were not only removed to one of the royal residences, but the governor-general determined that the young prince, Kistna Raj Oodaveer, should be restored to the musnud, with a revenue exceeding that of the former Hindoo kingdom.

The arrangements for the disposal of Tippoo's family, the inauguration of the new rajah, and for the disposition of the other territories which had, under Hyder Ali and his son, constituted the Mysorean empire, were made and carried out by a commission, composed of General Harris, the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-colonel Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-colonel Close; with Captains Thomas Munro and John Malcolm as secretaries.—They first transferred the thirteen sons and seven daughters of Tippoo, and some hundreds of women who had belonged to the harems of Hyder Ali and his successor, to Vellore; and next took measures for the inauguration of Kistna Raj Oodaveer. Mysore, the original capital of the rajahship (a city ten miles south by

west from Seringapatam), was fixed upon as the future seat of the rajah's government; and the 30th of June for his inauguration. The ceremony took place in the presence of several of the chief officers of the late government, and of many thousand Hindoos, whose joy on the occasion was unbounded. Led by Lieutenant-general Harris and Meer Alum (the Nizam's commander-in-chief), the young rajah was, about the hour of noon—the troops firing three volleys of musketry, and the guns of Seringapatam a royal salute—placed on the ancient ivory throne that Aurungzebe himself had used, and which had been found in a lumber-room of the palace. When he had taken his seat, the signet-ring of the kingdom was delivered up to him; and he pledged himself to hold true allegiance to the English government. A Brahmin named Purmeah, who had been the late sultan's dewan or prime minister, was appointed to fill the same post to Kistna Raj; and there is no question that this act of the governor-general acquired for the English great popularity. It, however, has been much censured, as "the creation of a prince without power, except to oppress his country; and without dignity, because the conditions of his instalment were, that he was to be removed at the will of the company;"‡ one of whose officers (Lieutenant-colonel Close) was appointed resident at his court, with a complete control over his actions. It was also stipulated, that his entire military force should be English, for the support of which he should pay, annually, seven lacs of pagodas, and such a larger sum as might be necessary, in the case of war. But much might be said in defence of the arrangement, which was desirable at the time, were it only for the gratification it afforded the Hindoos;§ and the result does not appear to have been detrimental to the prosperity of the British government in India.—Of the other territories of Tippoo, the province of Canara, the district of Coimbatore, the populous city of Darpooram, the coast territory between the British possessions in Malabar and the Carnatic, the fortresses and ports which commanded the principal passes in the Mysorean plateau beyond the Ghauts, and the island and fortress of Seringapatam, were appropriated to the English. The districts of Gooty

† Horace St. John.

§ *Life of General Harris*, and Wellesley's *Despatches*.

* Lord Wellesley's *Despatches*.

† See *ante*, p. 138.

and Goorumconda, with a tract of country lying above Chittledroog, Sern, Rundi-droog, and Colar (but not those forts themselves), were assigned to the Nizam. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas had not only wholly failed to carry out the engagements into which he had entered with the English, but had actually (as was subsequently ascertained) accepted a heavy bribe from Tippoo to break faith with them;* still he was offered the districts of Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, and other provinces, but on condition that he should receive an English subsidiary force, and refer the settlement of a claim he urged against the Nizam to English arbitration. These terms were rejected; and the re-

served territories were divided between the Nizam and the English. By a treaty with the former, concluded in October, 1800, the cessions made to him in 1792 and 1799, from the territories of Mysore, were made over to the company; they undertaking to defend his other territories from all aggressors.—By this arrangement, and by those with the new rajah of Mysore, and the territory acquired in consequence of the overthrow of the dynasty of Hyder Ali, the company's revenues were increased about £5,000,000 per annum; whilst the death of Tippoo removed their most formidable enemy, and made England decidedly the preponderating power in the peninsula of Hindostan.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONEL WELLESLEY AT SERINGAPATAM; RESULTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION; DHOONDIAH WAUGH; HIS DEFEAT; AFFAIRS OF OUDE; INSURRECTION OF VIZIER ALI; ITS SUPPRESSION; TREATY WITH PERSIA; SIR JOHN MALCOLM; CAPTURE OF VIZIER ALI; SETTLEMENT OF OUDE; TANJORE, THE CARNATIC, AND SURAT; STATE OF THE COMPANY'S POSSESSIONS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE 18TH CENTURY; PROPOSED ATTACK ON THE FRENCH ISLANDS; TROOPS SENT FROM INDIA TO EGYPT; THE RESULT OF THAT EXPEDITION.

THE administration of the civil government of the ceded territories and of Seringapatam being vested in the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, he applied himself most diligently to the re-establishment of order. His new position gave him opportunities for developing his natural talents for command; and his administration was most advantageous to those who were placed under its influence. Every attempt at outrage and license was speedily suppressed at the capital; and the city and its environs soon felt the effects of restored peace, and a mild yet firm government, in the great improvement which was manifest in its trade, in its industry, and in the manners of its inhabitants. The same beneficial results spread over the entire territory; whose chiefs, with one exception, submitted cheerfully to their new rulers. The exception was in the person of Dhoondiah Waugh, a Mahratta, who, after serving under Tippoo several years, placed himself at the head of an independent predatory band, and committed great ravages. He was taken pri-

soner, and confined in the fortress of Seringapatam. During the assault he escaped, and again putting himself at the head of a body of daring freebooters, he defied alike the English and native authorities, levying contributions on all, committing acts of unmitigated cruelty, and affrighting the poor Hindoos by his merciless forays. Colonel Dalrymple was sent against him with a light corps of cavalry and native infantry. This officer fell in with and destroyed a body of the banditti, composed of 250 horse and 400 foot, and captured two forts occupied by Dhoondiah's followers, one on the east, the other on the west banks of the Tumbudra. Colonel Stevenson, with another detachment of cavalry and native infantry, penetrated into the district infested by the robber in another direction; took Simoga, and, on the 17th of August, fell in with, attacked, and defeated Dhoondiah himself, near Shikarpoor, a town in the Mysore, 156 miles to the north-west of Seringapatam. He escaped into the Mahratta territory with the remnant of his followers, from whence he was expelled by an

* Duff.

officer of the Peishwa; and nothing was heard of him for some time. After the expulsion of this freebooter, the most perfect tranquillity reigned in Mysore; and General Harris, who, in August, surrendered the command of all the troops in Mysore and its dependencies to Colonel Wellesley, and returned to Calcutta, in writing shortly after his arrival there to a friend, made the following statement:—

“In seven months’ absence from Madras, we not only took the capital of the enemy (who, as you observe, should never have been left the power of being troublesome), but marched to the northern extremity of his empire, and left it in so settled a state, that I journeyed from the banks of the Tumbudra, 300 miles across, in my palanquin, without a single soldier as escort, except indeed, at many places, the polygars and peons of the country, who insisted on being my guard through their respective districts. This was a kind of triumphal journey I did not dream of, when setting off. A conquest so complete in all its effects has seldom been known.”*

Dhoondiah, however, was not completely subdued. He was biding his time; and in May, 1800, he reappeared with 5,000 horse, upon the Mysorean frontier, calling himself “the King of the Two Worlds.” Colonel Wellesley himself took the command of a force destined to compel him to retire, if it did not crush him altogether; and he was authorised by his brother, the governor-general, to take the responsibility of entering the Mahratta territory after the enemy, if such a step were necessary. It was found to be unavoidable; and, instead of being resented, some of the Mahratta chiefs co-operated with the English in their pursuit of Dhoondiah. That pursuit is said to have resembled “a hunting match, or a long-continued chase;” and though a division of his army was defeated and dispersed on the 30th of July, it was not till the 9th of September that Colonel Wellesley, at the head of his cavalry, came up with the enemy; the English infantry having been left in the rear. As soon as Dhoondiah perceived the English, he drew up in a very strong position, and was charged by Colonel Wellesley at the head of the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry. The forces of “the King of the Two Worlds” were broken and driven from their position, and pursued till they were scattered over the face of the country. The victors then returned and attacked the royal camp, where they took possession of the elephants, camels, baggage, &c., which were left on the ground. The Nizam’s and Mahratta

cavalry came up shortly after, and continued the pursuit of the fugitives, who were completely dispersed, and never made head again. In the battle of the 9th, many of the freebooters and Dhoondiah himself were killed; the body of the latter was found, recognised, and brought to the British camp, on one of the guns attached to the 19th dragoons.†

Whilst the Hon. Colonel Wellesley was engaged in settling Mysore, the governor-general had several transactions with the subsidiary states, which must be briefly mentioned, though it is unnecessary to enter into long details.—The most complicated of these transactions was with Oude. We noticed the arrangement made by Sir John Shore with respect to that territory, after the death of Asoph-ad-Dowlah.‡ This arrangement did not work well; and Vizier Ali, the deposed nabob, evinced so much turbulence and violence at Benares, that the governor-general resolved to remove him to Calcutta. He opposed this change, and on the 14th of January, 1799, went to the house of Mr. Cherry, the British resident at Benares, and complained, in language the most intemperate, of his proposed removal. Mr. Cherry remonstrated with him, and the reply was, a blow from the sword of Ali, which brought his attendants upon the resident, who was murdered, with two gentlemen who were with him at the time—his private secretary and Captain Conway. Vizier Ali immediately left the residence, and collecting more followers, repaired to the house of Mr. Davis (the district judge, and the father of the late Sir J. Davis), who having told his wife and family to repair to the terrace at the top of the mansion, placed himself at the head of a narrow winding staircase, where, with only an Indian pike or spear, he kept his adversaries at bay till a party of horse arrived and put them to flight. They did not immediately leave Benares, but attempted to murder and plunder at other English houses. Some of the English families fled to the camp, which was not far from Benares; others “retired into a tall field of maize or Indian corn, and were completely hidden for the time, though but a short distance from the residence of one of their number. The arrival of General Erskine, with a troop of cavalry, caused the insurgents to collect together, and after firing

† *Wellington Despatches*, vol. i.

‡ See *ante*, p. 144.

* *Life of General Lord Harris*.

upon General Erskine's troops, killing two orderlies by the general's side, and wounding others, they retired to Vizier Ali's palace, which was strongly fortified, and the English were unable to force an entrance till some field-pieces were brought up. When the entrance was effected, it was found that Ali had fled; and all that could be done was to arrest those who were known to have been concerned with him. From the inquiries that were instituted, it was found that several Mohammedan chiefs, many Hindoo nobles, or baboos, as they are termed, with a number of the guards called bankas (from a peculiar movement of the sword, in the art of which they were proficient), had agreed to join Vizier Ali. A considerable body of these classes shut themselves up in the fort of Pinderah, which was taken possession of by the British troops. Before they entered it, the baboos had fled, but several were subsequently taken, and executed or transported.* It was also ascertained, that the conduct of Vizier Ali had been mainly caused by a hope of assistance from Zemaun Shah, king of Cabool, who, having first demanded assistance from the English and the nabob to rescue the venerable Shah Alum from the hands of the Mahrattas,† had advanced with an army as far as Lahore, with the intention of penetrating into Oude—his ultimate views being, to restore the imprisoned Mogul to power, and to make the standard of the prophet again supreme throughout the empire which once owned the sway of Aurungzebe. Rebellion and civil war recalled him to his own dominions, and his retreat was made known to Vizier Ali after his flight from Benares.—These events caused the English main army, under Sir James Craig, to be marched from the frontiers to the capital of Oude, for the purpose of repressing any further attempts at outbreak, as well as to take measures for preventing them in future. And as it was expected the Affghans would make another attempt on Oude, the governor-general thought it advisable to find them occupation at home. For that purpose he resolved to form an alliance with Persia,‡ and on the 29th of December, 1799, an embassy left Bombay for Teheran, which was fitted out "in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarchy and the

manners of the nation to whom it was sent, and to the wealth and power of that state from which it proceeded."§ At its head was Captain Sir John Malcolm, then in his 30th year. This eminent orientalist, who distinguished himself alike in a military, a civil, and a diplomatic capacity, entered the army in 1781, when only twelve years of age, and joined his regiment at Vellore before he was fourteen. He was appointed to the staff, under Lord Cornwallis, at the siege of Seringapatam, in 1792; the appointment being given him on account of his knowledge of Persian. In 1798, his acquaintance with the native languages, and of the political system of India, led Lord Wellesley to appoint him assistant resident at Hyderabad; he accompanied the expedition to Seringapatam in 1799; after the capture of that city he was appointed one of the secretaries to the Mysore commission;|| and his proficiency in Persian led to his being named ambassador to the shah. His success at Teheran was complete, personally and diplomatically. "His spirited bearing," we are told, "excited admiration; and his unbounded liberality almost satiated the cupidity of the Persian courtiers." The shah of Persia agreed to act offensively against Affghanistan, and to enter into a defensive and commercial treaty with England; and though Mr. Kaye thinks, that it is "not easy to define the specific advantages accruing from the mission,"¶ we are of opinion that its moral effects at the time were considerable; and had not Zemaun Shah been detained in Cabool by the rebellion of his brother Mahmood, who vanquished him, and made him a prisoner in 1801, its material effects would also have been beneficially felt.—Whilst Sir John Malcolm was negotiating at Teheran, a detachment of the British army was engaged against Vizier Ali, who, hoisting his standard amid the jungles and forests of Himalaya, was soon at the head of a numerous band of freebooters and adventurers, with whom he crossed the eastern frontier of Oude, and greatly alarmed the timid nabob, Sadut Ali; who, whilst the English were proceeding to the frontier in pursuit of his nephew, solicited that some of the company's troops might be appointed to guard his person from the apprehended attack of his own army. Ali was soon driven

* Sir J. Davis's *Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre of Benares.*

+ Wellesley's *Despatches.*

‡ Wellesley's *Despatches.*

§ Sir John Malcolm's *Political History of India.*

|| See *ante*, p. 147. ¶ *Life of Sir John Malcolm.*

back into the mountains by the British force, and so harassed, that he at last gave himself up to the rajah of Jeypoor (a considerable territory of Rajpootana), who, after a long delay, surrendered him to the English; the latter engaging not to put him in fetters, or to deprive him of life. It was in December, 1800, when he fell into the hands of the English; and on the second anniversary of the murder of Mr. Cherry, he was again in Benares as a prisoner. He was taken to Fort William, where he was detained for some time; and was ultimately, with his family, removed to Vellore, where he died.*—These occurrences—all proving how unable Sadut Ali was to defend himself—“led to negotiations with that chief, which ended in the dismissal of all his native troops, the increase of the European force to the number of 13,000, and the cession to the company of the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund, of which the Hon. Henry Wellesley was nominated president and lieutenant-governor.” The districts of Moradabad, the territory round Allahabad, and those of Cawnpoor, Goruckpoor, and Almighur, were also ceded; and the territory of the company was thus interposed between that of the nabob and his enemies. The nabob of Furruckabad (the Patan chief of a district in the province of Agra) had, for some time, paid a tribute to the nabob of Oude. This tribute was, by the treaty, transferred to the East India Company; “and an arrangement made—it is said with his perfect acquiescence—by which he renounced political power, and was added to the growing lists of titled stipendiaries. Several of the more powerful zemindars of the ceded territories resisted the proposed alterations, and made attempts at independence; especially Bugwunt Sing (who possessed the forts Sasnee and Bidjehur), the rajah Chutter Sâl, and the zemindar of Cutchoura; but they were all overpowered in the course of the year 1802-’3, and compelled to seek safety in flight.”† Tranquillity restored, the Hon. Henry Wellesley resigned his office, his appointment to which had excited considerable jealousy both in India and England, as an injustice to the covenanted servants of the company.

Whilst the Indian government was thus increasing its dominions in the direction of Oude, the complete ascendancy and control was also obtained in Tanjore, the Carnatic,

* Massacre of Benares.

† Montgomery Martin’s *India*.

and at Surat. In the former country, the death of Tooljajee, in 1787, had given rise to a disputed succession between Ameer Sing, the half-brother of the deceased rajah, and Serfojee, a boy ten years old, the son of a distant relative, whom Tooljajee had adopted, declared his heir, and left under the public tutelage of Ameer Sing, and the private guardianship of Schwartz, the celebrated missionary. The former abused the trust reposed in him by the deceased rajah, by claiming the succession; and twelve pundits, learned in the Hindoo law, convened by the governor of Madras, decided, that “the adoption of Serfojee, to the exclusion of Ameer Sing from the throne, was at variance with that law, and that the claim of Ameer Sing was just.” This decision was received, and acted upon for twelve years; when “it was said to be discovered that the decision given by the pundits, assembled in 1787, was wrong; that the claims then urged by Serfojee, the adopted son of Tooljajee, were supported by the principles of Hindoo law, and consequently, that Ameer Sing had no right to the throne: thereupon, in 1798, he was deposed, and Serfojee elevated in his place.” In October, 1799, “another treaty was concluded, by which Serfojee gave up the country to the permanent possession of the East India Company, on condition of receiving annually the sum of a lac of star pagodas (which was to be considered the first charge upon the revenues of Tanjore), and a proportion of one-fifth, to be calculated on the remainder of the net revenue. The reasons for the new arrangements under this treaty were, the misgovernment of the country, and the inability of the state to liquidate the enormous debts contracted by Ameer Sing, which were therefore transferred to the company, with the territory on the security of which they were contracted. Under the treaty, the rajah had no right of interference with the revenue, or the judicial administration of the country: he possessed sovereign authority only in the fort of Tanjore; though, by sufferance, it was subsequently extended in a small degree.”‡—The steps taken with respect to the Carnatic, were occasioned by the discovery, in the archives of Seringapatam, of a correspondence in cipher, which had been carried on between Mohammed Ali and his successor, Omdut-al-Omrah, with Tippoo Saib. The key to this cipher was found among the private papers of the sultan; and that the

‡ Thornton.

correspondence was in direct violation of the treaty of 1792—contemplating the injury of the English, and the support of Tippoo in his war against them—was clearly evident. When the correspondence was deciphered, the nabob, whose conduct during the war in withholding supplies had given rise to suspicions, was suffering from ill-health; and Lord Wellesley refrained from announcing to him the course he had resolved to pursue in consequence of his bad faith, till his recovery. He did not rally, however, but died early in 1801; and then his illegitimate son, Ali Hoossein, a minor, was declared his successor; and a rival claim was set up by Azim-ad-Dowlah, a nephew of Omdut-al-Omrah. The governor-general informed Ali Hoossein that the title of nabob, and one-fifth of the net revenues of the Carnatic, were all that were to be his, all real power being made over to the company. He acknowledged the genuineness of the proofs of his father's bad faith, which were laid before him, and at first agreed to accept the conditions; but, almost immediately after, withdrew his assent.* The Indian government, in consequence, refused to recognise his title, and acknowledged Azim-ad-Dowlah—who at once assented to their terms—as nabob.—The nawaub of Surat died in 1799. The inhabitants of that city expressed an earnest wish that the British government would assume the entire administration of the civil and military affairs, conceding to a relative of the deceased the title of nawaub, with a pension. To this the authorities at Calcutta assented; and the arrangement was settled by a treaty concluded in 1800.†

Thus the close of the eighteenth and the commencement of the nineteenth century witnessed an enormous increase in the wealth and the power of the East India Company; its authority being dominant throughout the greater part of the Hindostan peninsula. They possessed the rich and fertile provinces of Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa, in full sovereignty. Benares and its district, and a broad tract to the west of the Ganges, carried their domains from the coast to Delhi, an extent of more than 1,000 miles. The Northern Circars were theirs, as was “the ancient jaghire round Fort St. George; the broad plains of the Carnatic, the districts in the Tanjore and Tinnevely country, stretching in a continuous chain through the peninsula to Malabar, were joined by the tributary

* Thornton.

† *Ibid.*

state of the Hindoo province on the plateau of Mysore. Bombay and Salsette, on the upper coast, with the cessions from Broach, completed the extent of their dominions.—Their rivals, and therefore enemies, were the rajah of Berar, whose kingdom extended from the western shores of the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Ava and Nepaul were too inconsiderable, or too little known, to be feared. The Peishwa, however, with his powerful confederates, Holkar and Scindia, seated in Delhi, with the slave Mogul in his hands, threatened them with danger. It was not long before the emulation of these rival empires, that could not flourish together, carried them to a field of battle which required all the valour and wisdom of the English to win.”‡

We must now revert to the movements of the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, subsequent to the defeat of Dhoondiah. The ports of the French islands in the Indian Sea had been made, since the commencement of the war between England and France, the resort of privateers, who had inflicted great damage and loss upon the Indian coasting trade, and also upon that with Europe. From the commencement of hostilities to the close of 1800, it was calculated that British property, to the value of £2,000,000, had been carried into Port St. Louis, in the Mauritius; and the evil was rather increasing than otherwise. The Marquis of Wellesley turned his attention to the best mode of abating it; and he concluded that it might be put down altogether by the capture of the French islands. He resolved to undertake this enterprise; and with a view of carrying it out, assembled three European regiments and 1,000 Bengal volunteers at Trincomalee, in Ceylon, the Hon. Colonel Wellesley being summoned from Seringapatam to take the command of them. At that time, the British naval force in the Mediterranean was under the command of Admiral Rainier; and that officer, on receiving a communication from the governor-general, requesting him to repair to Trincomalee for the purpose of transporting the forces assembled there to the Isle of France, which it was intended first to attack, positively refused to comply with the request or to take any part in the expedition without express orders from home. For that time, therefore, the French islands escaped, and great loss continued to be inflicted on Eng-

‡ Horace St. John's *British Conquests in India.*

lish commerce. The troops, however, did not remain unempLOYed.

The governor-general, after the French had invaded Egypt, and a British force had been sent to expel them, had repeatedly suggested to the home government the propriety of sending an armament from India to reinforce our army in that country. Early in 1801, he received orders from England to send such a force as he could spare to act with Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and in a very short space of time, 2,800 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, 450 of the company's best artillerymen, with all the necessary artillery and ammunition, were assembled for the expedition, under the command of Sir David Baird. These troops (of which the Europeans and native troops intended for the expedition against the French islands formed a part) were sent to Mocha, leaving India on the 6th of April, 1801; and Lord Wellesley ordered possession to be taken of Perim, a small island off the Arabian coast, in the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. It is a bare, bleak rock, its chief produce being turtles, which are caught upon it in abundance; but its possession was important, as it would have enabled the English to completely inclose the French troops in the Red Sea, even if they had passed through Egypt.—From Mocha the expedition proceeded in transports to Cosseir, a seaport town of Upper Egypt, on the west coast of the Red Sea, where it was landed in June; the disembarkation com-

mencing on the 8th of that month.—It was not till the following month that the men began their march across the desert; and having overcome all the difficulties of that route, they proceeded by the Nile to a little island called Rhonda, lying nearly opposite Old Cairo. From thence they removed to Rosetta, to be able to communicate with General Hutchinson, who, after the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie from the wound received in the battle of Alexandria, on the 21st of March, had succeeded to the command of the British army, and was besieging that city. At that time negotiations were going on with the French, and no junction took place between the two armies, as the war in that quarter was put an end to by the surrender of Menou to the English on the 2nd of September.—Peace being concluded, it was not considered advisable to effect the junction, as the high pay and batta received by the Indian force might have caused discontent in the European division. The Indian army, therefore, which was suffering from sickness (some of the men being affected with the plague), was marched first to Cairo, thence across the desert to Suez; and there, on the 5th of June, 1802, it re-embarked for India, where it arrived in safety; and General Baird, who had conducted the movements of the troops with great judgment, was received with honourable distinction by the governor-general, as well as by the European inhabitants of Calcutta.*

CHAPTER X.

RESIGNATION OF THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY; HE CONSENTS TO RETAIN HIS OFFICE; THE MAHRATTAS; JESWUNT RAO HOLKAR; WAR BETWEEN HOLKAR AND SCINDIA; TREATY OF BASSEIN; THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR; MOVEMENTS OF GENERAL WELLESLEY; OCCUPATION OF AHMEDNUGGUR; BATTLE OF ASSAYE; CAPTURE OF ALIGHUR; BATTLE OF DELHI; SHAH ALUM; SURRENDER OF AGRA; BATTLE OF LASWARREE; BATTLE OF ARGAM; CAPTURE OF GAWILGHUR; PEACE WITH BERAR; PEACE WITH SCINDIA; CONCLUSION OF GENERAL WELLESLEY'S CAREER IN INDIA; WAR WITH HOLKAR; THE FIRST CAMPAIGN; REVERSES OF THE ENGLISH; SIEGE OF DELHI; BATTLE OF FURRUCKABAD; CAPTURE OF DEEG; SIEGE OF BHURTPPOOR; PEACE WITH THE RAJAH OF BHURTPPOOR; CLOSE OF LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION; ITS RESULTS; SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS; HIS DEATH; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW; OPERATIONS OF COLONEL LAKE; CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

WHILST the expedition under General Baird was in progress, the Marquis of Wellesley sent troops to Ceylon, to protect our possessions there against the Cingalese; and he had a lengthened correspondence with the

home government upon the anomalous position in which that island was placed with

* Sir Robert Wilson's *History of the British Expedition to Egypt*; and *Mémoires relatif à l'Expédition Anglaise*, by the Comte de Noë.

respect to the rest of the Indian empire, by being under a governor appointed by the crown, independent of the governor-general. In that correspondence, his lordship strongly urged two principles as indispensable for the permanent vigour and efficiency of the Indian government, whatever might be that form which the wisdom of parliament might permanently establish. These were—"First, that every part of the empire in India, insular as well as continental, should be subject to the general control of one undivided authority;" and, "secondly, that the constitution of every branch of the empire should be similar and uniform; and above all, that no subordinate part should be so constituted, as in any respect to hold a rivalry of dignity, even in form, with the supreme power."* A difference of opinion on this and other points, led to the noble marquis sending in his resignation early in 1802. The court of directors refused to accept it, wishing him to remain at Calcutta at least another year. After consulting his brother, the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, the marquis consented to retain his office, chiefly in consequence of the difference with the Mahratta chiefs, from which unpleasant consequences were anticipated.

The Mahrattas still retained their old character of predatory adventurers; and their habits and position at this period are correctly sketched by Mr. St. John. "Continually conquering, they never acquired a durable empire, for they perpetually changed their seats; and their very success animating them to rash battles, broke up their power, and ended in their ruin. They had already subdued immense tracts of territory; and, following the natural bent of human nature, seized new provinces where they could find them. But they had not the wisdom to govern well what the sword had well acquired. With the rude ambition they combined the raw passions of barbarians; and never ceased to make encroachments on their enemies, because against them it was pleasant; on their friends, because against them it was easy."† These roving warriors were at constant feud with the Nizam and the rajah of Mysore; and the relations of the Indian government with those chiefs obliged it to espouse their quarrels; and thus, independent of the jealousy of English influence, the hatred of the English rule, which led to

constant disputes with one or other of the chiefs who were nominally subordinate to, but really independent of, the Peishwa, as well as with the Peishwa himself, we were continually involved in differences with the Mahrattas, arising out of their quarrels with our allies.

The two great Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, died within three years of each other; the first in 1794, the other in 1797. The great nephew of the former, Dowlut Rao Scindia, succeeded him;‡ but when Holkar died, his two sons, Casee Holkar and Mulhar Rao, prepared to dispute the succession. Scindia, however, interfered; got both of the brothers into his hands, and shooting Mulhar through the head, he placed Casee in the seat of power, compelling him to pay a large sum as the price of his elevation to what was merely a splendid slavery. Holkar left two illegitimate, as well as two legitimate sons—Jeswunt Rao and Etojee. Scindia and the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, seized the latter, and imprisoned him; but, escaping, he joined a predatory party, and committed depredations upon the domains of both his enemies till he was recaptured, when his conquerors had him trampled to death by elephants in the streets of Poonah. Jeswunt Rao obtained refuge at Nagpoor with Ragojee Bhoonsla, the rajah of Berar; and though betrayed into the hands of Scindia and the Peishwa, he escaped, gathered together a band of followers of various tribes—Pindarries, Bheels, Affghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots—and in the character of asserter of the rights of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar Rao, and in alliance with Ameer Khan, a Mohammedan chief, he commenced a series of depredations upon the territories of his enemies, which were carried to an excess that threatened the extinction of the power of one or both. At first fortune seemed in favour of Holkar. The regular troops of Scindia gave way before the energy and daring of the mercenary horde who fought under the banners of his opponent; his capital, Oojein, was captured and plundered, the inhabitants being treated with great cruelty; and several other places fell into Holkar's hands. But Scindia succeeded in reorganising his troops, and carried the war into Indore, as the Holkar territory was called. On the 14th of October, 1801, the two armies met near the city of Indore, the

* Letter from the Marquis of Wellesley to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, May 10th, 1801.

† History of the British Conquests in India.

‡ See ante, p. 137.

capital. Holkar was at the head of 30,000 men, with 100 pieces of cannon; but he was defeated, his forces dispersed, his guns taken, and his capital plundered; the cruelties practised at Oojein being fearfully retaliated. He, however, was soon at the head of another numerous body of energetic men; and, after some predatory incursions upon the dominions of Scindia and the Peishwa, he marched to Poonah, his army then consisting of fourteen regular battalions, 5,000 being infantry, and 25,000 horse. Scindia, dreading the result, made overtures of peace, giving up the cause of Casee Rao, and offering to surrender to Holkar the infant Kundee Rao, who had been in his hands since the murder of his father. Holkar, however, refused to listen to any pacific proposals; and on the 25th of October, 1802, he attacked the united forces of Bajee Rao and Scindia, near the capital of the former. The action began with a cannonade, which lasted three hours, little impression being made on either side. Then the cavalry of Holkar made a daring charge, before which the Mahrattas of Scindia fled, and a decisive victory was obtained. The victors, entering Poonah, began to commit the most terrible excesses; and, to save the city from destruction, Holkar turned his own guns upon the freebooters who followed Ameer Khan. But it was only to preserve the property of the inhabitants for another purpose: he seized everything on which he could lay his hands, whether public or private, and appropriated the proceeds to the pay of his troops. The only place which escaped plunder was the British residency, which both parties respected.

This victory was the means of changing the relations between the English and the Peishwa, with whom Lord Wellesley had always been desirous of forming a connection similar to those which existed with the Nizam and the nabob of Oude. Bajee Rao was at Poonah during the battle; and, in the full anticipation of success, he left his palace to join, as he supposed, the victors, in the troops of his ally. He soon found, however, that the result was likely to disappoint his anticipations; and he waited at a distance till all was lost. He then returned to Poonah—left with Colonel Close, who had for some time been the British resident there, the draft of a treaty, which he proposed to enter into with the Indian government; and fled to Singhur, a fort at no great distance.

Holkar likewise sought the British resident, and expressed his desire to be on the most friendly terms with the British government. He appeared, also, very desirous of obtaining Colonel Close's mediation with Scindia and the Peishwa; professing a wish to conclude and observe peace. The Peishwa, however, doubted his professions. He solicited the protection of the British; and finally took refuge at Bassein.

Holkar considered this step as an abdication of his sovereignty; in consequence, he declared Amrut Rao Peishwa, and commenced torturing the ministers of the absent prince, to make them discover the treasures of their master. Colonel Close quitted Poonah for Bassein before the commencement of these outrages; and there he concluded with the Peishwa the treaty known as the treaty of Bassein. It was signed on the 31st of December, 1802; and by its provisions, the company agreed to furnish 6,000 men for the protection of Bajee Rao's territories; the Peishwa assigning, in return, a territory to the Indian government, yielding a revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The British also agreed to aid the Peishwa in his endeavours to obtain the full restoration of his rights as the head of the Mahratta confederacy. This treaty was ratified by the governor-general on the 11th of February, 1803; and as the Peishwa, besides the stipulations already mentioned, gave up all claims to Surat and the Guzerat districts, accepted the arbitration of the company in his disputes with the Nizam, and engaged to discharge from his service any Europeans connected with the countries who were hostile to England, it appeared to promise well for the promotion of English interests. It undoubtedly enabled Bajee Rao to preserve his own authority from extinction; but, nevertheless, he continued systematically to pursue a policy having for its object the subversion of the power of those whose interference alone kept him on the musnud.*

A few months previously to the Bassein agreement, a treaty had been concluded with Annund Rao, the Guicowar, who being acknowledged as a substantive chief, agreed to receive a British subsidiary force, to support him against the pretensions of Canojee, his illegitimate brother, and other enemies; and to dismiss his Arab mercenaries. This alliance had involved the Indian government in a brief contest with

* Thornton.

Mulhar Rao, the cousin of Annund, and also with the Arabs; who, on being disbanded, seized Baroda, and held the Guicowar a prisoner in his own capital. Mulhar Rao was soon subdued; and Colonel Woodington and Major Walker, with the subsidiary force and an European regiment from Bombay, invested Baroda, which, after a siege of ten days, surrendered early in 1803; and the authority of the Guicowar was restored.

In February, 1803, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army in India; and his first act was to restore the Peishwa to Poonah, which remained occupied by Amrut Rao and Holkar. From Seringapatam, where he received the appointment, the general marched direct to Poonah, "the distance being nearly 600 miles, the time the worst season in the year," and the country through which the troops had to march having been destroyed by Holkar's army.* The Peishwa's capital was reached in two months, and General Wellesley receiving information that its occupants intended to set fire to it, left his infantry, and pushed forward with his cavalry, for the purpose of saving it from destruction. On his arrival, he found that both Holkar and Amrut Rao had withdrawn; and Bajee Rao returned to Poonah on the 13th of May, resuming that authority which he had abandoned after Scindia's defeat.

The latter chief, after the battle of Poonah, had retired to Burramporee, a town in Nagpore, about sixty miles southwest from the capital, where he soon found himself again at the head of a numerous force. He was still on apparently friendly terms with the British, and received Colonel Collins as British resident in his camp, by whom he was invited to accede to the treaty of Bassein. He first attempted to evade giving an answer, and then decidedly refused to become a party to that agreement; but declared that he would do nothing to prevent its being carried out in its integrity. He, however, remained at Burramporee, strengthening his army and his position, with a design, as was supposed, of making another attempt to regain his ascendancy at Poonah. He was supported by the rajah of Berar; and it soon became evident that these two chiefs were, while they wore the guise of friendship, actively concerting measures for striking an effective blow at British supremacy. To conciliate Holkar, the infant Kundee Rao was given up, and

the claims of Mulhar Rao, as the representative of the Holkar family, acknowledged; whilst the Malwa territories were surrendered to him, and his assumed right to other territories was recognised. But all these concessions to secure his alliance failed; Holkar determined to stand aloof, and prey upon friend or foe, as might best suit his interests; and Scindia and the rajah were left to concert their measures by themselves. As there was little or no doubt of their hostile intentions, to avoid the delay rendered necessary by continual references to Calcutta, Lord Wellesley invested his brother with the supreme charge of both political and military affairs in the Mahratta territory, and with the power of deciding the question of peace or war. General Wellesley immediately brought matters to an issue, by proposing to the two chiefs to withdraw their forces within their own territories; stating, that if they agreed to take this step, the British troops would likewise be withdrawn. They refused; and further negotiations convincing Colonel Collins that Holkar and the rajah were only seeking to gain time, in order that they might be better prepared for action, on the 3rd of August he quitted their camp, which was considered as a breaking-off of negotiations; and from that time may be dated the commencement of the FIRST MAHRATTA WAR.

The governor-general had made ample preparations for a contest. He had augmented the army to near 50,000 men; 35,600 of whom were in the Deccan and Guzerat; about 17,000 forming the advanced force under General Wellesley. Another body of 10,500 men was, under General (afterwards Lord) Lake, stationed in the upper provinces to act against the northern Mahrattas; 3,500 were assembled at Allahabad, to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5,216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack. Colonel Stevenson, with the subsidiary force of about 8,000 men, stationed in the territories of the Nizam, had taken up a position on the Beemah river, in the direction of Poonah, near where that stream joins the Mota Mola.—The armies of Scindia and the rajah were estimated at 100,000 men, of whom 50,000 were cavalry, 20,000 irregular, and 30,000 regular infantry; the latter being chiefly officered by Frenchmen,† who had paid great attention to their training and discipline.

* *The Wellington Despatches.*

† See Martin's *India*.

As soon as Colonel Collins left Scindia's camp, General Wellesley put his troops in motion. After leaving 1,800 men, European and native, with some lascars, and a small park of artillery for the protection of Poonah, he had with him 1,368 European and 5,631 native infantry, 384 European and 1,347 native cavalry, a few artillerymen, 2,400 Mysorean and 3,000 Mahratta horse, and from 600 to 700 pioneers; being a total of 14,830 men. With this force, on the morning of the 8th of August, he approached Ahmednugger, the capital of a Rajpoot district in the Myhee Caunta, in the province of Guzerat. This town is situated in an extensive plain, on the banks of a small stream called the Haut Muttee: it was, in 1803, defended by a high wall, with strong towers, and occupied by a numerous garrison. When the killadar was summoned to surrender, he refused, and the town was invested; the pettah, which was occupied by a body of cavalry, being attacked and carried after a severe struggle. The preparations for a bombardment were not complete till the 10th, when a brisk fire was opened from a battery of four guns. On the 11th the killadar offered to treat; and on the 12th he surrendered. The possession of this fortress gave the English the control over Scindia's territory south of the Godavery. It also "secured the communications with Poonah, made a safe depôt for military stores, and was centrally placed in a district whose revenue was above 600,000 rupees."*

A few days after the capture of Ahmednugger, a detachment from General Wellesley's army, under Colonel Woodington, took Scindia's fort of Broach, on the Nerbudda (now the capital of the British collectorate of Broach, in the presidency of Bombay.) General Wellesley then advanced to the northward, and, on the 29th of August, entered the city of Aurungabad, at that time a place of importance, and abounding with handsome buildings—one a palace erected by Aurungzebe. Whilst he remained at Aurungabad, the general was informed that Scindia had been reinforced by sixteen battalions of infantry, regularly drilled by French officers; and that he was posted in great strength on the banks of the Kaitna river, threatening an advance on Hyderabad. On the 21st of September, he had an interview with Colonel Stevenson, and it was arranged that they should march

* Captain Rafter's *Indian Army*.

on the enemy's position from two sides—General Wellesley to take the eastern, and Colonel Stevenson the western route: and on the 24th they were to make a simultaneous attack upon the combined forces of Scindia and the rajah. On the morning of the 23rd, however, being informed that those chiefs had left the camp with their cavalry, General Wellesley determined to attack the infantry in its, as was supposed, isolated condition. He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, to inform him of his change of plan, and to require him to advance with all possible speed; and himself, with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of mounted sepoy, moved off in the direction of the enemy's camp, followed by his infantry, at their utmost speed. After advancing about four miles, he came in sight of Scindia's camp, which presented the appearance of a town, with "streets crossing and winding in every direction, displaying a variety of merchandise, as in a great fair. Jewellers, smiths, and mechanics were all attending as minutely to their occupations, and all as busily employed as if they were at Poonah, and at peace."† It was found, too, that the cavalry had not left. There were 50,000 men, more than one-half horsemen; and 100 pieces of artillery, posted near the village of Assaye, in the territory of the Nizam, and occupying a large space on the bank of the Kaitna river, near where it joined the Juah. At least 10,500 of these men were regularly trained soldiers, led by European officers; and General Wellesley had not 5,000 men when his infantry joined him, his cavalry forming about 3,000 of the number: not one-half of these were Europeans. Notwithstanding the odds, General Wellesley determined to attack the camp; and his infantry coming up, he crossed the Kaitna, and formed his little band into order of battle; the cry, strange to say, running through the ranks, though the enemy was more than ten to one, "They cannot escape us!"—so certainly did the British troops calculate on victory. Whilst General Wellesley was forming his men, the Mahrattas opened a heavy cannonade upon his force, and a large body of their cavalry charged the 74th regiment. The 19th light dragoons, however, under Colonel Maxwell, were at hand; and they, in their turn, dashed into the Mahratta ranks with terrible effect, breaking and driving them back, and then attacking the infantry and

† Major Dirom's *Narrative*.

guns. The sepoy cavalry bravely seconded them, and the 74th and light infantry charged with the bayonet. The enemy was defeated, and fled on all sides; but a number of the cannoniers practised a skilful *ruse*. They threw themselves down by the side of the guns as if dead, and when the English were in full pursuit, they rose, seized some of the cannon, and turned them upon the pursuers, who had thus foes in front and rear. "Nothing daunted," says one historian of the battle; "they returned to the charge, won the guns again, and a second time dashed on the foe." The 19th dragoons achieved this chivalrous feat, led by their colonel, who received his death-wound in the moment of victory.—Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the rout was complete. The enemy's cavalry were driven into the Juah, which they crossed, losing many men. The infantry were broken and dispersed at the point of the bayonet; many of the artillerymen were taken prisoners; and 1,200 were left dead on the field. The British loss "was great (1,580 killed and wounded); but the action was the most severe ever fought in that country; and such a quantity of cannon (98 being left on the field) had seldom been gained by any victory in any part of the world."* It was a victory, also, won, not over an undisciplined rabble, but over a force well trained, expert in the use of arms, and numerically, physically, and morally strong.† The first of the great actions gained by the great Duke of Wellington as a commander-in-chief, it was one of the hardest he ever fought, and gave a *prestige* to his name which even the glories of Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo did not obliterate—scarcely obscure.

Colonel Stevenson joined Sir Arthur Wellesley at Assaye on the 24th of September, as previously arranged, and was sent in pursuit of the fugitives from the battle of the 23rd. But we must leave this quarter for a while, and see what Colonel Lake‡ (described as "the very model of a popular commander—as brave and collected in the front of battle as in a council of his own officers") was doing in the north-west provinces. He had been invested with the

* *The Wellington Despatches.*

† Maxwell.

‡ General Lake was born in 1744. He entered the army early in life, as an ensign in the foot-guards; served in Germany during the seven years' war; distinguished himself in America, under Cornwallis, in 1781, for which, on his return to England,

same power in that district which General Wellesley possessed in the Deccan; and he got earlier into contact with the foe. On the 29th of August he entered the Mahratta territory, having marched from Cawnpore on the 7th. The British force first occupied Coel, where they made preparations for attacking Alighur (or Allyghur), four miles nearer Delhi, from which city it was distant fifty-five miles. This fort was at this period almost impregnable, and might easily have been rendered entirely so. "The outline of the works was a polygon, of probably ten sides, having at each angle a bastion, with a renny or *fausse-braie*, well provided with cannon. Outside this line of defence was a ditch, above a hundred feet wide, thirty feet deep from the top of the excavation, and having ten feet of water. There was no passage across this ditch but by a narrow causeway, defended by a traverse, mounted with three 6-pounders."§ M. Perron—who had attempted "to found an independent French state on the most vulnerable part of the company's territory," the "effectual demolition of which," General Lake was instructed to consider "the principal object of the campaign"—was encamped between Coel and Alighur, at the head of 20,000 men, when the British forces crossed the Mahratta frontier. Instead of waiting to receive the attack which General Lake offered, he retired to Agra, after some slight skirmishing; and as the British could not overtake him, it was resolved to take Alighur, and that by assault, rather than by regular siege. The morning of the 4th of September was fixed for the hazardous enterprise, which was quite unlooked-for by the enemy, a party of whom, sixty or seventy in number, was seen early that morning, by an officer who was sent to reconnoitre, seated round a fire in front of the gateway, and smoking with perfect unconcern. The storming party consisted of four companies of the 76th, and detachments from two regiments of native infantry. It was led by Colonel Monson; and before daybreak it advanced to within 400 yards of the gateway, its approach being covered by two batteries of four

he was made aide-de-camp to the king; and in 1793 and 1794, he was prominent in many engagements in Holland. He thus went to India with a high military reputation, which he fully sustained in that country.

§ Thornton.

|| Despatches of the governor-general.

18-pounders each. The first attack was made upon the smoking party. The object was, to take them by surprise, in the hope that they and the detachment might enter the gate together, and secure the entrance till the main body arrived. There *was* a surprise, and a short struggle, in which all the enemy were killed: none re-entered the fort; and though the sentinels were alarmed, and discharged their guns as signals, it appears to have been considered as a mere affair of videttes.—At dawn, the storming party, under cover of a fire from the two batteries, advanced in quick time to the causeway, rushed across it before the enemy could discharge the guns on the traverse, and halted at the first gate, which was not forced till first a 6-pounder and then a 12-pounder were brought against it. Scaling-ladders were also placed against the walls, and the troops engaged at the gate, and those who attempted to scale the walls, were exposed to a heavy fire, directed upon them from the ramparts. It was twenty minutes before the gate was blown down; then a second, a third, and a fourth had to be forced; but at length a party of grenadiers of the 76th, under Major M'Leod, mounted the ramparts; and M. Pedrons, who had taken the government after the departure of M. Perron, surrendered. Above 2,000 of the garrison perished, many being drowned in the ditch in trying to make their escape: the British loss was 278 killed and wounded, including seventeen European officers—both Colonel Monson and Major M'Leod receiving slight wounds.*

The capture of Alighur was a great loss to the enemy; but the same day, the force of General Lake was weakened by the surrender of five companies of sepoys to a more numerous body of Mahratta cavalry, under M. Fleury, a Frenchman. They had been left, with one gun, to occupy Shekoabad, a town on the road from Agra to Etawa. Here they were surprised and compelled to surrender; and the captors and their prisoners immediately disappeared in the wild country behind the Jumna. This loss, however, was more than counterbalanced by the secession of M. Perron from the service of Scindia. Having learnt that the Mahratta chief intended to supersede him, he made overtures to General Lake, which ended in his obtaining a safe-conduct to pass with his family, his officers, and effects, into the company's territories.

* Thornton.

General Lake, after the capture of Alighur, advanced upon Delhi, and on the 11th of September had reached within six miles of that city, where the troops pitched their tents, being greatly fatigued by a long march in excessively hot weather.—They had scarcely encamped when they were threatened by a large body of Mahrattas, under M. Louis Bourquin, who had succeeded to M. Perron's command. He had crossed the Jumna, with twelve battalions of regular infantry and 5,000 cavalry; in all, about 19,000 men; and he had seventy field-pieces: whilst General Lake had not more than 4,500 fighting men at his disposal. The Frenchman took up a strong position upon rising ground, with swamps on either side, the long grass nearly concealing his cannon. General Lake, leaving the infantry drawn up in line, advanced at the head of his cavalry to reconnoitre this position. He had a horse shot under him, and being remounted, he ordered the cavalry to retire. M. Bourquin gave the word to follow; and leaving their post, his troops rushed after the cavalry, the pursuit continuing till the latter had reached the British infantry, when they opened right and left, making way for the latter to advance. As soon as the Frenchman saw the red-coats presenting their firm front, he ordered his men to halt, and opened a terrible fire from his numerous field-pieces. The British troops advanced between the lines of cavalry without firing a shot, till they were within a hundred yards of the enemy. Then they first poured in a destructive volley, and next charged with the bayonet. The movement was decisive. The Mahrattas first wavered, next broke their ranks, and then ran, as fast as their legs could carry them, from the scene of the brief contest. They took the route to the Jumna, being followed to the banks by the British cavalry: in crossing, many were lost. In this engagement, so glorious to the British, they lost 585 in killed and wounded, fifteen of whom were European officers. The enemy could not have lost less than 3,000 men; their cannon and stores also fell into the hands of the victors; to whom, three days after, Louis Bourquin, and four other French officers, surrendered.—On the 12th, the British encamped opposite Delhi; and, on the 16th, that city was evacuated by the remains of Scindia's force, and taken possession of by the British. General Lake's first care was to ascertain the position of the Mogul, so

long held in thralldom by the Mahrattas. He found the venerable and much-enduring Shah Alum "seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, and his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, besides bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy." He joyfully accepted the protection of the British, hailing General Lake as the "Sword of the State," the "Hero of the Land," the "Lord of the Age," the "Victorious in War," and by other high-sounding titles.

After having adjusted the temporary government of Delhi, where Colonel Ochterlony was left as resident, General Lake advanced to Agra, which lies 139 miles to the south-east of the former city; and was held by M. Hessing, an adventurer of Dutch descent. The garrison at Agra was in a state of great confusion. It had been commanded chiefly by British officers, who, when the war broke out, were confined by their own troops; and Hessing was not enabled to establish anything like discipline. Scindia sent seven battalions of his regular troops to strengthen this garrison, but they were refused admittance, lest they should plunder the treasury—such being the opinion which the army of the Mahratta entertained of their own comrades. They were obliged, therefore to encamp on the glacis; and there they were when Lord Lake arrived before the walls. His first object was to dislodge them. They were attacked on the 10th of October, and not defeated till after a severe battle, the result of which was, that upwards of 2,000 of them entered into the English service, and joined the army under Lord Lake. Agra was then invested; the siege formally commenced; and, a breach having been effected, on the 17th of October the garrison surrendered. Private property was respected; but public treasure, to the amount of £280,000, was found, besides twenty-six guns which were taken on the glacis, 176 mounted on the walls, and numerous small arms and ammunition in the arsenal.

Whilst General Lake had been defeating his troops and capturing his forts, Scindia was engaged in recruiting his army; and when the British were before Agra, he sent seventeen battalions of infantry, and more than 4,000 horse, to endeavour to regain possession of Delhi. Their march, however, was interrupted, and they had not proceeded far, when they heard that Agra had

also fallen. Having secured and garrisoned that fortress, General Lake set out in pursuit of this new enemy. He left Agra on the 27th of October, and, after several marches and counter-marches (rendered necessary by the movements of the enemy), by making a forced march with his cavalry on the 31st, he came up with them about midnight, encamped near the village of Laswarree, on a stream called the Mahnus Nye, a few miles to the east of Agra, and 126 south of Delhi. The left wing was immediately attacked by a brigade under Colonel Vandeleur, and driven into the village, where the fire from artillery and musketry was so fearful, that, after the gallant colonel and a number of men had fallen, Lake withdrew the brigade; as he did others which had attacked the enemy on different points. The infantry and artillery joined at 11 A.M. on the 1st of November; and then the Mahrattas offered to surrender on certain conditions, which were granted. They probably only wanted to gain time, for they did not lay down their arms. Seeing their hesitation, the general granted them one hour to comply with, or reject, the terms they had themselves offered; and, that hour expired, the attack begun the second time, and had a very different result. The Mahratta force comprised 9,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and seventy-two pieces of artillery, under the command of Mons. Duderaique, a French officer. This force was most advantageously posted; their right resting on Laswarree, their left on the village of Mohaulpore, and their front being defended by the cannon, chained together to resist the charge of cavalry. The advanced division of the British that first came in contact with the enemy, consisted of the 76th regiment, the second battalion of the 12th native infantry, and five companies of the 16th;* the 76th being led by General Lake in person. The attack was gallantly made, and as gallantly received; the fire from the enemy literally mowed down the British—General Lake having two horses killed under him, and seeing his son (Major Lake) wounded, just as he had dismounted to insist on his father taking his horse. But the troops, he felt, wanted at that moment "every assistance he could give them;"† so he left his son, and pressed forward with the infantry, whose ranks were so thinned, that the Mahratta cavalry ventured to make a

* Thornton.

† Wellesley's despatches.

charge, which was gallantly repulsed. The 29th dragoons then came up: they cut through the enemy's infantry, which was formed in two lines, then turned and attacked the Mahratta horse, driving them completely out of the field; and the remainder of the British infantry coming up, attacked some battalions commanded by M. De Boigne, which had remained firm, and out of 2,000, the majority fell; the rest were surrounded and made prisoners. The Mahrattas never fought better than in this battle. "The gunners stood by their guns until killed by the bayonet; all the sepoys behaved exceedingly well"—they "fought like devils, or rather heroes;" and General Lake said, "he never was in so severe a business in his life, or anything like it; and he prayed to God that he never might be placed in such another."* The British lost, in this battle, 172 killed, and 652 wounded. The loss of the enemy, killed in the field, is estimated at 7,000. They "left in the possession of the British troops the whole of their bazaars, camp-quipage, and baggage, with a considerable number of elephants, camels, and upwards of 1,600 bullocks, seventy-two pieces of cannon of different calibre, forty-four stands of colours, and sixty-four tumbrils, completely laden with ammunition. Three tumbrils with money were also captured, together with fifty-seven carts laden with matchlocks, muskets, and stores, and some artificers' carts."†

The results of the battle of Laswarree were most important. It gave to the English the undisputed control over Delhi and Agra, and all Scindia's territory north of the Chumbul; and it annihilated those seventeen battalions which were called "the Deccan Invincibles." They were "considered as the flower of the Mahratta army, which altogether had made immense and rapid strides towards the point of perfection of the best of European troops. Throughout this eventful Mahratta war every conflict gave evidence of this improvement, which was attributable to the connection of the natives with the French, whose energies, address, and abilities were exerted to the utmost in exasperating the chiefs against the English, and in forming their subjects into hardy and disciplined soldiers, with a view of thereby

overthrowing our dominions in the east."‡ They failed; and, in endeavouring to ruin the English, were the cause of irreparable losses to the native powers they favoured with their advice and assistance, whilst they gained no advantages whatever for themselves.

In the month of October, that division of the British army which, under Colonel Harcourt, was destined to occupy Cuttack, carried on its operations, also, with signal success. The gallant colonel first took possession of Juggernaut, "a town distinguished as one of the strongholds of Hindoo superstition, and deriving its celebrity from its connection with the famous temple of the same name." He then reduced the fort of Barabuttee, about a mile from the town of Cuttack. It was a place of strength, being built of stone, and surrounded by a ditch twenty feet deep, and varying in breadth from a hundred to thirty-five feet. The small force under Colonel Harcourt sat down before this place on the 13th of October; a battery was completed during the night, which opened its fire on the morning of the 14th; and, by 11 A.M., so much injury had been done to the walls, that Colonel Harcourt judged it proper an assault should be made. The only means of crossing the ditch was by a very narrow bridge, over which the storming party of Europeans and sepoys, led by Lieutenant-colonel Clayton, rapidly made their way. The ditch crossed, the massive gate delayed them for some time, during which they were exposed to a heavy, but, provisionally for them, an ill-directed fire. Forty minutes elapsed before they could force an entrance; and then it was only by a wicket, through which they were compelled to pass one at a time, that they could gain access to the body of the fort. However, they pressed forward, and obtained possession of the fort with very little loss. The surrender of the town of Cuttack, and the submission of the entire province, followed; and "among the results of the conquest, was the subjection to British supremacy of the group of native states known as the Cuttack Mehals, eighteen in number, containing an aggregate of 16,929 square miles, and a population of 761,805 §—This conquest effected, most of the troops entered Berar, to co-operate with those acting there under General Wellesley.

* Wellesley's despatches.

† Thornton. In 1861, by order of the House of Commons, a medal was struck, commemorative of this victory, and given to the few officers and

private soldiers engaged in the battle, who were then living.

‡ Major Thorn's *Memoirs of the Campaign*.

§ Thornton

After the battle of Assaye, in pursuance of orders from that general, Colonel Stevenson occupied the city of Boorhaunpoor, in the territory of Gwalior, situated on the north or right side of the Taptee; and the fort of Asseergurh, standing on a hill, detached from the Satpoora range, and dividing the valley of the Taptee from that of the Nerbudda. The former surrendered on the 15th, and the latter, called by the natives the "Key of the Deccan," on the 21st of October. The territories of Scindia in the vicinity, also fell into the hands of the British. These disasters induced that chief to sue for peace, and a temporary armistice was agreed to. But the rajah of Berar still kept the field; and as the overtures of his ally were found to be merely intended to gain time while more troops were collecting, General Wellesley descended the Ghauts on the 25th of November, with the intention of forming a junction with Colonel Stevenson, which he effected on the 29th, near the plains of Argaum—a village in Hyderabad, near the northern frontier, towards the territory of Saugor and Nerbudda. The troops of the rajah of Berar had retreated before Colonel Stevenson; but when the two English divisions had joined, and were preparing to encamp, General Wellesley ascertained, to his surprise, that the main army of the rajah, united to that of Scindia, in direct contravention of the armistice, was only about six miles distant. There a large force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was regularly drawn up; the left being flanked by the rajah's cavalry; whilst on the right there was a mass of Pindarries—freebooters, who frequently followed the Mahrattas in their wars. A large body of Persian mercenaries was also seen hovering about on the rear and flanks. The day was far spent; there was only about twenty minutes to elapse before the sun would set, and the troops had already had a long and fatiguing march. But General Wellesley determined to make the attack immediately; and, forming his army into two lines, of infantry and cavalry, he advanced against the foe.* The enemy received them with a cannonade, which caused a momentary confusion in the British ranks; but it was soon rectified. Then the Persians rushed on the 76th and 78th regiments, and met their doom; scarce a man

of them survived. Scindia's horse, nearly at the same time, charged the British sepoy, but were repulsed; and from this moment the entire army appeared struck with panic, and fled. "The troops continued the pursuit by moonlight, and all were under arms till a very late hour in the night."† General Wellesley himself was on horseback on this occasion, from six A.M. till nearly twelve at night.‡ Few troops have retired in more entire disorder than the Mahrattas did from the field of Argaum, where they left thirty-eight pieces of cannon: many elephants and camels, and much baggage, were taken in the pursuit.§

The next operation undertaken by General Wellesley was the siege of Gawilghur, "a stronghold on the southern declivity of the range of mountains bounding the valley of the Taptee to the south."|| It consisted of an inner and outer fort, the latter being enclosed by a wall, which covered the approach from the north. All the walls were very strong, fortified by ramparts and towers, and the communication with the fort was by three gates, one to the north-west, one to the north, and one to the south—each difficult of access. It was determined to attack it from the northern side; and both divisions of the army (General Wellesley's and Colonel Stevenson's) marched from Ellichpoor on the 7th of December. They had thirty miles to march through the mountains; and "from that day to the 12th, when Colonel Stevenson (to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted) broke ground near the village of Labada, the troops in his division went through a series of exhausting labours, not unprecedented in Indian warfare, but rarely paralleled elsewhere. The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over mountains, and through ravines, for nearly the whole distance which had to be passed; and this by roads which it was necessary for the troops to construct for themselves."¶ They were closely followed by General Wellesley's division, which made for the southern gate; Colonel Stevenson's breaking ground before the north face of the fort. In the course of the night of the 12th, the former erected a battery of two brass 12-pounders, on a mountain near the south gate; and the latter constructed two near

* *The Wellington Despatches.*

† Private letter from General Wellesley, to his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley.

‡ Major Thorn.

§ A medal was struck in London, in honour of this victory, in 1851.

|| Thornton.

¶ Captain Rafter.

the north gate—one of two 18-pounders and three 12-pounders; the other of two 12-pounders and 5-inch howitzers.—A fierce fire was opened from each of these batteries on the morning of the 13th; and practicable breaches were effected in the wall by the evening of the 14th. All the preparations for storming the works were completed by the morning of the 15th; and the storming party, which was directed against the north gate (comprising the flank companies of the 94th, and those of the native corps of Colonel Stevenson's division), was led by Lieutenant-colonel Kenny. Whilst this party proceeded to the north gate, the south gate was attacked by Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, and the north-west gate by Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the garrison. The three parties advanced to their stations about 10 A.M. on the 15th, and the storming party was soon in possession of the outer fort, driving the troops they found there before them to the north-west gate, where they were met by the division of Lieutenant Chalmers; and after some had fallen by the bayonet, the rest surrendered. The walls of the inner fort remained entire, but they were instantly escaladed by the light infantry of the 94th, led by Captain Campbell, by whom the outer gates were opened to their comrades. Thus this important fortress was added to the conquests of the British, their loss having been only 126 killed and wounded. The number of the garrison killed was considerable. They had defended their post with great bravery, under the killadar and Beni Sing, both intrepid Rajpoots, who were found buried near one of the gates, under a heap of slain. They had given orders to have their wives and children killed; and attempts had been made to put the females to death, not by fire, but by the sword. Several died; but the wounds of the majority were carefully tended by the conquerors, and they recovered.*

The fall of this fortress appears to have convinced the rajah of Berar that he could not successfully resist the British power. He had dispatched vakeels (or messengers) to the camp of General Wellesley, to negotiate for peace, immediately after the victory of Argaum; but they appeared more anxious to delay than to expedite the proceedings. After the fall of Gawilghur, however, there was no more procrastina-

* Wellesley's despatches.

tion; and on the 17th of December, in the British camp at Deogaum, a treaty was signed, by which "the rajah consented to surrender the province of Cuttack, including the district of Balasore, to the company, and to relinquish to the Nizam certain revenues extorted from him on various pretences. He further pledged himself to submit all differences which might arise between him and the Nizam or the Peishwa, to British arbitration; and promised to receive into his service no European or American subject of any state at war with the English, nor even any Englishman, without the express sanction of the governor-general."†—When Scindia learnt that the rajah had concluded peace, he thought it was quite necessary that he should also succumb; and, on the 30th of December, he signed the treaty of Serji Anjengaum. By this agreement the company acquired fresh extensions of territory. All Scindia's country called the Dooab, lying between the Ganges and the Jumna (including Delhi and Agra), with the Rajpoot provinces of Jeypoor and Joudpoor, further to the north, and the forts of Broach and Ahmedabad, with their dependencies, were ceded to the English. Ahmednugger was given to the Peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam; whilst Asseergurh and Boorhaunpoor were restored to Scindia, who entered into the same conditions as those to which the rajah of Berar agreed—to dismiss all foreigners, and not to employ any, in future, without the consent of the English government.—Shortly after, Scindia strengthened his alliance with the company by consenting to receive a subsidiary British force; and about the same time, Lord Wellesley concluded an agreement with several Rajpoot chiefs, whose dominions being guaranteed to them, with immunity from tribute—entered into the same stipulations, as to the employment of foreigners, as had been agreed to by Scindia and the rajah of Berar.

On the same day that the peace with Scindia was signed, General Campbell, who had been sent into the South Mahratta territory, came up with, and totally defeated, a large body of Mahratta plunderers, under a chief who had assumed the name of Dhoondiah Waugh. The chief himself was captured; 2,000 of his men killed; 1,000 wounded and taken prisoners; and his baggage, bazaar, and upwards of

† Montgomery Martin's *India*.

20,000 bullocks, were also taken: all was accomplished with little loss on the part of the English.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Serji Anjengam, fresh difficulties arose with Scindia's numerous bandits and mercenary allies, who gathered behind the Godavery, and traversed nearly the whole of the Western Deccan, plundering and devastating wherever their footsteps fell. General Wellesley, as soon as he was informed of these ravages, crossed the river, and made forced marches, through nearly a hundred miles of rough country, to come up with the freebooting marauders, who were very numerous. He was prevented from surprising them in their camp, his advance being betrayed to them by natives from his own army: but, after much fatigue, and encountering many difficulties, which were only overcome by the union of the greatest fortitude with the utmost perseverance on the part of all engaged in this service, he succeeded in entirely dispersing the numerous bands, taking many prisoners, and capturing all their ammunition, artillery, baggage, and bazaars. This important service concluded, General Wellesley returned to Seringapatam; and on his arrival, the inhabitants presented him with the following address:—

"We, the inhabitants of Seringapatam, have reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of your protection. We have felt, even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity has been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other objects had occupied your mind. We are preparing to perform, in our several castes, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God who has brought you back in safety; and we present ourselves, in person, to express our joy. As your labours have been crowned with victory, so may your repose be graced with honours. May you long continue personally to dispense to us that full stream of security and happiness which we first received with wonder, and continue to enjoy with gratitude; and when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all castes and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayer for your health, your glory, and your happiness."

This address is important, as showing how ensible the natives of Hindostan are to a ts of kindness, and how easily their attachment and loyalty may be secured by good government. Though General Wellesley's military services ended with the campaign beyond the Godavery, he did not quit India till March, 1805. He resided at Seringapatam, where his honest, impartial, and just administration strength-

ened the affectionate feeling evinced in the foregoing address. When he finally quitted that city, the inhabitants presented another address to him, in which the same feelings were even more strongly expressed: an earnest prayer was offered up for his safe voyage to, and health, happiness, and prosperity in, Europe; and an ardent hope was expressed that he might again visit India.* Well would it have been for that country, if she had always possessed military commanders and civil rulers like that great man, whose career has seldom been equalled either in this country or in any other.

The peace restored by the treaties with the rajah of Berar and Scindia, was of short duration. The successes of the British, and their evident superiority over all rivals in the field, appear to have caused Holkar (who had remained in Malwa, levying contributions on the surrounding provinces) regret at not having taken part in the strife, rather than joy at his having escaped the defeat to which his old friends and allies had been subjected. He appears to have been vain enough to suppose that, had he directed the Mahratta operations, the result would have been different; and he not only endeavoured, early in 1804, to form a connection with the rajah of Bhurtpoor, the Rajpoot chiefs, the Rohillas, and the Sikhs, but also to persuade Scindia to break the alliance he had so lately formed with the British, to enter into one against them, and once more to venture upon the path of war. But that chief was deaf to the persuasions of the tempter: he had suffered too severely to rush again headlong into a contest with his conquerors; and Holkar was left to pursue his machinations at first alone: but the rajah of Bhurtpoor ultimately broke his engagements with the English, and joined him.

The British government had no wish so soon to be plunged into hostilities; and Lord Lake was instructed to open a communication with Holkar at once, for the purpose of getting him to withdraw his forces, which he had advanced to the frontiers of the rajahship of Jeypoor; and ascertain what were his views and his demands on the British government. In reply to a letter addressed to him on the 29th of January, 1804, he instructed his vakeels to demand for him "leave to collect *chout* (tribute) according to the custom of

* *Wellington Despatches*, and Indian despatches of the Marquis Wellesley.

his ancestors; and the cession of Etawa, and various other districts in the Dooab and Bundelcund, formerly held by his family.* These demands were accompanied with the most impudent threats. Writing to General Wellesley, he held out the prospect of a terrible guerilla war. "Although," he said, "unable to oppose the English artillery in the field, countries of many hundred *cosst* should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt. General Lake should not have leave to breathe for a moment; and calamities would fall on lacs† of human beings, in national war, by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."‡ These threats were followed up by overt acts: he ravaged the territory of Jeypoor; and barbarously murdered three British officers, named Vickers, Todd, and Ryan, who, when he was at peace with the company, had entered into his service. He then retired with a considerable part of his army up the valley of the Jumna. At this time he had from 40,000 to 50,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry under his command, with upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon in the field, besides numerous fortresses, some of them the strongest in India.

The first three months of the year having been spent in fruitless negotiations, the governor-general, finding that it was in vain to bring Holkar to anything like reasonable terms, ordered General Lake, in April, 1804, again to take the field. It was determined that it should be a war of extermination against Holkar; and to secure the cordial co-operation of those native states who were in alliance with the company, it was announced, that the territories taken from him would be shared with those who acted as auxiliaries to the British. Major-general Wellesley was also directed to co-operate with Lake. In consequence of a famine which prevailed, he could not advance; but he sent Colonel Murray, the commander of the forces in Guzerat, with a formidable detachment, to effect a diversion in his favour. The colonel was "ordered to enter Malwa, and to advance in the direction of Indore, the residence of Holkar's family: while part of the troops stationed above the Ghauts directed their operations against his possessions on the side of the Deccan, and especially against

his strong fortress of Chandore."¶ General Lake sent Colonel Monson, with a strong detachment, to co-operate with Colonel Murray, whilst he himself advanced against Rampoora, in Rajpootana, the principal place of a *pergunnah* held by the freebooting ally of Holkar, Ameer Khan. Its defences were formidable, but they were successfully stormed at 2 A.M. on the 15th of May, by three battalions of native infantry, a regiment of native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery, under Colonel Don. The party advanced to within 250 yards of the fortress without being discovered; then they were seen by a picket and fired upon; but they "rushed on, provided with a 12-pounder, and with it blew open three gates which, in succession, lay in their way into the fort. Of the enemy's garrison, above 1,000 strong, forty or fifty were killed; the number of wounded was very great; and above 400, attempting to fly, were cut up by the British cavalry in the adjoining plain."¶ This was an encouraging commencement of the campaign, as the country in the vicinity of Rampoora fell, with that fortress, into the hands of the British, and Holkar was deprived of the only footing he had, through Ameer Khan, north of the Chumbul.—The Patan freebooter soon after took his revenge for the loss of his fortress. A detachment was sent, under the command of Captain Smith, to take a fort near Kooch. It consisted of seven companies of sepoy, with a few pieces of artillery. They reached the spot, and had commenced work in opening trenches, when the killadar, on the 21st of May, offered to surrender the next morning, if operations were suspended. Captain Smith consented; and, in the night, two companies of the sepoy, and about fifty artillerymen in the trenches, were surrounded by 7,000 or 8,000 cavalry, under Ameer Khan in person, and every man was put to the sword in cold blood. Captain Smith retreated with the other five companies of sepoy. Soon after, the freebooter, in an attempt to cross the Jumna, was repulsed by Captain Jones, and his band was completely beaten and dispersed by Colonel Shepherd.

Holkar himself had retreated as the British army was advancing upon him from different sides. He was followed and harassed by two bodies of Hindoo cavalry, under Captain

* Montgomery Martin's *India*.

† A Hindoo measure of about two miles.

‡ i.e. Hundreds of thousands.

§ Malcolm's *Political History of India*.

¶ Macfarlane's *India*.

¶ Thornton.

Gardner, an officer in the service of the rajah of Jeypoor, and Lieutenant Lucas, of the 74th king's regiment. He was also watched by Colonel Monson on the north-east, whilst Colonel Murray was advancing from Guzerat, on the south-west. It was not thought advisable, however, for the main body of the British army to follow him, and General Lake retired, with that body, to Cawnpoor; the troops, in the retrograde march, suffering greatly from the effects of the climate, which no one can fully conceive who has not experienced them. A wind, called by the natives "the devil's breath," swept the country; and the heat is said to have resembled "the extreme glow of an iron-foundry in the height of summer." Even that was but a "feeble comparison, since no idea can be formed of the causticity of the sandy particles which were borne along with the wind, like hot embers, peeling off the skin, and raising blisters wherever they chanced to fall."* The troops had to march above 1,000 miles, and did not reach Cawnpoor till the 20th of June. There they were comfortably lodged in barracks, and soon recovered from the effects of their march, which never ought to have been undertaken. General Lake was induced to make the movement from the state of the men's health, whilst the cattle were perishing fast from the want of forage. But they might as well have advanced as retreated; they would not have lost or suffered more; and the war would, in all probability, have been sooner brought to a close, and some reverses that befel the British arms might have been prevented.

These reverses awaited Colonel Monson, whose detachment had been joined by Colonel Don after the fall of Rampoor. Left by General Lake to watch Holkar, he had moved in the direction of Kotah, where he encamped for several weeks, and then resuming his march to the south-west, in the hope of meeting Colonel Murray, he entered Malwa. At the close of June, being at Sunara, he sent Major Sinclair, at the head of a detachment, to capture Hinglajgarh, or Hinglaisgarh, a hill-fort, "surrounded by a deep ravine, 200 feet deep, 250 wide, and with perpendicular sides, from the edge of which the walls arise. It is accessible only by three causeway, made to form communications across the chasm, with three gates respectively."† Major Sinclair had with him one battalion of a native regiment,

and a party of irregular horse. He arrived before the fortress on the morning of the 3rd of July, and having planted his guns, and battered the walls for about an hour, the sepoys escalated them, and the garrison surrendered. — Whilst Major Sinclair (who remained in the fort) was making this movement, Colonel Monson had marched to a pass, called the Mokundurra Pass, from Mokund, who commenced his reign as rajah of Kotah about 1630. "It is a long and narrow valley, formed by two parallel ridges of hills, running north-west and south-east between the Chumbul and the Kalee Sindh rivers. In proceeding from Kotah towards the south-west, the road gradually ascends, amidst cliffs and rocks, to the brow of the elevated table-land of Malwa."‡ Monson ultimately advanced fifty miles beyond this pass, in the hope of meeting with Colonel Murray, when a rumour that Holkar was on the road in great force, induced him to retreat, though at first he expressed an eagerness to come to an engagement with the enemy. But he was short of supplies; intelligence was also received that Colonel Murray had fallen back; and the safest plan appeared to the commander to be, to retrace his steps. The officers and men were, on the contrary, eager to stay and receive, or to advance and meet, the enemy; had they done either, there is little doubt what would have been the result.

Monson began his backward movement on the 8th of July. At 4 A.M. he sent off his baggage and stores to Sunara; and at half-past nine he marched with his regular cavalry and infantry to the Mokundurra Pass, leaving the irregular cavalry under Lieutenant Lucas, with orders to remain for half-an-hour, and if anything was seen of the enemy, to immediately follow and inform him. He had marched twelve miles, when information was brought that Lieutenant Lucas was attacked; and before Colonel Monson could get the troops formed to march back to support that officer, another messenger arrived, and stated, that the irregulars, overwhelmed by numbers, were nearly all cut to pieces and that Lieutenant Lucas was wounded and a prisoner.§ Colonel Monson's detachment then continued their march, and threaded the Mokundurra Pass, at the front of which Holkar's army was seen. The Mahrattas attacked the fatigued English in three

* Major Thorn.

† Thornton.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ This gallant officer died shortly after.

bodies, in front and on the flanks. All the attacks were repulsed; and the English continued their march to Kotah, the chief town of a Rajpoot state, the whole power of which, owing to the imbecility of Omed Sing, the rajah, was in the hands of Zalim Sing, the hereditary *foujdar*, or commander-in-chief. This chief had received the English with great cordiality on their march, and then would have supplied them with anything they required. But on their return, their fortune appearing changed, he changed also, and refused to permit them to enter the town, or to supply them with provisions; and the exhausted troops marched to Rampoor, where they were joined by two battalions of sepoy, with four 6-pounders, two howitzers, and a body of Hindostanee cavalry, sent forward by General Lake to meet them, as soon as he heard of Colonel Monson's retrograde movement. The colonel rested here several days, and when he resumed his march, it was in the midst of heavy rains, which swelled the rivers, and added to the difficulties the troops had to encounter. First the guns and then the baggage had to be abandoned; and twice the English were attacked by Holkar's cavalry, who were beaten off, notwithstanding the harass and fatigue the former had encountered. In the march some of the irregulars deserted; and at last scarcely 1,000 men reached Agra, on the 31st of August, utterly exhausted, having lost everything but their small arms and the clothes they carried on their backs.*— Soon after their arrival at Agra, they found that one cause for their retreat did not exist. Colonel Murray, instead of retiring, had continued to advance; and, on the 24th of August, he had occupied Indore, the capital of the family dominions of Holkar, without resistance.

The retreat and disasters of the English encouraged Holkar, and caused the Indian government to make the greatest exertions to retrieve the ground lost by Colonel Monson's reverses. On the 3rd of September, General Lake left Cawnpoor for Agra, which he reached on the 22nd; and there were collected his majesty's 76th, and the flank companies of the 22nd regiment; ten battalions of native infantry, three regiments of British light dragoons, five regiments of native cavalry, and a park of horse artillery. Holkar, now joined by the rajah of Bhurt-

* Major Thorn; Colonel Monson's Letters; and Wellesley's despatches.

poor, also advanced in the direction of Delhi, and took possession of Muttra, lying ninety-seven miles to the south-east of that city, a town which the English had captured the previous-year. At this time the Mahatta had an army consisting, collectively, of 66,000 cavalry, 7,000 artillery, 19,000 infantry, and 190 guns; in all, 92,000 men.† A considerable part of this force was with him; but when General Lake marched from Agra, in hopes of bringing him to an engagement, the wily chief eluded pursuit; and on the 8th of October, with between twenty and thirty thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon, he arrived before Delhi, Muttra having been recovered by the British on the 3rd of October, and occupied by the reserve under Lieutenant-colonel Don. The British garrison of Delhi consisted of two battalions and four companies of native infantry, two corps of irregular horse, two corps of irregular infantry, and a corps of matchlockmen. Lieutenant-colonel Burn commanded this inadequate force, and Colonel Ochterlony, the resident, assisted him most cheerfully and with great ability. The city was, at that time, destitute of all fortifications, except a weak wall, which was nearly nine miles in circuit; and that was the space Colonel Burn had to defend with his inadequate garrison, reduced in number by the desertion of many of the irregulars to Holkar, shortly after his arrival. With his numerous force, Holkar was not long in raising a battery and in opening a tremendous cannonade, his object being to get into the city, in order that he might take possession of the old Mogul, Shah Alum, to whom Scindia, by the treaty of Serji Anjengaum, had surrendered all claim, agreeing not to interfere any more in the affairs of his majesty. The fire from the breaching battery soon told upon the walls; and, as the result was evident if the storm of shot and shell could not be arrested, on the evening of the 10th of October, Colonel Burn made a sally with 200 regulars and 150 irregulars, the latter being commanded by Lieutenant Rose. They made for the battery, entered it, spiked the guns, and returned to the city with very little loss. Still the cannonade continued, for the numerous artillery which Holkar had with him enabled him soon to replace the disabled cannon. But the garrison was constantly on the alert: they did duty day and night, and to "keep up their spirits under this excessive fatigue, Colonel

† Malcolm's *Central India*.

Ochterlony had sweetmeats served out, and promised them half a month's pay when the enemy was epulsed." At length, on the 14th of October, under a heavy cannonade, an escalade was attempted at the Lahore gate; whilst a feint was made at the Ajmeer gate. Both the real and false attack were repulsed; and although in the evening some guns were placed opposite the Cashmere gate, and the attention of the garrison was drawn to that point, no other attempt to enter was made, but the entire Mahratta force retired in the night. The result of this siege "could not but reflect the greatest honour on the discipline, courage, and fortitude of British troops in the eyes of all Hindostan," when it was observed, "that with so small a force, they sustained a siege of nine days, repelled an assault, and defended a city ten miles in circuit, and which had, ever before, been given up on the first appearance of an enemy at the gates."*

On the 17th of October, when General Lake reached Delhi to raise the siege, he found the enemy had disappeared, Holkar having crossed the Jumna, and carried fire and sword into the British territories in the Dooab. The general immediately sent most of his infantry, under Colonel Fraser, to attack a division of the enemy's forces stationed at Deeg, in Bhurtpoor, twenty-four miles west of Muttra; whilst he himself, joined by Lieutenant-colonel Burn, went in pursuit of Holkar with the whole of the European dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, the horse artillery, and the reserve, comprising two companies of European, and three battalions of native infantry. The troops took as little with them, and advanced as rapidly, as possible. In their route they encountered some bands of fierce Sikhs who were dispersed by Colonel Burn; and a body of Mahratta cavalry, seen at a distance on the 7th of November, took to flight as soon as they perceived the English approaching. Lieutenant-colonel Burn was left at Meerut, with three battalions of infantry and some irregular cavalry, to protect the northern part of the Dooab; and General Lake, continuing the pursuit, came up with Holkar on the 17th of November, encamped near Furruckabad, the chief town of a district in the north-west provinces, 160 miles south-east from Delhi. The Mahrattas were taken by surprise. It was early dawn when the head of the column reached the Mahratta camp, and the first intimation which

* Colonel Ochterlony's despatch.

the enemy had of the approach of the English was a discharge of grape amongst them from the horse artillery. This roused them from their sleep; but they had scarcely snatched their arms, before the 8th light dragoons were amongst them, charging and cutting them down. Holkar is said to have had 60,000 cavalry there; but they made no stand, soon the ground was covered with the killed and wounded, and the rest were in full flight, Holkar leading the way: he is said not to have drawn rein till he crossed the Colini river, eighteen miles from the field of battle. He then made the best of his way to Deeg. But there he found that disaster had awaited him. Most of his infantry, joined by that of the rajah of Bhurtpoor, had been posted near Deeg. General Fraser had reached that vicinity on the 12th of November, and descried the enemy from the heights of Gobardun; their right being covered by a fortified village, their left by the fort of Deeg, which was then held by Runjeet Sing, rajah of Bhurtpoor, and garrisoned by a strong force of the Jats, as the inhabitants of Bhurtpoor are called—a warlike race, supposed to be the original inhabitants of the plains lying along the Indus and its tributaries. A large deep tank protected the rear of the enemy, and an extensive morass their front, so that they could not have occupied a much stronger position. General Fraser had with him two European regiments (his majesty's 76th and the company's first European corps), and four battalions of sepoy. With this small force it was resolved to risk a battle with the Mahrattas and their allies. The men started in high spirits at 3 A.M. on the 13th; but having to make a considerable detour to avoid the morass, day had broken before they reached the right flank of the enemy, resting on the village. The troops were formed in two lines, the 76th regiment and two battalions of sepoy being in front. The village was situated upon a hill, and the 76th, their bayonets at the charge, ascended one side, drove the Mahrattas from the village, and rushed down the other side upon the advanced batteries of the enemy, from which the latter retreated, as soon as the English reached them, to their second range of guns, from whence they opened a most destructive fire, just as the second British line was coming up to the support of the first. At almost the first discharge a cannonball took off the leg of General Fraser, who

being compelled to retire from the field, the command devolved upon Colonel Monson, under whom one part of the troops charged, and took battery after battery, which covered the ground for the space of two miles; this brought them close to the walls of Deeg, and they were obliged to fall back. A dense body of Holkar's infantry, stationed at the lower end of the morass, was kept in check by Major Hammond with two battalions and three 6-pounders, while the 76th and the company's European regiment carried the batteries; and a body of the enemy's horse having passed the rear of the British, and retook the batteries first captured, from which they opened a desperate fire upon the troops advancing under Colonel Monson, Captain Henry Norford, of the 76th, with only twenty-eight men, rushed upon them with the bayonet, drove off the assailants, and recaptured the guns: unfortunately this gallant officer was killed whilst executing this important service, than which none of greater daring occurs in the history of the Indian campaigns. The last of the batteries captured, Colonel Monson went to the assistance of Major Hammond, with additional pieces of cannon. This movement induced the Mahrattas to make a precipitate retreat. They attempted to cross the morass, where numbers perished; and the rest took shelter in Deeg, escaped over the country, or were made prisoners. Their loss in killed was between two and three thousand; and eighty-seven pieces of cannon were taken—amongst them fourteen which Colonel Monson had lost in his retreat from the pass of Mokundurra. The British had 643 killed and wounded; in that number were twenty-two British officers, including General Fraser, who died of his wounds shortly after the battle.

The intelligence of this victory had reached General Lake the day before the battle of Furruckabad; and, after that victory, he marched to Deeg. He arrived before that fortress on the 1st of December; and having joined the force under Colonel Monson, he resolved to take Deeg. As a battering train had to be brought from Agra, it was not till the 11th that the siege operations could be commenced. Twelve days then elapsed before a breach was effected in one of the detached works. This was stormed on the 23rd the next day, the town and all the outworks were evacuated; and on Christmas-day the citadel was also deserted by the Mahrattas. They left a great many

guns, stores, and a quantity of ammunition behind them, and the captors made considerable prize-money.*

In another direction, also, Holkar had met with disaster and defeat. A detached force had been sent, under Colonels Wallace and Haliburton, to take Chandore, a strong fort in the south of the Deccan, in what is now the British district of Ahmednugger, in the presidency of Bombay, being 148 miles north-east of that city. This detachment was a part of the force sent from Mysore by General Wellesley. It started early in October, and, before the end of that month, had captured the dependent fort of Lassengong. Shortly after Chandore was invested. Major Wallace describes it as being most difficult to assail. The hill on which it stands, or rather which forms the fort, was the strongest he ever saw. It was quite inaccessible everywhere but at the gateway, where alone it was fortified by art; and there was but one entrance of any kind. A stout resistance was expected; but as soon as the British had taken up their position and opened a battery, the killadar hung out a flag of truce, and proposed to surrender, provided the garrison were allowed to carry off their arms and baggage, and private property was respected. These terms were agreed to; and, in a few hours, the British flag floated over the walls of Chandore. Subsequently, a number of small forts in the same territory were taken possession of by the British without resistance; and by the end of the year Holkar did not hold a foot of land south of the Taptee.

The year 1804 thus closed most triumphantly for the company: and General Lake resolved, that his first operation in 1805 should be the siege of Bhurtpoor. This city, about thirty miles from Agra, did not present a very formidable appearance. It was six or eight miles in circuit, and defended by a mud wall, surrounded by a broad ditch. "Its site is somewhat depressed; and this circumstance, in a military point of view, contributes to its strength, as the water of a neighbouring jhil, or small lake, can be discharged into it in such a volume as to render it unfordable."† The British army marched from Deeg for Bhurtpoor on the 1st of January, and on the 3rd took up its encampment-ground in front of

* Thornton's *History of India*; Major Thorn's *Memoir of the War*; Colonel Monson's and Wellesley's despatches.

† Thornton.

the city. General Lake had 8,000 men, but his train was utterly inadequate. "A breaching battery of six 18-pounders, and one of four 8-inch and four 5½-inch mortars, were the means of offence with which operations were commenced against defences of vast size, massive proportions, and singular tenacity."* The breaching batteries, constructed with three pieces of artillery, opened their fire on the 7th of January; on the 9th a practicable breach was effected; and in the evening of that day, the first attempt at storming the place was made. The storming party was formed into three columns, led by Lieutenant-colonel Ryan, Major Hawkes, and Lieutenant-colonel Maitland; and some confusion into which these different parties fell (the one interrupting and interfering with the other), may have led to the result, which was a failure. The enemy were well provided for defence. Their guns commanded all the approaches, and they also kept up a heavy fire of musketry upon the assailants, many of whom had to pass the ditch breast-high in water. All appears to have been done that man could do. Retreat was, however, found to be inevitable; but the word to fall back was not given till nearly 300 Europeans and 200 sepoy were disabled.—Heavier cannon arrived a day or two after; and on the 16th a fierce fire was opened from two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, seven 12-pounders, and eight mortars. A breach was effected that day, and another the next; but they were found to have been effectually stockaded by the garrison before any attempt to storm them could be made.

On the 18th of January, General Lake was reinforced by the arrival of Major-general Smith with three battalions of sepoy and a hundred Europeans, and by 500 native horse, under a chief named Ismael Beg, who had revolted from Holkar.—On the 21st, another attempt to storm a breach which the bombardment had effected in the mud rampart, was made, under Colonel Macrae. It also failed; the storming party losing near 600 men (including eighteen officers) in killed and wounded.—Whilst this party was engaged in crossing the ditch, and gallantly attempting to force an entrance, the camp was attacked by an immense mass of cavalry under Ameer Khan, who had marched from Bundelcund, which he had made the scene of pillage, to assist the rajah. The British horse kept this force

* Thornton.

in check; and it was eventually dispersed by a few discharges of artillery.—On the 23rd this freebooter attacked a convoy on its way to the camp, escorted by a regiment of native cavalry and a battalion of Europeans, under Captain Wallace. Ameer Khan had 8,000 cavalry and several pieces of cannon with him; and there was a severe encounter between the two forces, the much smaller body of English and sepoy taking refuge in an open village, where they kept the enemy completely at bay. The firing had been heard in the camp; and General Lake sent Colonel Need, with two regiments—one of English dragoons, and one of native cavalry—to the rescue. The sepoy, however, carried Ameer Khan's guns at the point of the bayonet, just as these reinforcements came up; and the latter, dashing into the midst of the marauders, soon put them to flight; 600 were left dead on the field—the Ameer Khan himself escaping with great difficulty.—Shortly after, this chief left Bhurtpoor, and invaded the Dooab, where he was followed by troops of Pindarries and other freebooters, and General Lake detached Major-general Smith in pursuit. The latter had only a small body of horse with him, with which he chased the Ameer over 700 miles of the most difficult country, constantly beating his troops wherever he came up with them, and finally compelling him to recross the Ganges, with his force nearly annihilated. Major-general Smith was employed nearly a month on this expedition, when he returned to Bhurtpoor.—He found that the siege was not brought to a conclusion. General Lake had been joined by Major-general Jones, with a division of the Bombay army; but it was not men, so much as artillery, that were wanted. There had been several assaults, which had failed—the besieged raising stockades and bulwarks as fast as their intrenchments were breached; withdrawing their guns if they were likely to be disabled, and placing them where they could most effectually play upon any party attempting to enter; and keeping pots filled with combustibles, burning cotton bales steeped in oil," and other missiles, ready to hurl upon the heads of the stormers. On one occasion, the 12th Bengal sepoy had planted their colours on the top of the rampart, and the 76th refused to follow them. The next day, General Lake addressed the latter on their breach of military duty, and said,

the remembrance of it should be effaced with respect to those who would volunteer for the next assault; and they all begged to be put on "the forlorn hope." This assault was made on the 21st of February, Colonel Monson commanding the storming party. No men could act more bravely, or fight with more determination, than did the gallant fellows he led to the bastions on which the British colours had previously been planted, and in which a wide breach had been made. Lieutenant Templeton again planted the flag of Britain on the walls, and was shot dead just as he had achieved the daring act. Major Menzies, who followed him as a volunteer, was also killed; and officers and men fell on all sides. After a struggle of two hours, Colonel Monson withdrew his men; and the next day, the ordnance was withdrawn from the batteries, and the troops from the trenches; General Lake determining to turn the siege into a blockade.—Since the opening of the trenches, the British loss had been 388 killed, 1,894 wounded, and 52 missing; total, 2,334. Notwithstanding the protection afforded by their walls, there is reason to believe that the loss of the enemy was still greater.

Though he had successfully resisted the various assaults of the British, Runjeet Sing had no hope of beating them off and of saving his capital; and on learning that supplies of every kind had reached General Lake, he made overtures for peace. Negotiations were going on, when the appearance of Holkar in great force, about eight miles to the westward of Bhurtpoor, caused them to be suspended.—Major-general Smith and his cavalry had just before returned to the camp, and this force was dispatched to attack the Mahrattas, General Lake putting himself at its head. Before his encampment was reached, Holkar, who had been informed by a scout of the approach of the British, was, with his Mahrattas, in full flight. They were pursued, and some execution inflicted on their rear; and their camp, horses, camels, and elephants, were captured.—Shortly after, Holkar formed a junction with Ameer Khan; and, on the 2nd of April, the combined forces were overtaken by General Lake's cavalry. The Mahrattas and their allies were charged in front and on the flanks, and routed with great loss. Holkar then crossed the Chumbul river with only 8,000 horse, 5,000 foot, and a few guns, and fled to join Scindia,

who was preparing a force with which he contemplated breaking through the treaty of 1803, and again making war on the British. The rajah of Bhurtpoor, however, was not inclined any further to brave the anger of a power against which, he found, no natives could stand in the field; and, on the 10th of April, he went in person to General Lake's camp, where a treaty was concluded upon the following terms, and signed on the 17th:—

The rajah's territory was guaranteed to him; the fortress of Deeg remaining in the hands of the British till they should have convinced themselves of his fidelity.—The rajah pledged himself never to have any connection in the future with the enemies of Great Britain; and undertook not to entertain any Europeans in his service without the company's sanction.—Each government was mutually to assist the other when required.—The rajah undertook to pay the company twenty lacs of rupees (£200,000), of which three lacs were to be paid immediately; and the remainder at stated periods; the last payment being made in 1809. As a bonus on good behaviour, that payment (five lacs) was to be remitted, should his conduct prove satisfactory.—The territory granted to the rajah in 1803 was retained by the company; and as a security for the due execution of the terms by that chief, it was further stipulated, that he should deliver up one of his sons as a hostage, to reside with British officers either at Delhi or Agra.*

The first instalment of the indemnity having been received, General Lake broke up his army from before Bhurtpoor on the 21st of April, with the intention of going in pursuit of Scindia, who, with Holkar, had retreated to Ajmere, a province to the west of the Rajpoot states of Kishengurh and Jeypoor. The rainy monsoon, however, compelled him to quarter his troops in Delhi, Agra, and Muttra, before any advance was made; and ere they could be put in motion again, the Marquis of Wellesley's administration closed. From the time of his resignation of his office, in 1802,† the understanding between his lordship and the court of directors had not been very cordial. His policy was generally supported by the board of control; but the company's civil authorities disapproved of his expenditure upon the college of Fort William; differed essentially with his views as to the employment of other ships in the trade with India than those chartered by the company; and were greatly alarmed at the expenditure for the Mahratta war, which, they thought, might have been avoided. They therefore determined to recall the noble marquis, whose

* Thornton.

† See ante, p. 154.

administration had conferred many benefits on their extensive territories. One object he had been sent out to effect—the destruction of French influence—he had completely accomplished. He had imparted to the civil service a nobler spirit, and a truer feeling of honour, than had hitherto characterised it he had greatly increased the efficiency of that service by the employment of men of the highest character and greatest talent; he had enlarged the territories of the company, and increased their revenue; and he had formed subsidiary alliances which, if they had been honestly acted upon and carried out, would have ensured the supremacy of the company and the tranquillity of India. But the directors viewed all his proceedings with a jaundiced eye, and they appointed the Marquis of Cornwallis—then greatly advanced in years—to succeed him. The noble marquis arrived at Calcutta in July; and, on the 20th of August, his predecessor sailed for England.*

Lord Cornwallis's second administration in India was very brief. His instructions were to make peace with the Mahratta chiefs, and to reverse the policy of the Marquis of Wellesley with respect to alliances with native states. He continued General Lake in the chief command of the army in the north-west provinces; and as soon as the rainy season ceased, he left Calcutta, for the purpose of proceeding to Agra, to confer with that officer or the best manner of terminating the war. His own views, in conformity with his instructions, led him to conciliate both Holkar and Scindia; and although the latter had suffered the English residency attached to his camp to be attacked and plundered by Pindarries, and had imprisoned Mr. Jenkins, the resident, his lordship was quite ready to conclude peace without demanding atonement for the one or the other of these outrages. General Lake remonstrated against such an ignominious course; but his remonstrance never reached the governor-general. In infirm health when he reached Calcutta, he got worse as

he proceeded to the north-west. On reaching Ghazipoor, near Benares, he found himself unable to proceed any further; and there he died, on the 5th of October, 1805, in the 67th year of his age.

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the council, exercised the authority of governor-general till a successor to the late marquis could arrive from England. As a member of the council, he had always supported the views of the Marquis of Wellesley; but when Lord Cornwallis arrived, he adopted his policy; and on his death, he declared his intention of carrying out the instructions received from home. Before he could do so, however, General Lake had commenced another campaign. Holkar and Scindia had separated on the latter's learning that he could obtain very favourable terms from the English. He had entered into negotiations with Sir John Malcolm, and Holkar had retired to the banks of the Indus, expecting to be joined in force by adventurers from Affghanistan. Thousands of the "free lances," which had always abounded in India, soon rallied round him, and he was, in a few weeks, again at the head of a large army. General Lake advanced against him with his majesty's 24th and 25th dragoons, and the 6th native cavalry, under Brigadier-general (late Colonel) Need; his majesty's 8th dragoons, and the third native cavalry, commanded by Brigadier-general Wood; his majesty's 22nd foot, an European regiment of the company's, and two battalions of sepoy, under Brigadier-general Mercer; and a park of horse artillery, commanded by Captains Pennington and Brown.

As the Anglo-Indians advanced, Holkar retreated. He crossed the Sutledj, and General Lake followed him by Paniput, Kurnaul, and Ameerghur, being joined on his way by Colonel Burn, and a detachment of European and native troops. He also crossed the Sutledj, and took up a position on the banks of the Beas the ancient Hyphasis. There he ascertained that Holkar was encamped near the city of Amritzir, about

* Notwithstanding the honourable character and complete success of the Marquis of Wellesley's administration, he was, after his return to England, charged in the House of Commons with various malversations in office—such as aggression on the native states, disregard of the orders and instructions received from home, and extravagance. His accuser was a person named Paull, who having made a fortune in the east, obtained a seat in parliament for the purpose of impeaching the noble

marquis; and he was warmly supported by Sir Philip Francis and Lord Folkestone. The charges all failed; Paull committed suicide; the marquis received a vote of approval instead of one of censure; and the wisdom of his policy has long been universally recognised. The proceedings carried on against him put him to an expense of £30,000; and, whilst they were pending (and they extended over several years), he refused to accept any office or public employment.

midway between his own camp and Lahore; and he would have made short work with the Mahratta, who could not then have escaped him; but he was prevented. Sir George Barlow had, on the 23rd of November, concluded a peace with Scindia, ceding to him the important fortress of Gwalior, "from considerations of friendship;" and making an exchange of territory highly advantageous for the Mahratta, taking the Chumbul as the boundary of the English possessions, and engaging not to interfere with the conquests made by him between that river and the Taptee; nor to enter into any treaties with the rajahs of Oudepoor, Joudpoor, Kotah, or other chiefs, tributaries of Scindia. While this treaty was negotiating, a messenger was dispatched to General Lake, instructing him to treat with Holkar, and to grant him very favourable terms, and also to dissolve the alliances with the native states west of the Jumna. This messenger reached the general on the 19th of December, at his camp on the Beas, and negotiations were immediately commenced. The treaty was concluded at Amritsir; and by it "Holkar relinquished any claim on Rampoor, Bhoondee, and all places north of the Bhoondee hills, and in possession of the British government; but he was confirmed in nearly all his other possessions;"* the British taking the Jumna as their boundary in that direction. Holkar bound himself never to molest the territories of the company, their allies, or dependents; and he had leave given to him to return from the Punjab to Hindostan by a prescribed route. Notwithstanding the favourable terms, Holkar withheld the ratification of the treaty, and made repeated objections to the agreement, which he wanted, in many instances, to evade. At length, on the 5th of January, 1806, the English general informed Holkar's vakeel, that if the treaty were not ratified within forty-eight hours, he would cross the

river and attack the Mahratta camp. The next day he marched his army to the nearest ford, where he encamped for the night; and, on the 7th, the ratified treaty was presented to him in the camp. General Lake, having first had a grand military display, which appears to have astonished the Sikhs, broke up his camp, and marched for Delhi.†

Thus ended what has been termed the first Mahratta war; and, by the terms agreed upon with the chiefs, all, or nearly all, the advantages the valour of their troops had gained for the company were neutralised, and the sources of much future disquietude were sown in the abandonment of our alliance with the native states. The rajahs, who had been faithful to us, were to have shared in the conquests won from Holkar and Scindia; and the surrender of them to those chiefs was a breach of faith with the former, who complained loudly. We had also engaged to protect those rajahs, on certain conditions, from the predatory inroads of the Mahrattas: that protection was now withdrawn, and the results were soon seen. Berar and other states were overrun with Mahratta and Pindarree robbers, whilst the Rajpoot chiefs, quarrelling among themselves, threatened to throw all India into confusion. General Lake's representations induced Sir George Barlow to adhere to the alliances with the rajahs of Machery and Bhurtpoor. That officer was too much disgusted with the measures forced upon him, to retain his position any longer than he could help. He resigned his diplomatic functions in January, 1806; but he remained in India twelve months longer, which time he spent in completing the arrangements necessary with respect to the army; and in settling, as far as he was able, in accordance with the instructions of the government, the claims of the native chiefs. He quitted India in February, 1807, leaving behind him a high reputation and a beloved name.‡

* Thornton.

† Major Thorn's *Memoir of the War*; Sir John Malcolm's *Sketch of the Political History of India*; and Thornton's *History*.

‡ On arriving in England, General Lake was raised to the peerage as Baron Lake, of Delhi and Laswarree. Just before his death, which took place

on the 21st of February, 1808, he was raised to the dignity of viscount.—His son, Colonel George Lake (mentioned *ante*, p. 160), who shared with him the toils, the dangers, and the glories of his Indian campaigns, on his return to Europe, joined the army in Portugal, and fell in battle about six months after the death of his father.

CHAPTER XI.

MUTINY OF VELLORE; DEATH OF SHAH ALUM; ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO; STATE OF INDIA; EXPEDITION TO MACAO; NEGOTIATIONS WITH PERSIA, WITH SOOJAH-OOL-MOOLK, THE AMEERS OF SCINDE, AND RUNJEET SING; AMEER KHAN AND THE PINDARRIES; THEIR INVASION OF BERAR; DIFFERENCES WITH TRAVANCORE; MUTINY AT MADRAS; EXPEDITION TO, AND CAPTURE OF, THE DUTCH AND FRENCH ISLANDS; DEATH OF HOLKAR; DISPUTES WITH THE GHOORKAS; TERMINATION OF LORD MINTO'S GOVERNMENT.

THE short administration of Sir George Barlow was distinguished by an event which has a fearful significancy when looked at through the vista of something more than half a century, in connection with the events which, in 1857 and 1858, filled the public mind with alarm and disquietude for the fate of the Indian empire: we mean the mutiny at Vellore. That town is situated in the British district of Arcot, and presidency of Madras, on the right side of the river Palar: it was, in 1804, strongly fortified, being garrisoned by a battalion of the 4th native infantry, and four companies of the 69th king's regiment; and had been selected as the residence of the family of Tippoo Saib, after the fall of Seringapatam.* In 1803, Lord William Bentinck succeeded Colonel Clive as governor of Madras; Sir John Cradock (afterwards Lord Howden) being commander-in-chief of the army of that presidency. Both the governor and the general were fond of military reform: their anxiety for innovation was restrained by the Marquis of Wellesley; but, after he left India, little restraint appears to have been thrown in their way, and many new regulations for the sepoy's were introduced. By these regulations, the native troops were required "to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern; and never to wear the distinguishing mark of *caste*, or their ear-rings when in uniform. A turban of a new pattern was also ordered for them."† This turban was made of English broadcloth, covering a slight iron frame. It was objected to, as resembling a hat, for which article of dress the Hindoos have an express dislike; whilst a small cockade in front was said to be made of the skin of a hog—an impure animal. A turn-screw attached to their uniform, they alleged, resembled the cross; and the practice of vaccination, recently introduced, was alleged to be one of a series of innovations intended

to subvert their faith, and to establish Christianity. Very general was the discontent excited by these changes; and at Vellore, it was fomented by some of the young princes—Tippoo's sons.

When the battalion of the 4th sepoy's, stationed at Vellore, were commanded to wear the turban, they refused, describing it as "an abomination;" and were, on the 6th and 7th of May, so disorderly, that a number of them were put under arrest. By order of Sir John Cradock, a court of inquiry was held, by whose sentence the non-commissioned officers were broken, and two men were left to receive 800 lashes each. The punishment was inflicted; and Sir John declined to publish a "general order" addressed to the troops, assuring them, in the strongest language, that "no intention existed to introduce any change incompatible with the laws and usages of their religion"—alleging that it was unnecessary; and Sir George Barlow unfortunately gave in to this opinion, as he had previously done to his representations, that to reverse the regulations affecting the sepoy's uniform, &c., would be to undermine the authority of those by whom they had been imposed. For a time there appeared to be "no necessity" for these measures, as discipline was outwardly restored; and, on the 9th of July—the garrison of Vellore then consisting of the 23rd and the 1st battalion of the 1st Madras native infantry, who had replaced the 4th and the four companies of the 69th—a despatch was sent to Madras, to inform the governor how completely order was re-established.

The garrison was commanded by Colonel Fancourt, "an experienced and brave soldier." Several European officers were visiting in the town; and all were retired to rest on the night of the day above-mentioned—the sentinels and guards being the only individuals in motion. All was still, and most of the Europeans were buried in sleep, when, shortly after midnight, the sepoy's

* See *ante*, p. 147.

† Auber's *India*.

gathered together, and simultaneously attacked the officers' lodgings, many of the private houses, and surrounded the barracks, shooting down the sentries. Their rising had been previously planned with other parties, for they were joined by bands of the desperadoes who infested the neighbourhood, and outnumbered the British in the proportion of at least ten to one. In a short time, almost without the possibility of resistance, Colonel Fancourt, Colonel M'Kerras, Major Armstrong, Major Marriott, eleven other officers, and about a hundred European privates, were murdered; the hospital was entered, and its disabled and sick inmates massacred; a great many persons were wounded; and plunder and pillage became general. The barracks (which were built in an open quadrangle near the fort) were attacked by a body of armed sepoy, who had with them a 6-pounder. The Europeans, under two officers and Sergeant Brodie, defended their position as long as possible; and then the survivors made a sally, captured the gun, and a small party under the sergeant, cutting their way through the rebels, reached one of the gates. It was fastened, and prevented their egress; but they got to the top of the rampart, and there maintained themselves for some time against their assailants. For more than six hours the carnage and the strife prevailed; and the atrocities committed by the mutineers in that time, cannot be described. Tradition still preserves reminiscences of the horrible treatment to which British ladies and their children were subjected, treatment to which the barbarities of the mutiny of 1857 in the north-west provinces afford a sad parallel. Whilst the great mass of the mutineers were engaged in the work of destruction, massacre, and violation, and a smaller body kept up the attack upon the little band of Europeans under Sergeant Brodie, an officer—who at the commencement of the outbreak had been fortunate enough to lower himself from a sally port into the ditch, which he was enabled, providentially, to cross in safety, though it abounded with alligators—made his way to Arcot, a distance of sixteen miles. He traversed that space in somewhat less than five hours, arriving there at 7 A.M. on the 10th, just as Colonel Gillespie, who commanded the garrison, was ordering his horse to be saddled, as he was about to proceed to Vellore, to breakfast with Colonel Fancourt

and his friends. As soon as he heard the sad news, he ordered his regiment (the 19th light dragoons) to horse immediately; and in less than a quarter of an hour he was on his way to Vellore, at the head of one of the troops; the remainder being instructed to follow instantly, and to take with them the gallopper guns. The colonel was well-mounted, and he put his horse to the "top of its speed." He outstripped his men, and was seen by Sergeant Brodie, who had served with him in the West Indies, and exclaimed—"If Colonel Gillespie be alive, here he is, at the head of the 19th dragoons; and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies to save our lives in the East." He did save them. Pushing on amidst a heavy fire from the mutineers, he reached the gate, and was drawn up to the top by means of a chain formed of the belts of some of the soldiers. His presence inspired the brave fellows with fresh confidence. With him at their head they charged the mutineers with the bayonet, and drove them from that part of the work; this was effected just as the dragoons arrived with the guns. Gillespie ordered them to blow open the gate; and, as soon as it gave way, in dashed the dragoons, who were aided by the remains of the 69th; and though the mutineers fought with the fierceness of despair, they were soon broken, dispersed, and completely defeated. Between 300 and 400 were killed, upwards of 400 were made prisoners, and the rest laid down their arms and fled. The 7th native cavalry came up soon after the 19th dragoons: they joined in the attack upon the mutineers; and a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, upon "the authority of a respectable officer who belonged to the dragoons, and was with them on this memorable occasion," says, that they "stained their sabres as deeply as the English soldiers with the blood of their misguided countrymen."

A general court-martial was held as soon as a sufficient number of European officers could be got together, by whom some of the mutineers were condemned to death, and executed by hanging, or by being blown from the mouths of cannon. The others were pardoned, and gradually liberated.—As the servants and friends of the Mysore princes had been seen among the mutineers, by whom a communication was kept up between them and the palace in which their highnesses resided, summary measures were adopted with the latter, who were removed

from Vellore to Calcutta, out of the locality in which their adherents were so numerous, and their allowances were reduced. Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Cradock were recalled, and the obnoxious regulations were annulled. By this means order and discipline were re-established; but, it was confidently believed in the army, that if the mutineers of Vellore had obtained the least head (and that they did not was owing to the promptitude and determination of Colonel Gillespie), they would, in a few days, have been joined by 50,000 from Mysore and other parts of the Madras presidency.*

About the time that the Vellore mutiny was taking place, the aged Mogul, Shah Alum, died, at the age of eighty-six, having never, probably, been so happy as he was in the short interval which had elapsed since his liberation from the Mahrattas by General Lake. He was succeeded by his son, Akbar Shah, who, after the recognition of his title, made some vain attempts to add to it something like real power. They failed, however, and he soon yielded to those he found it impossible to resist. Had the mutineers been successful, his struggle might have been more protracted.

Sir George Barlow's administration, which was productive of many evils, did not end till the arrival of Lord Minto in July, 1807. His lordship, who, as Sir Gilbert Elliott, had been a strong opponent of Warren Hastings and his policy, had been nominated, in July, 1806, to succeed Lord Cornwallis, but twelve months elapsed before he reached Calcutta; and he then found that the system of neutrality and non-interference, of which he had been an advocate, had involved the government of India in many difficulties. "Naturally inclined, as he was instructed, to carry out a moderate policy, and to abstain as much as possible from entanglements with native rulers, he would fain have devoted himself to the details of domestic policy and the replenishment of an exhausted exchequer. But the unsettled state of our European relations compelled him to look beyond the frontier; and what he saw there, roused him to action."† He applied himself, with a view to counteract French influence, to form alliances with Persia and several of the native states of India; but almost one of his first acts was to send, early in 1808, an expedi-

tion to Macao, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the French. About 1,000 men were dispatched to that post, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas M. Wedgell, who were not received very cordially by the Portuguese; whilst the Chinese—who still considered Macao as a portion of their empire, though it had so long owned the authority of Portugal—were furious at their landing, and not only ordered them to depart, but stopped the trade at Canton with the English, at the same time refusing to supply either his majesty's ships or merchantmen with provisions. Admiral Drury, who commanded the fleet in the Chinese seas, made some demonstrations in the Canton river, which he did not carry out; and, under terms of a convention concluded in December, the troops at Macao were re-embarked, and Admiral Drury sailed for Calcutta. The expedition was very expensive, and ended in humiliation, entirely through the want of firmness in the British admiral; to commemorate their triumph over whom, the Chinese built a pagoda near Canton.‡

Lord Minto, early in 1808—chiefly instigated by fears of a French invasion—sent Sir John Malcolm to Teheran, to negotiate an alliance with Persia, which power had, in October, 1807, in violation of an existing treaty with England, received General Gardanne as ambassador from France, under whose influence, no doubt, the shah refused to allow the English envoy to proceed any further than Bushire, insisting on his negotiating there with his son, the viceroy of Shiraz. Malcolm would not yield to these restrictions, and returned to Calcutta, where orders were given to prepare an expedition against Persia. It, however, never sailed. Her majesty's government had sent Sir Harford Jones to the east, with a view to proceed to Teheran for the purpose of counteracting the proceedings of General Gardanne. He touched at Bombay on his route; and Sir John Malcolm persuaded him to delay, on the ground that, if he were not supported by an armed force, he might be treated with insolence both by the French and Persians. But Persia was then at war with Russia. France had made great promises of assistance, which were not fulfilled; and the Persians were annoyed. Sir Harford Jones, therefore, proceeded, and

* The best accounts of the mutiny at Vellore, are to be found in the *Plain Englishman*, vol. ii.; and in the *Quarterly Review*, No. xxxvi.

† Kaye's *Affghanistan*.

‡ Sir John Davis's *China; East India Military Calendar*.



BATTLE OF QUIBERON BAY.



landing at Bushire, he made such a display of the presents which the king of Great Britain had sent to the shah, that he quite astonished the Persians; and the khans exclaimed 'Mashallah! the English are not ruined, but the French are the grandfathers of lies, and have made us eat dirt!' The result was, that Gardanne and his suite were dismissed, and a treaty was concluded with Sir Harford Jones—being signed on the 12th of March, 1809. This was what might be termed an offensive and defensive alliance; as the shah, should the British dominions in India be attacked by the Affghans or any other power, engaged "to afford a force for the protection of such dominions;" whilst the British were to aid the shah in like manner if he were attacked, or pay him a subsidy, supply him with ammunition, &c. The shah also undertook "not to permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or towards the ports of that country." The Indian government was not very well pleased with the success of Sir Harford Jones, where their own ambassador had failed: however, they accepted the treaty, upon the merits and advantages of which writers were very much divided.

The native powers with whom Lord Minto opened negotiations whilst those with Persia were proceeding, were the Affghans, the Ameers of Scinde, and Runjeet Sing, who was at the head of the Sikhs*—a people originally inhabiting a few petty principalities, but were now rapidly becoming consolidated into a powerful state.—The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent upon the mission to Cabool, where Soojah-ool-Moolk had succeeded his brother Zemaun Shah, who had been deposed and blinded by another brother (Mahmood or Mohammed), whom Soojah-ool-Moolk had, in his turn, defeated and deposed. He received the ambassador most graciously; and Mr. Elphinstone describes him as a very handsome man, of about thirty years of age. At the interview, his costume was so covered with gems, that the English "thought, at first, he had an armour of jewels." But the "dress consisted of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which was a large breastplate of diamonds, shaped like two *fleurs-de-lis*; there was an ornament of the same kind on each

thigh, large diamond and emerald bracelets on the arms, and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Koh-i-noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world."† The embassy was received at Peshawur, not Cabool; for civil war was still raging, and the king was unable to retain possession of his capital. The treaty, however, was concluded in June, 1809; its terms being very similar to that concluded with Persia. Soojah-ool-Moolk was soon after driven from the throne, and expelled the kingdom; but Mr. Elphinstone had left a favourable impression on the Affghans, which had a good effect in the future proceedings between them and the Indian government. The civil disturbances caused Mr. Elphinstone and his suite to leave Peshawur on the 14th of June; and when close to the city, the embassy was attacked by robbers, who carried off a mule laden with rich shawls, and about £1,000 in rupees. The ambassador continued his route; and when in the country of the Sikhs, he was overtaken by the harem of the king, accompanied by the aged and blind Zemaun Shah—a most "remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune—blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country which he had twice subdued."‡

Scinde is an extensive and important province in Western India, "lying on the banks of the Indus, from its junction with the Punjabee territories to the sea." It was divided into Upper and Lower Scinde. "The people inhabiting the former were for the most part Beloochees—a warlike and turbulent race, of far greater physical power and mental energy than their feeble, degraded neighbours the Scindians, who occupied the country from Shikarpore to the mouth of the Indus. The nominal rulers of these provinces were the Talpoor Ameers; but they were either tributary to, or actually dependent upon, the court of Cabool."§ In July, 1808, Captain Seton had proceeded to Hyderabad, and concluded a treaty with the Ameers. But, as it bound each party to supply military aid, in the event of invasion, to the other, it "committed the British government to assist the tributary state of Scinde against the Lord Paramount of the country, thereby placing us in direct hostility with the very power [Cabool] whose good offices we were so anxious to conciliate."|| This treaty was therefore ignored; and Mr. Hankey Smith, the resident at Benares, was sent to nego-

* See *ante*, p. 22.

† Elphinstone's *Cabool*.

§ Kaye's *Affghanistan*.

‡ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

tiate a new one. He succeeded; and on the 9th of August, 1809, a fresh agreement was concluded, the most important article of which was the following:—"The government of Scinde will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Scinde."* But the Ameers wanted active assistance in their own wars; and Gholam Ali, one of them, was very anxious to obtain the aid of the English in conquering the neighbouring country of Cutch, in the profits of which they were to share. When this was declined, they were not very particular in observing the terms of the treaty.

The negotiations with the rajah, Runjeet Sing, who now resided at Lahore, at first occasioned the Indian government some difficulty. Communications had been opened with him early in 1808; but the rajah seemed more inclined to subdue the chiefs who held the tract of land which lies between the Sutledj and the Jumna, than to negotiate. An armed force sent to his frontiers, under Colonel Ochterlony and General St. Leger, had more effect upon him than the more pacific demonstrations of the diplomatist; and, in August, Mr. Charles Metcalfe was sent to Lahore. He did not succeed in concluding a treaty till April, 1809; the negotiations being, no doubt, facilitated by the receipt in the camps of General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony, of the news of the victory of Vimiera in Portugal, won by the British under the hero of Assaye—Sir Arthur Wellesley. The gratifying intelligence caused royal salutes to be fired in the camps: and "the cause of this firing being made known to Runjeet Sing, the salute was, by his especial command, repeated from all the artillery in his camp—a circumstance which, whether it was attributed to politeness towards the British commanders, or to a general condemnation of the system of Buonaparte, was felt equally agreeable."†—By the treaty, soon after concluded, Runjeet Sing was recognised as chief of the countries he then governed; but "the Sikh chiefs between the Sumna and the Jumna, not already under his yoke, were taken under British protection; and, on the 5th of May, a proclamation was issued, declaring the nature of the connection which was thenceforth to exist between them and the dominant power on the south of the Jumna."‡

* Thornton.

† *Asiatic Annual Register*.

‡ *Kaye's Afghanistan*.

Successful in his negotiations, which he had so soon undertaken (though going out to India with instructions to avoid native alliances), Lord Minto found himself obliged, in 1809, to break through his pacific instructions also, and to send an armed force to protect the rajah of Berar against an invasion of his territory by the ally of Holkar, Ameer Khan, and a host of Pindarries. The latter, originally a class of the lowest freebooters, had greatly increased in numbers and importance since the tide of fortune had turned against the Mahrattas. They plundered their former masters without mercy; and being joined by most of the irregular horse disbanded by General Lake on the conclusion of the treaty with Holkar, they became very formidable to the more peaceable Hindoos. Out of every thousand of these freebooters, about 600 were plunderers and camp followers. The remaining 400 were armed with matchlocks, and a spear similar to those used by the Mahrattas, about sixteen or eighteen feet long. When they made war on their own account, the inferior chiefs placed themselves under a superior leader; and their track in the country they entered was marked with murder and desolation. Burning villages, violated women, and massacred children and aged men were their trophies; and a more terrible scourge could not fall upon a country than an invasion by Pindarries.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty with General Lake, Holkar had become insane; and Ameer Khan had seized on the regency of his dominions. He commenced a career of plundering, sometimes on Holkar's account, and sometimes on his own; and having brought the rana of Oudepoor under his influence (who had vainly applied for British interference), he invaded, early in 1809, the territory of Berar. Then Lord Minto felt bound to step in and arrest the progress of the Patan (as it would be unsafe to have him so near a neighbour) and his Pindarries. A notification that Berar was under British protection was received with defiance; and, in consequence, Colonel Close marched into Malwa and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, and other of his possessions, whilst another force was sent to drive him and his Pindarries out of Berar. They did not wait to fight, but retired before the British; and then Colonel Ciose was recalled, instead of being permitted to disperse the plunderers, and completely to overthrow

“one of the most notorious villains India ever produced.”*

The refusal of the rajah of Travancore, under the influence of his dewan or vizier, Ylloo Tambee, to pay a tribute which, by a treaty concluded in 1805, he had agreed to pay, instead of assisting the company with troops in time of war (as he had stipulated to do by a previous treaty of 1799), led to a brief passage of arms with that sovereign. The payment of the tribute was not only refused, but that refusal was accompanied by acts of hostility, and an attempt to murder the resident. That attempt was unsuccessful; but thirty-three privates of his majesty's 12th regiment, under a sergeant-major, who were on board a vessel which put into one of the ports of Travancore for a supply of water, were enticed on shore, surrounded by the rajah's troops, and being tied in couples back to back, had a large and weighty stone tied to their necks: in this state they were thrown into the sea, and all perished.—To chastise the rajah for his bad faith and cruelty, troops were sent to all sides of the country. The body sent to the north was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Cuppage; that to the east, under Lieutenant-colonel Arthur St. Leger; that to the south, under Colonel Wilkinson; and that on the west, under Colonel Chalmers.—The last-named body was the first that was engaged. On the 15th of January, 1809, a large division of the rajah's troops, accompanied with guns, were seen advancing in different directions upon the British position. Colonel Chalmers resolved to attack this force without delay; and after a contest of five hours, the enemy was put to flight, and several of their guns captured.—On the 25th, the enemy was again repulsed, in an attack made upon a division of the British at Cochin, under Major Hewett.—On the 9th of February, the rajah's lines at Arumbooly were carried by a detachment from Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger's division, under Major Welch; and that division dispersed the troops on the east side of Travancore, and occupied the forts of Woodaghery and Papanaveram without striking a blow.—The rajah's territory was now entered on all sides by the British; and this soon led to the re-establishment of the ancient relations between the two powers. The vizier, abandoned by his master, ultimately put an end to his own life; and his brother, who was taken prisoner, being

* Tod's *Rajast'han*.

proved to have participated in the atrocious murder of the soldiers, was hung.

This difference with Travancore was scarcely adjusted, when differences much more serious sprung up between the civil and military authorities at Madras. They had their origin in two causes.—Under the government of Lord William Bentinck, the quartermaster-general, Colonel Munro, had been directed to draw up a report upon what was called the “Tent Contract;” under which the commanding officers of native corps received certain allowances, paid monthly; and, in return, they found tents for their regiments when their services were required in the field. Colonel Munro recommended the abolition of this contract; and it fell to Sir George Barlow to issue, in May, 1808, a general order for its discontinuance. No doubt the order itself was unpopular among the officers, who, however, did not ask for its being rescinded; but they did call for the trial of Colonel Munro by a court-martial, because he had cast imputations upon their honour, by saying, in his report, that the practice “placed the interest and the duty of the officers in direct opposition to each other;” and caused them “to consult their own profits at the expense of the public service.” This was one cause of the military dissatisfaction. The other was, that Lieutenant-general Hay M'Dowall, who succeeded Sir John Cradock as commander-in-chief of the Madras army, was not, as all his predecessors had been, appointed a member of the council of government. When the governor finally rejected the application of the commander-in-chief for a seat at the council-board, the latter, who till that time had taken no part in the demand of the officers that Colonel Munro should be sent before a court-martial, suddenly ordered that officer to be arrested; and Sir George Barlow, having first consulted the judge-advocate-general, directed that he should be liberated. Then, on the 28th of January, 1809, Lieutenant-general M'Dowall embarked for Europe,† leaving behind him a general order severely censuring the conduct of Colonel Munro, and forwarding, before he sailed, to the governor-in-council an address from the military officers, complaining of several grievances under which they suffered, and protesting against the exclusion of their commander-in-chief from the council. The general

† He never arrived; the vessel on board of which he embarked was lost.

order was signed by Major Boles, the deputy-adjutant-general; and it called forth, from the government, three orders most unpopular with the army, and which irritated the angry feeling that already existed. The first of these orders condemned the conduct of Lieutenant-general M'Dowall, and removed him from the command of the army; the second suspended Major Boles for signing the military order; and the third suspended Colonel Capper, the adjutant-general, for assuming the responsibility of the order which his deputy had signed, and which, he said, would have received his signature if he had not accompanied his general on board-ship. These orders occasioned great excitement in the army. The officers of nearly every regiment in the service sent addresses to their suspended comrades; whilst a memorial to the governor-general was circulated (receiving numerous signatures), of a similar tendency to that which had been forwarded to the governor of Madras. Conciliation might have arrested the movement, even at this period; but "Sir George Barlow seems to have thought, that firmness alone was sufficient, and that the way to make the authority of government respected, was, to punish any person who displeased the governor. Under this angry and vindictive system, some persons were displaced from their official situations; others degraded; others, by distant and unwelcome appointments, banished from Madras."* These "pains and penalties" were announced in a general order, dated May 1st; and amongst those who were subjected to them, were several of those officers who had recently distinguished themselves so gallantly in Travancore. No wonder that the discontent was increased and greatly inflamed, instead of being contracted and allayed, by this conduct of the governor. The disaffection spread to Travancore, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, Chitteldroog, and other places; and, in some, the civil servants, who had grievances of their own to complain of, joined the military. On the 3rd of August the movement appeared to be at its height. On that day a garrison order was issued at Masulipatam (where the colonel, refusing to join the mutiny, had been arrested by his own troops), for the men to hold themselves in readiness to unite with those from Jaulna and Hy-

derabad, with whom they were to march on Madras, demand the restoration of their officers, and depose the governor. But the latter had the support of the commander-in-chief, the officers high in rank, and of the governments of Bombay, Bengal, and Ceylon; and was thus encouraged to issue a test, to be signed by the officers, by which they pledged themselves to support his administration on the penalty, upon refusal, of being removed to such stations as the governor chose to banish them to. The majority of the European officers refused to sign this test, and were ordered to leave Madras; with the native officers it was more successful. Many of them signed the document; but still the disaffected spirit extended itself. A collision between a mutinous battalion, marching from Chitteldroog to Seringapatam, and a body of loyal troops, in which from two to three hundred sepoys were killed and wounded, appears, however, to have brought the disaffected to a sense of the danger which must result from the course they were pursuing; and the arrival of Lord Minto at Madras, on the 11th of September, contributed to restore an amicable feeling. The mutiny was virtually at an end before he arrived; but his conciliatory manners did much to establish confidence, though he applauded "the inflexible firmness of Sir George Barlow, who had preserved the authority of legal government unbroken and unimpaired." In doing so, he had been ably supported by Colonel Barry Close, then resident at Poonah; Lieutenant-colonel Davis, the commanding-officer, and the Hon. Arthur Cole, the resident, at Hyderabad; Colonel Gibbs, Colonel Montresor, and others. The officers and men who had thrown off their allegiance, returned to their duty; a few of the oldest in age, and highest in rank, were punished; the others, mostly young men, were pardoned. And, "the gallant and meritorious services they subsequently rendered, in arduous and trying campaigns, afforded the most convincing proof, that it was the error of the head, and not of the heart, instigated by a misguided chief, that led them into a momentary departure from a right course of action."† The directors at home tacitly showed their disapproval of one part of Sir George Barlow's conduct, by ordering that Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the new commander-in-chief at Madras, should be a member of the council, and recalling Mr. Petrie, who had led the

* *Edinburgh Annual Register*, 1810; in which work, and in the *Quarterly Review*, No. IX., are excellent accounts of this mutiny.

† Auber.

opposition to Lieutenant-general M'Dowall's taking his seat at the board. There was a party in the court, also, in favour of recalling Sir George Barlow; but it was thought necessary to maintain him, as, if he had done some evil by harsh and arbitrary measures, when conciliation might have allayed the storm, yet, on the other hand, he had effected more good by successfully resisting the military authority which appeared to have been aiming at making itself dominant at Madras.

This unpleasant affair arranged, the position of the English in India, as affected by the neighbourhood of the French and Dutch in the islands of the Indian sea, occupied the attention of Lord Minto. Peaceful as his instructions and as his policy were, he resolved to send expeditions both against the French and Dutch possessions; and ships and men were ordered to be provided for the purpose. The military force intended to act against the French islands, was placed under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Keating, who, towards the close of 1809, established himself on the small island of Rodriguez, from whence he made a descent on the island of Bourbon, when the town of St. Paul was captured; and the English, having amassed considerable booty, returned to Rodriguez.—Whilst Lieutenant-colonel Keating remained at that island, a part of the company's Madras European regiment, and a small corps of artillerymen, with a few guns, under the command of Captain Court, were embarked on board some of the company's vessels (Captain Tucker acting as commodore), and sailed for the Dutch island of Amboyna. This island was garrisoned by upwards of 1,200 men, and defended by several batteries; whilst the entire force under Captain Court amounted to little more than 400, infantry and artillerymen included. The miniature flotilla arrived off the island on the 15th of February, 1810; on the 16th, the English were landed, and gallantly stormed the batteries; and, on the 17th, the island surrendered; the garrison yielding themselves prisoners, though they outnumbered their captors by at least three to one. There was a considerable number of guns on the island, and every means of defence; but the troops were unwilling to fight; for we cannot suppose that fear induced them to surrender to such a small force. There were five islands dependent upon Amboyna: these surrendered without resistance; and Captain Court being reinforced, in a few

weeks, by Captain Cole, a descent was made upon Banda Neira, the principal island in the Banda group. The Dutch were driven from the works, and the island occupied by the English, who, before the close of the month of August, acquired possession of the entire group.

The expedition sent to the French island, after the descent upon Bourbon, remained quietly at Rodriguez (which is nearly 100 miles from that island) till considerable reinforcements were received from Calcutta, and the other presidencies. These new arrivals raised the force under Lieutenant-colonel Keating's command to 3,650 rank and file, about one-half being Europeans. The naval squadron, besides transports, consisted of the *Boadicea*, the *Sirius*, the *Iphigenia*, the *Magicienne*, and the *Nereide*, under the command of Commodore Rowley. This force rendezvoused on the 7th of July, 1810, at Grande Chaloupe, about six miles west of St. Denis, the chief town in Bourbon. On the 10th, about 600 men landed, and marched upon St. Denis, encountering two columns of French troops on their route, each having a field-piece at its head, and being supported by a redoubt mounted with heavy cannon. There was an exchange of several volleys of musketry as the English advanced; and when they came to close quarters, the grenadiers charged with the bayonet, which the French could not stand, but fled in all directions, leaving their guns. The victors were soon joined by the remainder of the military force, and were preparing to attack the capital, when a flag of truce arrived, and the surrender of the island took place, the British loss being only eighteen killed, seventy-nine wounded, and four drowned in landing on the first day, when the weather was very unfavourable.

The island of Mauritius, which was discovered by the Portuguese in 1505—taken by the Dutch, under Prince Maurice (after whom it was named), in 1598; deserted by them shortly after, and occupied by the French about the middle of the 17th century—was considered a much more important settlement than Bourbon; and more imposing preparations were made for its capture. Divisions of the Indian army were again sent from the three presidencies, also from Ceylon and the Cape, and rendezvoused at Rodriguez, from whence they sailed on the 22nd of November; the fleet (men-of-war and transports, amounting to near seventy sail) being under

the command of Vice-admiral Bertie; the army under that of General Abercrombie. On the 29th of November the fleet arrived off the Mauritius, and took up a position where it was not at all expected by the French, and where no preparations had been made for defence. This position was in a narrow strait, between a small island, called the "Gunner's Coin," and the mainland. In this strait there was good anchorage, and great facilities, from the nature of the shore, for the disembarkation of the troops. The ships anchored in the morning; the disembarkation commenced soon after 1 P.M.; and before five, owing to the judicious arrangements of Vice-admiral Bertie, 10,000 men, with their guns, ammunition, stores, and provisions for three days, were landed. Without a halt, the troops set out for St. Louis, the capital of the island. The road lay partly through a thick brush-wood, the difficulty of penetrating which was very great; whilst the heat of the weather increased the fatigue of the men.—On the 30th, about noon, a position was taken up on an eminence nearly five miles from St. Louis, where the army encamped. Towards evening, General De Caen, who commanded in the island, made a *reconnaissance* at the head of a party of riflemen and cavalry. A party of skirmishers was sent out to meet them; and there were several killed and wounded on both sides.—On the 1st of December, at 5 A.M., the British advanced nearer to Port Louis, having to pass through a narrow road, with a thick wood on each flank; besides encountering a strong corps of the enemy, who defended the most formidable position in advance of the city, supported by several field-pieces. This force was beaten and dispersed, and the guns were captured; but the exhaustion of the troops, and the heat of the weather, rendered it necessary to halt till the next morning. The attack meditated on Port St. Louis, and which would then have taken place, was arrested by proposals to surrender. The terms agreed upon between General Abercrombie and General De Caen, permitted the return of the garrison to Europe; and for thus liberating a large number of able-bodied men, and enabling them to join Buonaparte's European army, the English general was greatly blamed.—The capture of this island was one of the most valuable that had been made for some time. It was the depôt for the prizes which the French had made in

those seas; and many valuable merchant vessels were found in port, with four frigates, one sloop, one brig (French), and two small English frigates, that had been captured by a much superior force of the enemy. A number of cannon, with ammunition and small arms, and a large supply of stores, were also taken.—The British loss amounted only to 29 killed, 99 wounded, and 48 missing.

All the French settlements in the Indian ocean were now in the hands of the British; and the Dutch retained only the island of Java and its dependencies, the most valuable and the most highly-prized of their possessions in that quarter; and these, in fact, had been *really* subject to France since the elevation of Lucien Buonaparte to the throne of Holland. Though Lord Minto had sent the expedition against Amboyna and the Banda Islands (by which the Malaccas had also been reduced with little difficulty), he appears to have hesitated about attacking Java, till urged to take that step by Mr. Stamford Raffles (afterwards Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles), one of the remarkable men of his age. The son of a captain in the navy, he was born at sea, off Jamaica, in 1781. He entered the service of the East India Company, when in his youth, as a clerk in the home secretary's office; was appointed, in 1805, assistant-secretary at Prince of Wales' Island; and, in 1810, he held an important post in the civil service at Calcutta. Under the influence of his advice, Lord Minto ordered, early in 1811, an expedition to be fitted out against Java, the command of which was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty; and his lordship accompanied it himself as a volunteer, as did Mr. Stamford Raffles. The land troops employed amounted to 12,000 men, one-half of whom were British. They sailed from various ports, the governor-general embarking at Madras. Malacca was made the rendezvous; and there the entire expedition arrived about the 15th of May; the fleet being commanded by Vice-admiral Stopford. Then the difficulties of the expedition commenced, owing to the intricacies of the navigation in the Indian Archipelago, "where the wind blows strongly from one point of the compass for several months together, where the passage between the islands is often so narrow that only one ship can pass at a time, and then so close to the land that the sides of the vessel are shadowed by the luxuriant vegetatiou

which extends to the water's edge."* The English naval officers were almost entirely unacquainted with this navigation: its intricacies were notorious; but how to avoid them, puzzled the commanders of her majesty's ships, who could not agree upon the best route to be taken. The question was decided, at last, by Mr. Stamford Raffles, who, in a small vessel, the *Minto*, had reconnoitred what is called the south-west passage, between Billiton, an island of the Carimata group, and Borneo, and strongly recommended it to Lord Minto, staking "his reputation on the success which would attend it."† Lord Minto gave orders for the fleet to take this passage; and by the 30th of July all the men-of-war and transports, upwards of ninety sail, had assembled off the coast of Java, without the slightest mischance or accident to any of the vessels.—On the 4th of August the expedition arrived in the Batavia-roads; on the 5th the troops landed without resistance; and on the 8th, the city of Batavia, the "Queen of the East," as the Dutch styled it, having been abandoned by its garrison, who retreated to Weltevreden, was occupied by the invaders.

The army was divided into four brigades—one forming the advance, two the line, and one the reserve. Almost immediately on landing, both the Europeans and the sepoys found themselves the victims of the climate, which subdued them by hundreds; and very soon one-half of the men were inefficient, and unable to undertake any duty. Those who were in health, however, never flinched because their numbers were reduced, though they had treachery as well as open enemies to contend with. No movement was made from Batavia for two days; and in that time a Malay endeavoured to blow up a magazine of gunpowder; but he was detected, and hung; and a Frenchman, who kept the house which was converted into temporary head-quarters, poisoned the coffee prepared for his inmates. Providentially, the effect upon those who first partook of the beverage was such, that it led to suspicion; detection followed, and no one was seriously injured. The intending poisoner, however, escaped.

On the 10th of August, a detachment of troops, under Colonel Gillespie, was ordered to march upon Weltevreden. They found that cantonment abandoned, and the garrison

posted in a formidable position about two miles further into the interior. Here 3,000 soldiers were supported by a strong *abattis* and four pieces of horse-artillery; and in the rear was the fort of Cornelis, the works of which were of massive appearance, and indicated great strength.—On the 26th of August, the British made an assault upon the Dutch position; carried it after a stout resistance; captured the guns, and drove the enemy, with the loss of 500 men, into the fort and its adjacent works, which appeared quite capable of making a prolonged defence.—The main body of the Dutch troops were encamped between the river Jacotra and a deep canal, with a wide, deep, and strongly-palisadoed trench in front. The lines were defended by seven redoubts, and several batteries thrown up in most commanding positions; the fort of Cornelis, in the centre, being the key of the whole. Upon these works about 300 pieces of cannon were mounted.—As the state of the weather, and the malaria which was raging amongst the troops, rendered it impracticable to take this position by a regular siege, an assault was determined upon. The only delay allowed was, till Sir Samuel Auchmuty arrived with more troops, and 500 seamen, which Vice-admiral Stopford sent on shore to assist at the batteries. These having joined, the assault was made on the 26th of August, Colonels Gillespie and Gibbs, Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, and Major Tule leading various parties. They made their advance under a heavy fire from a battery raised against two of the principal redoubts, the guns of which were soon silenced. The outworks were then carried at the point of the bayonet; the bridge over the trench was passed, and another redoubt taken; the park of artillery connected with the main army was attacked, a corps of cavalry which defended it put to flight, and all the guns were captured. Another corps first carried the lines in front of Fort Cornelis, and then the fort itself; the camp was also stormed, the British crossing the canal by bridges of planks that connected it with the works, and which the enemy had not time to remove. In a comparatively short space of time all was in possession of the British; and the remains of the enemy (only a few cavalry), with General Jansens, who was the governor of the island, were making a rapid retreat upon Buitenzorg, about thirty miles further in the interior of the island.

* Macfarlane's *India*.

† *Life of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*.

In this action, upwards of 1,000 of the enemy were killed, and 5,000 were taken prisoners, among whom were three generals, 34 field-officers, 90 captains, and 150 subalterns. The British lost 114 Europeans and 27 sepoy killed; 610 of the former, and 123 of the latter wounded; and 13 missing. The loss would have been much less, had it not been for the explosion of one of the redoubts just at the moment of its capture—it is not known whether by accident or design; a catastrophe which occasioned the loss of many officers and men.

This decisive victory did not bring with it the submission of the island. General Jansens still resisted; but, defeated wherever he was attacked, he yielded at last; and on the 18th of September, a final capitulation was signed at Samarang, between Sir Samuel Auchmuty and the Dutch governor, by which Java and its dependencies were ceded to the English. They were formed into a separate administrative department, of which Mr. Stamford Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor, "as an acknowledgment of the service he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office."* He proved the justice of the confidence reposed in him by his judicious administration, which won the affections of the natives. At the peace, all the Dutch settlements, however, were restored to the king of Holland; as were those of France, except the Mauritius, to Louis XVIII.

The Dutch had a settlement at Palembang, on the island of Sumatra, which was included in the capitulation of Java. A Dutch resident had a house there; and there were about 130 Europeans in the factory. All these persons, with some natives and every child belonging to the factory, were cruelly massacred, and the factory itself razed to the ground, by the sultan of Palembang, as soon as he heard of the defeat of the Dutch in Java.—Colonel Gillespie, at the head of 1,000 men, was sent to punish this savage. He anchored, on the 15th of April, 1812, off the west channel of the river Moosee, on both sides of which the city of Palembang is built; and immediately on the appearance of the ships, the sultan fled with his treasures and his harem; and the city, thus left, was pillaged by Arabs and Malays, whose ravages Colonel Gillespie had great difficulty in

arresting. Energetic and determined measures, however, placed the city in his possession before the morning of the 16th, with 242 pieces of cannon.—The gallant colonel had only just returned to Java from Palembang, when it was found necessary to send him against the sultan of Djokjokarta—a native chief, whose territories were situated nearly in the centre of the south coast of the island, and who had displayed the greatest hostility against the British. The residence of this chief was at a town of the same name as the state, and it presented the appearance of a regular fortified place; being three miles in extent, having high ramparts, with bastions defended by 100 pieces of cannon, and being manned by 17,000 troops. The entrance to this "palace" was flanked by batteries, with two rows of cannon in front.—As the sultan refused to negotiate, his stronghold was assaulted and carried by escalade; he himself being taken prisoner. His deposition, and the exaltation of the hereditary prince to the throne, followed: all the other native and tributary chiefs at once submitted; and the peace of Java was no more disturbed whilst it remained in the hands of the British.

Before the year 1811 closed, one of the most determined and dangerous enemies of England breathed his last. Holkar, the celebrated Mahratta chief, died in his camp on the 20th of October. For three years previously his insanity † had subsided into a state of speechless fatuity; during the greater part of that time he was fed like an infant with milk, and he died a complete idiot. Such was the end of this aspiring and once successful conqueror.—"A stormy regency succeeded, ostensibly administered by Toolsee Bye, a mistress of the deceased; but actually, at many periods of its continuance, by her various paramours, in the name of Mulhar Rao Holkar, an illegitimate son of the late rajah, who, by general consent, was recognised as his father's successor."‡ Such a government was naturally imbecile; and, for several years, anarchy prevailed at Indore. Two factions—the Mahrattas and the Patans—had alternately the ascendancy; and whilst bribery, executions, and murders prevailed at court, in the provinces the disputes of the two contending races led to violence, pillage, and the greatest disorder: in fact, it would be difficult to draw a more distressing picture than the Indore territory presented, from the death

* Despatches of Lord Minto and Sir Samuel Auchmuty; and *Life of Sir T. S. Raffles*.

† See *ante*, p. 178.

‡ Thornton.



CHARGE OF CUIRASSIERS AT BORODINO, 1812.



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

of Holkar till 1817.—Scindia's territories were not in a much better condition.—Those of the Peishwa were more peaceable, under the influence of British councils; but, in 1812 and 1813, the British government having to arbitrate between the Peishwa and the chiefs of Colapore and Sawunt Warree, and the decision being fatal to his claims to Colapore, the disappointed Mahratta, who had never been very cordially disposed towards those to whom he was indebted for the retention of his power and position, indulged a still greater feeling of dislike, which circumstances subsequently caused to break forth into hostility.

Several years before that period, however, Lord Minto had left India. He had no more wars after the conquest of Java; but, in the last year of his government, he became involved in a dispute with the Ghoorkas, that led to a war with Nepaul under his successor. The Ghoorkas are Hindoos. Little is known of them previous to their conquest of Nepaul, which appears to have been completed in 1768.* They were a mountain tribe, of undoubted courage, simple habits, and possessed of great powers of endurance. Some writers describe them as chivalrous; and though, like most mountaineers, they preferred to live by plunder rather than industry, it is said they were "faithful to their word, hospitable to strangers, courteous to enemies." Political relations had been established between them and the English government by the treaty of Dinapore, in 1801; but the alliance was dissolved in 1804; and the two powers had very little intercourse till 1812. By that time the Ghoorkas had acquired a territory which presented a frontier, next the English dominions, of 700 miles in extent. The government of Calcutta had had, on several occasions, to remonstrate against border invasions and encroachments. In that year aggressions were frequent; and the seizure of Bhopal—a portion of Malwa—with plundering invasions of the territories of Goruckpore and Sarun (the latter having been ceded to the company, in 1765, by Shah Alum, and the former, in 1801, by the nabob of Oude), led to a demand for immediate redress. Early in 1813, Lord Minto ad-

ressed a despatch to the Ghoorka rajahs of Nepaul, in which his lordship called for the immediate surrender of the territory they had usurped; for the punishment of the depredators on the British possessions; the release of persons who had been forcibly carried away; and the restoration of the plundered territory. "If," said his lordship, "redress is not afforded, and similar proceedings in future not prevented, the British government will be obliged to have recourse to its own means of securing the rights and property of its subjects, without any reference to your government."—Before any answer was received to this despatch, Lord Minto left Calcutta for England, where his active and useful life was terminated by a sudden illness in June, 1814.—Before his death he had declared how completely his views on Indian policy were changed by his residence in that country. Indeed, "it was impossible for a man possessed of such clear intellect, and so well acquainted with the whole scheme of government, to be long in India without being satisfied that the system of neutral policy which had been adopted could not be persevered in without the hazard of great and increasing danger to the state. His calm mind saw, at the same time, the advantage of reconciling the authorities in England to the measures which he contemplated. Hence he ever preferred delay, where he thought that it was unaccompanied with danger; and referred to the administration at home, whom he urged, on every argument he could use, to sanction the course he deemed the best suited to the public interests. But this desire to conciliate, and carry his superiors along with him, did not result from any dread of responsibility."† He did not hesitate, when necessary, to contract native alliances, and engage in wars; and had he remained in India, he must have been prepared to maintain the company's possessions by the "strong arm," or to surrender them to the aggressor. His successors found they could not avoid this necessity; and most of the wars in which they were engaged were forced upon them by the fraud or force, the treachery or the aggression, of the native powers.

* Thornton

† Sir John Malcolm.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MOIRA ; HIS LORDSHIP'S ANTECEDENTS ; OUTRAGES OF THE GHOORKAS ; WAR WITH NEPAUL ; THE FORCES SENT AGAINST THAT COUNTRY ; THE FIRST CAMPAIGN ; SIEGE OF KALUNGA ; DEATH OF GENERAL GILLESPIE ; DISASTERS OF GENERALS MARLEY AND WOOD ; SUCCESSES OF GENERAL OCHTERLONY ; FALL OF ALMORA AND MALOWN ; RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN ; THE SECOND CAMPAIGN ; BATTLE OF MUCKWANPORE ; CONCLUSION OF PEACE ; CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

It was in November, 1812, that the court of directors resolved to make a change in the government of India; and, on the 12th of that month, they appointed Francis Rawdon, the Earl of Moira, to succeed Lord Minto as governor-general. His lordship was the son of the first Earl Moira, and was born in 1754. He entered the army in 1771, and greatly distinguished himself as Lord Rawdon, in the American war. In 1778, he was appointed adjutant-general of the British forces in America, with the army rank of brigadier-general; but ill-health compelled him to return to England before the conclusion of hostilities. The title of Rawdon was an Irish one: soon after his arrival in London he was appointed aide-de-camp to the king; and, in 1783, was raised, as Baron Rawdon, to the English peerage. Having obtained the rank of major-general, he was appointed to the command of the reinforcements sent, in 1794, to join the Duke of York, then heading a campaign in Holland against the French. The close of that campaign, though not dishonourable, was disastrous to the English; and the ability and energy of Lord Rawdon very materially alleviated the difficulties by which he found the royal commander-in-chief surrounded. Soon after his return to England he succeeded to the title of Earl of Moira, on the death of his father; and, in 1806, he was appointed master-general of the ordnance—an office which he only held for a few months. This nobleman carried with him to India a high character; and, from the liberality and generosity of his disposition, and the dignity, mingled with the courteous urbanity, of his manners, he was well-fitted for the high position he had to fill.

The noble earl arrived in Calcutta at the close of September, 1813; and, on the 4th of October, Lord Minto resigned the government. The earl was invested with the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief; and he was soon obliged to avail himself of his military knowledge; as, shortly after his

arrival, the English government became, once more, involved in war. In December an answer was received to the despatch which his predecessor had sent to the Ghoorka rajah of Nepal. In tone, this reply was humble; in substance, evasive; and not the slightest step was taken to redress those evils of which Lord Minto had complained, and the removal of which he had demanded. On the contrary, the Nepaulese had seized a great many villages (more than 200, say some authorities) in Tirhoot, and committed several other aggressions, though the rajah's counsellors warned him of the danger of incurring the resentment of England. The culminating act of aggression appears to have been the attack of three police stations in Bhootwal, where eighteen of the defenders were killed and wounded, the superior local British officer being barbarously murdered. This outrage combined the characters of an insult and an injury; and as all reparation was refused, in September, 1814, the governor-general declared war against Nepal.

An army was speedily collected for the invasion of the Ghoorka country. It was organised in four divisions. The first, under Major-general Marley, consisting of 8,000 men and 26 guns, was intended to march against Khatmandoo, the capital city, and the seat of government of Nepal. The second division, 4,500 strong, with 15 guns, was placed under the command of Major-general John Wood; the third, of 3,500 men and 20 guns, under that of Major-general (late Colonel) Gillespie; and the fourth, 6,000 in number, with 22 guns, was entrusted to Major-general Ochterlony. These three divisions were destined to act upon different portions of the frontier, whilst a fifth corps, of 2,700 men, under Major Latter, was sent to protect the Purneah frontier, to the eastward of the Cocsy river. The state of the Indian finances was so depressed, that the governor-general would have had some difficulty in equipping this army, had not an unexpected supply been obtained just in

time. The nabob of Oude died at Lucknow on the 11th of July, 1814. The succession to the musnud was claimed by two of his sons—one of whom, Ghazee-ud-Deen, whose title was supported by the Indian government, advanced to that government two crore of rupees (about £2,000,000 sterling) at a low rate of interest; and thus the financial difficulty was removed.

Seeing that war was almost inevitable, Lord Moira had, in June, left Calcutta for the north, having two objects in view; first, to inspect the frontiers of Nepaul; and, secondly, to make some arrangements for the protection of the northern provinces, which were threatened by the Pindarries. The campaign of 1814-'15 is thought to have been of his lordship's arranging; and had it been properly carried out, it would have been very effective. The English had not a numerous army to contend with—the Ghoorka regulars not numbering more than 12,000 men, who were dressed, armed, and disciplined in imitation of the sepoy: but their country was difficult of access; many of the passes into it were considered impregnable: these were all well defended, and there was not a road accessible to troops where the resources of the enemy had not been taxed to oppose the progress of an invader. The commander-in-chief was one of a ruling house, called the Thappa family. His name was Umur Sing; and his brother, Beem Sing, filled the office of prime minister. The rajah, Bahadur Shumshee Jung, was a minor.

The campaign was opened by General Gillespie, who, on the 24th of October, entered the Dehra Doon, "a fertile valley at the south-western base of the lowest and outermost ridge of the mountains of the Himalaya." One means of access to this valley, the Tinley Pass, had been taken possession of on the 20th, by Lieutenant-colonel Carpenter and a corps of the 17th native infantry. The main body entered by the Kerree Pass, and marched to Kalunga, or Nalapani, a fort erected on the mountain-range, and forming the eastern boundary of the valley. This fort stood on the top of a hill, and was only accessible through a thick and almost impervious jungle. It was, however, the key of that portion of the territory, and General Gillespie resolved to attempt its reduction. He divided his army into four columns, which were to advance from different points, and meet on the summits of the hill and they were to be sup-

ported by a reserve under Major Ludlow, of the 6th native infantry. During the night of the 29th of October, batteries had been thrown up, on which ten pieces of cannon were mounted; and the four divisions were to start together, at a given signal at daybreak, on the morning of the 30th. Unfortunately, this signal was only heard by Colonel Carpenter, commanding one division, which alone, with the reserve, advanced to the attack, carrying the outer stockades and reaching the walls, where they found all further progress arrested. A small breach had been effected by the fire from the batteries; but it was so formidably defended by stockades within stockades, that to pass it was impossible. The British were obliged to retire; and the other divisions, which had marched as soon as they heard that the first was in motion, also found it impracticable to gain an access to the fort. They retired; but the heroic General Gillespie again headed a party of determined men, who, taking with them two 6-pounders, dislodged the outposts and reached the walls, only to be once more driven back. A third time the general placed himself at the head of the storming party; but as he was cheering on his men, he was shot through the heart, and the assailants were immediately withdrawn. In this assault four other officers were killed, and fifteen wounded: the number of non-commissioned officers and privates killed was twenty-seven; wounded, 213.—The command now devolved on Colonel Mawbey, of the 53rd regiment, who delayed further operations till the arrival of a siege train from Delhi. As soon as that reached the camp a cannonade was opened, and a breach having been effected, another assault was made on the 24th of November, the storming party being led by Major Ingleby. For two hours the contest raged; both the attack and defence being characterised by the most determined heroism. Again the British were "repelled, with greater loss to the assailants than on the previous occasion; three officers and thirty-eight privates being killed, and eight officers and 440 privates wounded."* In the night of the 29th, the garrison, reduced from its original number of between five and six hundred, to seventy, evacuated the ruined walls; and the following morning, the British took possession of the place which had been so gallantly defended; and where, on every side, dead

* Thornton.

bodies, and wounded men and women suffering from hunger and thirst, met the eye. The dead were buried, and the living relieved: a detachment was sent in pursuit of the fugitives, nearly all of whom were killed or made prisoners; the fort was demolished.

After the fall of Kalunga, Brigadier-general Martindell took the command of General Gillespie's division; but he was not imbued with that commander's energy and determined spirit. Leaving Colonel Carpenter to occupy the Dehra Doon—with detachments in Baraut and Luckergaut, two forts on its north-eastern and eastern boundary, which had been evacuated by the Ghoorkas—his first movement was to occupy Nahun, the residence of the rajah of Sirmour; a hill state abutting on the western pergunnah of the valley, of which the Ghoorkas had taken possession in 1809. The Ghoorka garrison escaped to Jytuk, a fort at a short distance, situated on an elevated point where two mountains meet, at an elevation, above the level of the sea, of 4,854 feet. This fort was of stone, about seventy feet long, and fifty wide, with a small round tower or bastion at each corner. It was occupied by about 2,200 men, under Ranjore Sing, a son of Umur Sing; and, on the 27th of December, two columns—one of 1,000, the other of 700 men, under Majors Ludlow and Richards—were ordered to ascend the eminence by different routes, and to dislodge the enemy. The first division, under Major Ludlow, drove back the advanced posts of the Ghoorkas, who retired behind the stockades, from whence they repulsed his majesty's 53rd regiment, who made a gallant charge, under circumstances which almost forbade success. The native infantry, panic-struck, would not support the Europeans; and all retired in confusion. The detachment under Major Richards carried the position upon which they marched; but there, after the repulse of Major Ludlow, they were assailed by the entire force of the enemy. They maintained themselves for several hours, till they were commanded by General Martindell to retire to the camp. The detachment was greatly harassed in its retreat, and was only saved from destruction by a gallant charge made by Lieutenants Thackeray and Wilson, with the light company of the 26th native infantry. Both officers sacrificed their lives, and most of their company fell; but they preserved their comrades. The loss of the two detachments was—four officers and

79 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; five officers were wounded, and 281 privates wounded and missing.—A monument to the memory of Lieutenant Thackeray and the other officers, is still to be seen at Nahun.

This repulse caused the operations against Jytuk to be suspended until heavier battering guns could be obtained; and General Martindell remained for some time inactive.—In the meantime, the divisions under Generals John Wood and Marley made descents upon the Ghoorka frontiers, but only to be repulsed; and General Marley, leaving his division, returned to Calcutta, where he was censured and removed from command, General George Wood being sent to replace him.—The ill-success of the first and second divisions may be attributed to two causes; first they had, originally, too mean an opinion of their enemies, and were surprised when they found the resolute, determined fellows they had to deal with; and, secondly, the Nepaulese fought behind stockades, which they placed in excellent positions, and defended with stubborn perseverance. This mode of fighting was new to the British, and, at first, they did not know what to make of it; subsequently, they adopted it with good effect. From these causes, the divisions of Generals Marley and Wood really effected little in the campaign of 1814-'15, which was wasted, for the most part, in idleness and inaction, or in movements ill-directed and ill-executed, chiefly through the incompetency of the commanders. The only occurrence worth mentioning in connection with the three divisions, was the reduction of Jytuk. On the 13th of March, General Martindell received two 18-pounder battery-guns, which "were, with great difficulty, hauled by hand up the nearly perpendicular side of the ridge, and placed in battery against the fort, with two 6-pounders, two 8½-inch mortars, and two 5½-inch howitzers. The defences were, in consequence, much damaged; and, in a short time, the British posts were so arranged as completely to blockade the fort, which, early in May, was surrendered; but not till the stock of provisions was reduced to one day's rations. Nearly 1,500 men marched out, besides about 1,000 women and children."*

The only division of the four whose movements were characterised by marked success, was that under General Ochterlony,

* Thornton.

which was destined to act against the army commanded by Umur Sing in person. The general advanced through Hindoor, a hill-state at the south-western declivity of the Himalayan mountains, which had been occupied by the Ghoorkas; and he first attacked Nalagarh, an important hill-fort in that state. The road to it was difficult; but, by the perseverance of the troops, a battering train was brought in front of the walls; the defences were demolished; and, on the 5th of November, 1814, the Ghoorka garrison surrendered.—Lieutenant Lawtie was then sent against Taragarh, another hill-fort, and one of the strongest in the country. This also surrendered as soon as the defences were breached. The possession of these two posts gave General Ochterlony an undisturbed communication with the plains, and were a great protection to his rear. Leaving detachments in them, he advanced further into the country with the remainder of his division; and from the heights of Golah he commanded a full view of the position of Umur Sing, who, with 3,000 men, was posted behind stockades on the heights of Ramgurh—a steep and high ridge, which, rising from the left bank of the Sutledj, takes a south-easterly direction, and ultimately joins the Himalaya. The right of the enemy was protected by the fort of Ramgurh; his left by a lofty hill, on which he had placed a strong detachment of Ghoorkas; and the position appeared unassailable. The general was informed, by the people of the country, that access was more practicable in the rear; and by the aid of elephants and coolies, the cannon, ammunition, equipments, and stores, were carried over a series of wild and rugged hills, and safely deposited on a plain on the other side. Then, by the almost unparalleled exertions of the troops, battering guns were transferred to the hills; and, on the 11th of February, 1815, the British established themselves on the heights of Ramgurh. Umur Sing, finding his defences untenable, withdrew with his entire force to Malown, another hill-fort in Hindoor, standing upon a ridge of the same name, running in the same direction as that of Ramgurh, and joining the sub-Himalaya. This ridge, on the part where the fort is situated, is only between twenty and thirty yards wide, with steep declivities, of near 2,000 feet, on the north-east to the river Gumrara, and on the south-west to the river Gumbur. The fort, a hundred yards long, and twenty

wide, was surrounded by a strong wall, without a ditch, and contained a courtyard, a few small apartments, and a magazine. This fort, and that of Soorajgurh, in the district of Monghur, were the extremities of a line of mountain posts, placed on a ridge of connected peaks, and defending the passes by which access to the interior of Nepal was to be gained. All these posts, with the exception of two, Ryla Peak and Deontul, were strongly stockaded; and against those two (the fort of Ramgurh having surrendered) the efforts of General Ochterlony were directed. One of these posts (Ryla Peak) he occupied without opposition. The other (Deontul), on the summit of the Malown ridge, about one mile and a quarter south of Malown, was taken after a stout resistance, which occasioned the loss of many lives on both sides, by Colonel Thompson, on the 15th of April, 1815. Bhukti Sing (another member of the Thappa family), who commanded at Soorajgurh, immediately on the fall of Deontul, communicated with Umur Sing at Malown, and, representing its importance, strongly urged that the British should be dislodged. Yielding to these representations, Umur Sing dispatched 2,000 Ghoorkas, by whom, on the morning of the 16th, the British were attacked on all sides. General Ochterlony had observed the plan of defence adopted by the enemy, and had introduced the practice of planting stockades into his division. The detachment under Colonel Thompson had employed part of the night in securing their position by these means; and, therefore, were the better enabled to withstand the furious attacks of the enemy, who advanced with such fearless intrepidity, that several men were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works. The fire of the assailants "was directed so effectively against the artillerymen, that, at one time, three officers and one bombardier alone remained to serve the guns. A reinforcement, with ammunition, arrived from Ryla Peak at a critical moment; and the British, after remaining for two hours on the defensive, became, in turn, the assailants; Bhukti was slain, his followers put to flight, and a complete victory obtained, at the cost of 213 killed and wounded."* The enemy lost 700 men; and the defeat was followed by the evacuation of Soorajgurh by the Ghoorkas, and the concentration of their entire force under Umur Sing, at Malown.

* Montgomery Martin's *India*.

The disasters—for such they were—which attended the movements of the divisions of the British army under Generals Marley and John Wood, encouraged Runjeet Sing, the Peishwa, and Scindia, to make some movements which were of a suspicious tendency, as they gave evident indications of the disposition of all those chieftains to take advantage of anything that might occur to enable them to aim a successful blow at British supremacy. Keeping a keen observation upon these doubtful allies, Lord Moira, early in 1815, resolved to attack another part of Nepaul, with a view of removing the depressing events resulting from the way in which the Ghoorka campaign had commenced. As the Europeans and sepoy in the company's employ had been drawn upon to as full an extent as was prudent, a numerous corps of the Patans of Rohilcund was raised, and, under Lieutenant-colonel Gardiner and Captain Hearsay, sent into Kumaon, in the north-west of Nepaul. There the latter, attacked by a superior force, was defeated, his men dispersed, and he himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Almora, the principal place of the district. Colonel Gardiner was more fortunate. He made his way through the country, defeating the various parties he encountered, till, in April, he set down before Almora, where he was joined by Colonel Nicholl with 2,000 regular infantry and a small park of artillery. The junction of the regulars and irregul^{ars} had scarcely been effected, ere the approach of a body of Ghoorkas was noticed, under a commander named Hastidal, making its way towards Almora, with the intention of reinforcing the garrison. Colonel Nicholl marched against this force, and completely defeated it, on the heights of Sittolee. "In advancing to the attack, the British had to cross, by a ford, the river Kosila, flowing at the bottom of a deep ravine. Having accomplished the passage, the Sittolee heights and the town of Almora were successively carried in the most rapid and brilliant manner; and the result was, the conclusion of a convention, by which the entire district of Kumaon was ceded to the British."*

General Ochterlony had not been idle while these operations were going on in Kumaon. He had carried on advances against Malown, which are characterised as "persevering" and "masterly;" and having formed a road up the heights, practicable

* Thornton.

for heavy artillery, a breaching battery was thrown up early in May, and opened its fire upon the fortress. The defence lacked the determined spirit that had characterised the conduct of the Ghoorkas elsewhere; and the reception of the news of the fall of Almora, caused his officers strongly to urge Umur Sing to surrender. He refused, and held out till he was nearly deserted by his followers, who went over to the British camp, not more than 250 remaining faithful to him. Then he surrendered Malown, the last stronghold that held out in the district, to the British; and, by the terms of the capitulation, it was provided, that the hill-states west of the river Kalee should be evacuated by the Ghoorkas, and delivered up to the victors.—There was scarcely any loss experienced in the British army after it reached the heights of Malown, except in the death of Lieutenant Lawtie, the field-engineer, who died at the age of twenty-four, from the consequence of excessive fatigue. He was greatly lamented; the whole army went into mourning, and a monument was erected to his memory at Calcutta.—The results of the campaign were highly estimated in England; they procured a baronetcy and a pension of £1,000 per annum for General Ochterlony; and the governor-general was elevated another step in the peerage, receiving the title of Marquis of Hastings.

It was expected that the capitulation of Malown would have led to peace; but the government at Khatmandoo was not yet sufficiently humbled; and Umur Sing and his sons were found amongst the advocates of war, rather than the rajah should assent to the usual terms dictated by the British in their alliances with native states, viz., the reception of a British resident at their capitals, and a contingent of British troops.

Whilst negotiations were going on at Khatmandoo, the British authorities were making arrangements as to the ceded provinces. The valley of the Doon and Kumaon were retained, and the latter was annexed to the district of Serampore. The rest of the hill country was restored to those chiefs from whom the Ghoorkas had wrested it, except a few posts important for military purposes; and the whole was declared under British protection. A number of the Ghoorkas entered the British service, and were added to the company's army, under the name of the Nussurree bat-

talions. A provincial battalion was also raised for civil duties in Kumaon.*

The "armed armistice" which followed the fall of Malown, continued for some months; but the government of Nepal at length finally rejected the terms proposed by that of Calcutta, and hostilities were resumed. The entire conduct of the second campaign was entrusted to General Ochterlony, and the army under him amounted to near 20,000 men, including the 24th, 66th, and 87th European regiments.—This force was divided into four brigades, under Colonels Kelly and Nicholl, Lieutenant-colonel Miller, and Colonel Dick. Sir David Ochterlony, at the head of the divisions under the two last-named officers, occupied the centre; Colonel Kelly being detached to the right, and Colonel Nicholl to the left. It was in February, 1816, that the invasion of Nepal was begun. The advance was very difficult on account of the stockades, some of which could not be stormed; but General Ochterlony succeeded in turning them. The movement was attended by great difficulties. Hills had to be crossed, on the tops of which the troops were exposed for several days without supplies or tents; for, where the troops climbed, animals could not follow. The general and officers shared in all the hardships of the private soldiers. The former had no baggage, and was sheltered at night in a kind of bower formed by the boughs of trees. A watercourse, which was discovered by the scouts, somewhat facilitated the progress of the troops; and when the enemy found that the British had crossed the first barrier of mountains, they retreated from their advanced stockade, continuing to retreat as the latter advanced, till they reached the village of Muckwanpore, situated on a hill rising from the banks of the river Kurree, a feeder of the Raptée; and defended by a stockade and a fort. On the 27th of February the British planted themselves on a hill opposite Muckwanpore, from which the Ghoorkas attempted to drive them; and succeeded in forcing the men at the first outpost to retire, killing Lieutenant Tyrrel, who commanded them. This was their only success. There was a small village on the hill, where a party of the English, under Lieutenants Kerr and Ensign Impey, made a gallant stand. They were attacked by 2,000 Ghoorkas; but the flank companies of the 24th and 87th regiments were first sent to their aid, and then four more com-

panies of the 87th, and the second battalion of the 12th native infantry. The Ghoorkas poured forth more troops from their stockade, and brought up guns to play against those which defended the British position. But it was all in vain. After a severe conflict the enemy began to waver; a charge with the bayonet was made, and they fled, crossing a hollow which divided the ridge from Muckwanpore. In this position, and in an adjoining jungle, they maintained themselves till Major Nation, at the head of a sepoy battalion, made a dashing charge with the bayonet across the hollow, captured their guns, and drove the Ghoorkas behind their stockades or into the fort. They left behind them upwards of 800 killed and wounded. The British loss was something above 200.

The divisions under Colonel Nicholl and Colonel Kelly had also been successful in their movements. The former had entered Nepal by a pass near Ramnugger, and, having overcome all obstacles, joined General Sir David Ochterlony the day after the battle of Muckwanpore. Colonel Kelly had also found a route over the hills, which brought him to the important fortress of Hurreehurpoor, only twenty-nine miles south-by-east from Khatmandoo. There was a formidable stockade in front of the fort; but a hill at a short distance was undefended, and this Colonel Kelly seized, occupying it by a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel O'Halloran. The Ghoorkas, as at Muckwanpore, attempted to recover this hill; but they were beaten back into their stockade. They left a great number of dead and wounded on the hill; the English had four Europeans and four sepoys killed, and five officers, 23 Europeans, and 25 sepoys wounded. In the night the stockade and fort were evacuated, and the English occupied them both, Colonel Kelly converting the latter into a *dépôt*.

The battle of Muckwanpore disposed the government of Nepal for peace; and, in March, before Colonel Kelly had obtained his last successes, the treaty was signed. Its terms were highly favourable to the company, who retained all the posts, forts, and places occupied by them in Nepal. The rajah also bound himself not to violate the territories of the company, or those of its allies; to abandon all claims to the territory which had formerly been disputed, as well as to that then ceded; not to employ any British subjects, or the subjects of any European or American state, without the con-

* Prinsep's *Transactions in India*.

sent of the British government; to allow a resident British minister at Khatmandoo; and to send a minister to Calcutta. The rajah also undertook to write a submissive letter to the governor-general; and the treaty, with the royal red seal affixed, was presented by the Ghoorka negotiator, on his knees, to General Ochterlony, in the presence of all the vakeels of the camp.

Thus ended the Ghoorka war; and we have, since that period, had no more faithful allies.—That war was very near involving us in hostilities with China. The Chinese emperor asserted a right to Nepaul; and the Nepaulese, every third year, sent a trifling tribute to Pekin. When the war commenced, the Ghoorkas asked the Chinese to assist them, saying that the quarrel with the English arose because they wanted to get possession of the passes which led into China. The Chinese consented to give the required aid; but the army which they dispatched to the Himalayas, did not arrive till the treaty of Khatmandoo was signed; and then the Ghoorkas wanted to know, whether, if the celestials entered Nepaul, the British would aid in repulsing them? Explanations passed, however, between the English and the Chinese, which convinced the latter that the Ghoorkas were in the wrong; and, if the war had been continued, they would have left their tributaries to their fate.*

At this period, whilst the armies of the East India Company were acquiring for that company a considerable increase of territory in the north of India, the important island of Ceylon, to the south of the peninsula, was added to the possessions of the English crown. A settlement in that island had been first obtained by the capture of Trincomalee in 1782;† and before the close of the last century, we had taken possession of all the Dutch settlements on the island, where the English sway extended over about 12,000 square miles. The centre of the island was occupied by the native kingdom of Candy. With this power the English became involved in 1802, in consequence of the then governor of the English possessions the Hon. Frederick North, interfering in the case of a disputed succession to the crown, and attempting to place and support a king upon the throne. The attempt failed; but it led to the death, by the hands of the natives, or by starvation, of a considerable number of the English troops, part of a corps which had been

sent to Candy to support the prince favoured by the English. In the next year, the Candians invaded the English settlements; and at first they were successful—advancing to within fifteen miles of Colombo, and making the country through which they passed a complete scene of desolation. They greatly outnumbered the English; but reinforcements arriving from the Cape of Good Hope and Bengal, enabled the latter to drive the invaders back across the frontiers, and they were followed into the Candian territories; the Europeans, we are ashamed to say, imitating the civilised natives in their barbarity.—In 1804 there was another desultory war between the English and the Candians, which was accompanied with many acts of cruelty on each side. Hostilities were continued in 1805, when the Candians, in another invasion of the English territories, were repulsed with great loss.—In the month of July in that year, the Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed governor of Ceylon; and under his administration, the Candians were left to themselves; all his care being devoted to the improvement of the territories over which he held the administrative power; whilst he laboured to introduce a system of government and laws which was adapted to the habits and dispositions of the Cingalese, who were subject to the English dominion. He succeeded; and it has been asserted, that “it is impossible to do justice to his most excellent administration, which never had an equal in India.”‡ He was succeeded, in 1812, by General Sir Robert Brownrigg, just as a terrible war between the king of Candy and his minister, or lieutenant, had been put an end to. For some time tranquillity prevailed; but in 1814, the then chief adigar or lieutenant, Eheylapola, being suspected of designs upon the crown, the king sent an army against him. He was defeated, and took refuge at a British post, from whence he was sent to Colombo; and all his family and relatives were seized by his sovereign, and mercilessly massacred. Maddened by the loss of his wife and children, Eheylapola thirsted for vengeance, and never ceased urging the English governor to invade and subjugate Candy. Sir Robert Brownrigg refused to assent to his entreaties, and at last would not allow him an audience. An act of cruelty on the part of the king, however, caused the governor to

* Prinsep.

† See *ante*, p. 178.

‡ Sir James Macintosh.



THE OLD GUARD BIVOUACKING IN PARIS IN 1815.



NAPOLÉON AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, 1815.



change his policy. By order of the barbarous sovereign, ten native cloth-merchants, subjects of the British government, had been seized, and their noses, ears, and right arms cut off. Seven died under the merciless operation; the other three arrived, in their frightfully mutilated state, at Colombo; and their appearance determined the governor to put an end to the Candian rule. The frontier was crossed on the 11th of January, 1815, by a force under Major Hook; and a proclamation circulated in the Cingalese language, stating, that the war was undertaken "for securing the permanent tranquillity of our settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Candian people from their oppressors; in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion which, during three generations, had tyrannised over the country."—On this occasion, many of the chief officers, whom the king had disgusted by his sanguinary cruelty, either remained neutral or joined the English; and the latter brought such an overwhelming force to act on various parts of the island, that the task of subjugation was easy. Candy was taken possession of by General Brownrigg, at the head of one division of the force, on the 14th of February, and found to be nearly deserted; the king, his court, and most of the inhabitants having fled. His majesty was discovered, on the 20th, in a lone house, and was made prisoner, with his mother, his four wives, his children, and a few adherents. Great was their terror at falling into the hands of the English; as the king

expected, for himself and his family, the same fate which had befallen the partisans of Eheylapola. Mr. John D'Oyly, an excellent Cingalese scholar who accompanied the expedition, assured him that their lives would be spared, and that they would be well treated; and from that period, we are told, his "ex-majesty became a contented and a happy man."—In the future arrangements, the English authorities had no difficulty. All the great chiefs acquiesced in the dethronement of the king, and acknowledged the rights of conquest in the British; and, on the 2nd of March, the British flag was hoisted over the royal palace—a royal salute being fired to announce that his majesty, George III., was undisputed sovereign of the whole island of Ceylon. The ex-king was taken to Colombo, where he remained till the 24th of January, 1816, when he, his family, relatives, and partisans—about 100 persons in all—were sent as state prisoners to Madras; but were ultimately removed to Vellore.—There was an insurrection in the island two years subsequently, and another some years after, but the authority of England has never been shaken. The affairs of the island are administered by a governor, with a legislative and executive council; and, under the English rule, the commerce and internal prosperity of Ceylon have greatly improved, though not to the extent of which they are capable. As to the ex-king, he was frequently heard to declare his comparative happiness in a private station, saying, that when on the throne, he never retired to bed without the dread of being assassinated before the morning.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RELATIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH THE NATIVE POWERS; DEATHS OF THE NABOB OF BIJAPAL AND NAGPOOR; PINDARRIE WAR; ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THOSE ROBBERS; THEIR DISCOMFITURE; LORD HASTINGS' PREPARATIONS FOR ANOTHER CAMPAIGN; REDUCTION OF HATRAS; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TAKES THE FIELD; TREATY WITH SCINDIA; FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE CHOLERA; TREACHERY OF THE PEISHWA; SECOND MAHRATTA WAR; THE BATTLE OF KIRKEE; SURRENDER OF POONAH; APPA SAHIB'S TREACHERY; BATTLE OF SEETABULDEE; CAPTURE OF NAGPOOR; DEFENCE OF CORYGAUM; SATTARA TAKEN; BATTLE OF ASHITEE; BATTLE OF MAHEDPORE; TREATY WITH HOLKAR; CLOSE OF THE PINDARRIE WAR; PURSUIT OF APPA SAHIB; CAPTURE OF ASSEERGURH; CLOSE OF THE MAHRATTA WAR; TERMS OF THE PEACE; DISTURBANCES AT BAREILLY; OTHER EVENTS DURING THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION; ECCLESIASTICAL ARRANGEMENTS; THE MARQUIS LEAVES INDIA; RESULTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

DURING the war with Nepaul, the relations of the British government with Scindia, the Peishwa, and several other of the native powers, had become somewhat involved. The

Mahratta princes, whose enmity to England did not appear to be lessened by the treaties into which they entered, continued their intrigues, with a view to form alliances with other states, which would afford the prospect of a successful resistance to the power of England; and the rajahs of Bhopal and Nagpoor were by no means well-affected to this country. In March, 1816, the two last-named chiefs died; and the succession to the musnuds being, in both cases, disputed, the successful aspirants who were enabled to seize the supreme authority at Bhopal and Nagpoor, were anxious, for the time, to secure the friendship and support of the East India Company. The son of the deceased rajah of Nagpoor, Pursajee Bhonslay, was paralysed and an idiot. The nephew of the late Ragojee Bhonslay, named Appa Sahib, therefore assumed the regency, and, ultimately, the rajahship. Though at heart the decided enemy of the English, as he afterwards proved himself to be, at first he sought their friendship, and entered into a defensive treaty with the government at Calcutta, accepting a subsidiary force at Nagpoor, consisting of six battalions of the native infantry and a regiment of native cavalry, for whose aid he agreed to pay an annual sum of seven and a-half lacs of rupees; whilst he also engaged to keep on foot a contingent of 5,000 men, which was to co-operate with the English against the Pindarries, whose career of robbery and murder the governor-general was determined to arrest.—Mr. Elphinstone, who was the resident at Poonah, also succeeded, after some time, in concluding a treaty with the Peishwa, Bajee Rao. That chieftain, since 1815, had been much under the influence of Trimbuckjee Danglia—a very unworthy person, who, from a low position, by pandering to the passions and the vices of his master, had, through various grades, beginning as a spy, risen to the rank of prime minister, with which was united the command of the artillery. Mr. Elphinstone endeavoured to counteract the influence of this veritable pattern of most of the ministers of the Eastern princes, but in vain, till the murder of the Shastree* Gungadhur—who had arrived at Poonah, to settle, under the protection of the English, a disputed question of finance between his master the Guicowar and the Peishwa—took place.

* A title denoting an intimate acquaintance with the Shastras, or Shasters, a part of the sacred writings of the Hindoos.

This crime was avowedly committed under the orders of Trimbuckjee; and though it was thought that Bajee Rao was himself privy to it, he did not dare to protect his minion any further, and he was surrendered to Mr. Elphinstone. Confined in the fortress of Tannah, in the island of Salsette, he contrived to make his escape from the person in whose custody he was placed; and the Peishwa supplying him with large sums of money, he was enabled to raise and organise numerous bodies of Mahrattas and Pindarries, with whom he committed continual outrages on the British territories, and those of the states under British protection. The Peishwa pretended to discountenance these proceedings, and he issued a proclamation, setting a price upon the head of Trimbuckjee. It became too apparent, however, that he was still connected with that marauder; and the governor-general sent a force against Poonah, the council at Calcutta having decided that Bajee Rao had violated his engagements, and must be treated as an enemy. On the appearance of this force he concluded a treaty with Mr. Elphinstone, by which he abandoned his claims to be considered as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and ceded additional territory to the dominant power. This treaty was signed on the 2nd of June, and ratified by the governor-general on the 5th of July, 1817. The Peishwa did not long observe its conditions; for no sooner was the force removed from before Poonah, than he began to recruit his army, for the purpose of enabling him to aid the Pindarries, against whom the British government was then waging an uncompromising war.

Whilst the forces of the company were engaged with the Ghoorkas, these plunderers, of whose character we have already briefly spoken,† committed outrages on the British territories, only paralleled by the atrocities of the mutineers, rebels, and conspirators, who in the great mutiny of 1857 spread devastation throughout the north-west provinces of the Bengal presidency. Their numbers had, for some time, been considerably on the increase; for “every horseman who was discharged from the service of a regular government, or who wanted employment and subsistence, joined one of their *durras* (or principal divisions); so that no vagabond who had a horse and a sword could be at a loss for employment. Thus the Pindarries were continually re-

† See *ante*, p. 178.

ceiving an accession of associates, from the most desperate and profligate of mankind. Every villain who escaped from his creditors, who was expelled from the community for some flagrant crime, who had been disbanded from employment, or who was disgusted with an honourable and peaceful life, fled to Hindostan, and enrolled himself with the Pindarries;” * who were fed and nourished by the very miseries they created. “As their predatory invasions extended, property became insecure, and those who were ruined by their depredations, were afterwards compelled to resort to a life of violence, as the only means of subsistence left them. They joined the stream which they could not withstand, and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by the plunder of others.” * * * “The wealth, the booty, and the families of the Pindarries were scattered over a wide region, in which they found protection amid the mountains, and in the fastnesses belonging to themselves, or to those with whom they were, either openly or secretly, connected; but nowhere did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of one of their strongholds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another, generally of more desperate fortune, and, therefore, more eager for enterprise.” †

The separate expeditions of these robbers were called *lubburs*, their chiefs *lubburiahs*; and, in 1816, the principal of the latter were named Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed. Of these Cheetoo was the most noted. In 1815, during the Ghoorka war, he crossed the Nerbudda, and ravaged the Deccan; and, early in 1816, he again crossed that river, and invaded the company's territories. The Pindarries are said, on this occasion, to have, in less than a fortnight, visited and plundered upwards of 300 villages, and murdered 182 persons in the most cruel manner, subjected 505 to grievous personal injuries, and tortured, in various ways, upwards of 3,000. Their usual modes of inflicting torture were—placing heavy weights on the head or chest; applying red-hot irons to the soles of the feet; putting hot ashes in a *tobra*, or bag used for feeding horses, into which the head of their victim was plunged; setting fire to their clothes, after having covered them with

oil; and many other modes equally cruel and barbarous.

The Nepaul war was brought to a close when both the Mahrattas and the Pindarries calculated upon its being indefinitely prolonged, and the Marquis of Hastings resolved to take the most active measures for breaking up the confederacy of the latter. In October, 1816, Lieutenant-colonel Walker, with the main body of the subsidiary force which the government of Calcutta had sent to Nagpoor, entered the valley of the Nerbudda; and the Pindarries, who were in the neighbourhood, immediately retreated. As, however, the British did not advance, the former became more bold; and several parties, on the 4th of November, recrossed the river, penetrated between Lieutenant-colonel Walker's posts, and dashed into the interior. That officer encountered one of these parties, or *lubburs*, which he dispersed, though with little loss to them. Another, which had taken an easterly direction, was driven back by a small detachment of the British; the killed and wounded of the robbers being very considerable. A third party went to the southward, entered the Nizam's territory, and advanced to Beder, a large town on the right bank of the Manjera, seventy-five miles north-west of the city of Hyderabad. Detained in this position by disputes between the leaders as to the course which they should take, they were attacked by Major Macdowall, with only a small body of light troops. The number of the *lubbur* was 6,000, and they were routed out of their cantonment, abandoning most of their horses and the greater part of their booty.—The party was originally 7,000 strong; but just before the attack by Major Macdowall, a leader, named Sheikh Dullo, had detached several hundred of the robbers, and rapidly crossing the territories of the Peishwa, had entered the Concan, and marching to the northward, from the 17th to the 21st degree of latitude, he returned by the valley of the Taptee; but, on attempting to recross the Nerbudda in March, 1817, was met by a small British detachment, and nearly half his party was placed *hors de combat* before he reached Cheetoo's camp. †—Another party of Pindarries entered the territories of the Peishwa, and advanced some way in a south-east direction from Poonah, plundering as they went; for, though Bajee Rao was then intriguing with their chiefs, in

* Captain Sydenham.

† Sir John Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India*.

‡ Prinsep.

order to enlist their services against the British, they did not spare his subjects. Major Lushington, who was at Preputwaree, heard of their advance in December, 1816. He had the 4th Madras native cavalry under his orders, and went in pursuit to Sorgaum; from that place to Kame, and from thence to Pepree, where he came up with the Pindarries, who had been flying before him faster than his men could pursue them. They had, however, halted at Pepree, and were surprised when preparing their victuals for a feast. The cavalry dashed amongst them; and though they were instantly on their horses, and speeding away at the very top of their speed, the ground being favourable for pursuit, it was kept up for several miles, and between 700 and 800 were killed and wounded. In this pursuit, the 4th traversed seventy miles in seventeen hours; and their only loss was Captain Darke, who was thrust through with a spear by one of the Pindarries, and died from the effects of the wound.

Everywhere repulsed, the Pindarries were only temporarily defeated; and this Lord Hastings felt. He determined, therefore, to take more decisive measures for their complete suppression. The plan contemplated—and the success of which “depended on the secrecy with which the preparations could be made, the proper choice of the points to be seized, and the speed with which the designated stations could be reached”—was, “to push forward unexpectedly several corps, which should occupy positions opposing insuperable obstacles to the junction of the army of any one state with that of another, and even expose to extreme peril any sovereign’s attempt to assemble the dispersed corps of his forces within his own dominions, when the British should see cause to forbid it.”*—The forfeiture of the territory of those nabobs and rajahs in league with the Pindarries was contemplated; and in the course he wished to pursue, the noble marquis was supported by the directors at home, who, in reply to the urgent representations he made on the subject, gave him full power to take those steps he thought most prudent and necessary, being convinced “of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions to forbearance from home, and of the most

scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad.”†

Lord Hastings’ preparations for a new campaign against the Pindarries were made on the most extensive scale. Whilst they were in progress, his lordship resolved to punish Dya-Ram, the chieftain of Hatras, who was tributary to the company; but who, towards the close of 1816, had given unmistakable indications of his intention to assert his independence. Hatras is situated in the district of Allyghur, in what are now classed as the North-West Provinces. The old fort (now in ruins) stood half a mile due east of the town. It was built on a small hill with a gradual ascent, lying in the route from the cantonment of Agra to that of Allyghur, about thirty-three miles to the northward of the former. The glacis was about 100 yards wide, and the fort was surrounded by a renny-wall, or *fausse-braié*, with a deep, dry, and broad ditch behind it. In consequence of the conduct of Dya-Ram, and his evident hostility to the British, a detachment of men and a heavy train of artillery were dispatched to Hatras from the great military depôt of Cawnpore; and he was summoned to surrender the fort, that it might be dismantled. Having materially strengthened his defences, he refused to comply with the demand made upon him; whereupon, on “the 23rd of February, 1817, the town was breached and evacuated. On the 1st of March fire was opened on the fort from forty-five mortars and three breaching-batteries of heavy guns. At the close of the same day, a magazine in the fort exploded, and caused such destruction of the garrison and buildings, that Dya-Ram, terror-struck, abandoned the place in the course of the night; and it was forthwith dismantled, as well as the neighbouring fortress of Mursan, and some others.”‡ This prompt punishment of a disobedient *talookdar*,§ had a good effect not only upon the class to which Dya-Ram belonged, but also generally throughout the company’s territories.

It was very important to the future prospects of the British that the plans of the Marquis of Hastings should be carried out; for if the native chiefs had been allowed to make a junction of their armies, they would have presented an almost overwhelming force. The following is the estimated number of the troops which, in 1817, they could have brought into the field; and it is

* Lord Hastings’ despatches.

† Secret Letter of Directors, January, 1817.

‡ Thornton.

§ Renter.

thought that these figures are rather below, than over the truth:—

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
The Peishwa	28,000	13,800	37
Scindia	14,250	16,250	140
Holkar	20,000	7,940	107
The rajah of Nagpoor	15,766	17,826	85
The Nizam	25,000	20,000	47
Ameer Khan's* Patans	12,000	20,000	200
The Pindarries	15,000	1,500	20
	130,016	97,316	636

Here was a force of 227,332 men and 636 guns; to oppose which the British government had, in Bengal and the north-west provinces, 91,000 regular troops, of whom only 10,225 were cavalry; and 23,000 irregular horse; making a total of 114,000 men. The number of guns was 120. There were two grand divisions of this army; that of Madras, or the army of the Deccan, under Sir Thomas Hislop, which was 57,000 strong—5,255 being cavalry; and the army of Bengal, composed of 29,000 infantry and 5,000 horse. A part of the Bombay army was also dispatched on the side of Guzerat, to aid, if necessary, in the objects of the campaign; and it is probable that the aggregate of the three divisions was very little, if at all, less than 130,000 men, of whom near 14,000 were British troops. Still this left a superiority on the side of the native princes of near 100,000 men. They had also the advantage of numerous fortresses, in commanding positions; whilst their troops possessed a knowledge of the country, in which those of the company were deficient. The engineering department of the latter was also very weak. They had scarcely any sappers and miners; few or no scaling-ladders; and were much below their opponents in the two important arms of artillery and cavalry. But they had courage, confidence, and discipline; and however brave the troops of the native chiefs were, in the two last-named qualities they were vastly inferior to those which, under the Marquis of Hastings and Sir Thomas Hislop, took the field—not for the purpose of extending the dominions of the East India Company, but to punish and extirpate gangs of the most atrocious robbers and murderers that ever disgraced humanity; and who were sanctioned and encouraged by the chiefs in their nefarious pursuits, because their aid was frequently necessary to enable those chiefs to carry out their

* This chief had succeeded in again rallying round him the above number of troops.

own selfish purposes, either against their own subjects, or each other.

On the 20th of October, 1817, the Marquis of Hastings took the command of the Bengal division, which was called "the Grand Army," at Secundra, near Kalpee. This army was divided into two detachments. One crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats, and occupied a position south of Gwalior; where Scindia—who had seized on that city upon the death of Ambajee Inglia, in 1808, when he assumed the title of Maharajah, or "great king"—had established his permanent camp. The second division, under Major-general Donkin, took up its station at Dholpore, a mile from the left bank of the Chumbul, and thirty-seven miles north of Gwalior. It was notorious that Scindia had been negotiating with the Pindarries; and the governor-general had intercepted a secret correspondence, in which he was instigating the Nepaulese to attack the company's troops. The appearance of the British in imposing force, and in such admirable positions—commanding the only two routes by which carriages, and perhaps cavalry, could pass the chain of abrupt hills that extend from the Little Suria to the Chumbul, about twenty miles south of Gwalior—alarmed him, and he expressed a wish to negotiate. The Marquis of Hastings offered, and he assented to, a treaty, imposing upon him, in fact, unqualified submission, but so coloured as to make him avoid public humiliation. It required him to engage to contribute his best efforts to destroy the Pindarries; to furnish a contingent to act with the British troops, and under a British officer, against them; to resign those claims on the British government which had been recognised in the treaty of 1804, concluded with General Sir Arthur Wellesley, for three years, in order to provide for the payment of this contingent; to appropriate the pensions hitherto paid to his family and ministers to the same purpose; and, with the exception of the contingent, to cause the remainder of his troops to occupy the posts assigned them by the British government, from which they were on no account to move without that government's permission. It further abrogated the eighth article of the treaty of 1805, by which the British government was precluded from making alliances with the Rajpoot states dependent upon Scindia; but the tribute paid to the Maharajah by those states was secured to him; and he agreed

to admit British troops to garrison the fortresses of Asseerghur and Hindia during the war, as pledges that he would fulfil his engagements.' With respect to Asseerghur, the treaty was not fulfilled: that fort was not given up to the British; the fault being laid upon the governor, Jesswunt Le-Rao Lor, who, it was said, refused to surrender it.

This treaty was signed on the 5th of November; and shortly after, treaties with several native chiefs were concluded—the nabob of Bhopore entering with avidity into an engagement to act against the Pindarries. The operations against those freebooters were then arranged. As they abounded chiefly in Malwa and the Nerbudda valley, it was resolved that simultaneous movements should be made upon them by the three armies of the Deccan, Bengal, and Bombay, the latter being under the command of Sir W. Grant Kier. But events that occurred at Poonah altered the course of proceedings; which were retarded in the outset by the breaking out of the cholera in the Marquis of Hastings' camp. This terrible disease was first observed at Jessore, the capital of a district in Bengal, lying to the north of the Sunderbunds—a maritime tract, consisting of a cluster of small marshy islands, separated by narrow channels, in some places containing brackish, in others fresh, water. The whole district is subject to inundations, and considered very pestiferous. From Jessore it spread in almost every direction, ascending the valley of the Ganges, and reaching the camp of Brigadier-general Hardyman in the beginning of October. The situation of that camp was in a dry and healthy district, and the men suffered, comparatively, but little; but when the disease discovered itself in the camp of the commander-in-chief, pitched on the banks of the Sinde, in a damp, marshy, and unhealthy spot in Bundelcund, the result was very different. The whole camp became a hospital; the men were decimated by the deaths: in one establishment of a staff-officer, of fifty-three persons, eight died, and twelve were sick and unserviceable for a month; others of the staff were equal sufferers, and the greatest consternation prevailed.* The marquis moved the camp to the eastward, and, towards the end of November, his army, greatly decreased in number, and many of the survivors being weakened by the disease, reached Erich or Irej, on the

right bank of the river Betwa, where another encampment was formed; and where, in the enjoyment of a pure and bracing air, the men were soon restored to their usual health.

The events at Poonah, that interrupted the plan laid down by the Marquis of Hastings for the campaign against the Pindarries, sprung out of the treachery of the Peishwa. We have noticed his recruiting his army as soon as the force which had been sent against him, early in the year, was withdrawn; and, strange to say, he was encouraged to do so by Sir John Malcolm, who believed in his representations that his troops were to be used against the Pindarries, when his intention was to aid and assist them. He also induced Mr. Elphinstone considerably to reduce the small contingent which was left at Nagpoor. After the conclusion of the treaty of June, Colonel Munro had undertaken the settlement of the districts south of the Werda, which, by that treaty, the Peishwa had made over to the East India Company; and he proceeded, at the head of General Pritzler's brigade, to occupy Dharwar. This step appeared to annoy the Peishwa exceedingly, who left Poonah for a time, and began to urge on Mr. Elphinstone the fulfilment of an engagement to reduce to obedience certain refractory chiefs, over whom he claimed the right of sovereignty. Mr. Elphinstone was not very anxious to put additional power into the hands of one who, he had reason to think, purposed directing it against British influence. He communicated with Sir John Malcolm on the subject, who travelled many miles, by post, to have an interview with the Peishwa. In that interview, he became so impressed with the honesty of Bajee Rao, that Mr. Elphinstone's scruples gave way; and he not only sent away a division of troops which had occupied quarters near Poonah, but directed Colonel Munro to employ his force in the reduction of the refractory princes.† The rajah then employed emissaries to seduce the small number of native troops which the resident still retained, and even contemplated the assassination of that gentleman. Bajee Rao was greatly guided by the counsels of Bappoo Gokla, a brave and able Brahmin, who held the chief command in his army; but who refused to join in his secret machinations and intrigues, and resolutely withheld any, even the least,

* T. Prinsep.

† Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*.

countenance to the proposed assassination of the resident. Major Ford, who commanded the irregulars in the British contingent, and was included in the Peishwa's benevolent intentions, had a friend in Moro Dikshut, Bajee Rao's minister; who, learning that measures were taking to attack the British by an overwhelming force, warned that officer of the approaching destruction of the troops, strongly urging him to stand neuter in the struggle. On receiving this intimation, Major Ford communicated with the resident, who would not quit his post; but on the 3rd of November, he sent the contingent, under the command of Colonel Burr, to Kirkee, a little village about four miles distant, on the other side of the river Mola; and dispatched a messenger to Seroor, with orders for a light detachment stationed there to move upon Poonah. This evacuation of the British cantonments was considered by the Peishwa as a proof of fear on the part of the resident, and he immediately ordered out his entire force to manœuvre upon a wide grassy plain, which was terminated on the west by a range of small hills, and on the east by the city of Poonah. Whilst the hills were partially occupied by the infantry, endless streams of horsemen, from every avenue near the city, poured upon the plain. "Those only who have witnessed the bore in the gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can have an idea of the scene which was presented by the approach of the Peishwa's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day when it advanced; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard, except the rushing, the trampling, and the neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes, startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it rolled."* Mr. Elphinstone could not be kept in ignorance of this gathering of the legions, and he waited upon the Peishwa to demand its meaning. The Peishwa replied, that it was only in anticipation of what he knew were the hostile intentions on the part of the British, of which

* Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*.

he was determined not to be the victim. Mr. Elphinstone found, after this declaration, that Poonah was no longer a safe residence for him, and he determined to remove with his family to Kirkee. The Peishwa went from the interview to his army; and Mr. Elphinstone had scarcely left the residency, when a detachment of Bajee Rao's troops advanced upon it. Foiled in their intention of making the resident a prisoner, they plundered and set fire to his house, destroying everything it contained; amongst the rest, some valuable manuscripts and papers, the loss of which was irreparable. Mr. Elphinstone, in the meantime, crossed the Mola, and, not without some skirmishing with the enemy's irregulars, reached Kirkee. And thus commenced the SECOND MAHRATTA WAR.

As the Peishwa's army remained in the plain, on the 5th of November, Mr. Elphinstone, thinking that anything was better than inaction, ordered Colonel Burr and Major Ford to attack the enemy—an order which was promptly obeyed, though the Mahrattas had at least 26,000 men (18,000 horse, and 8,000 infantry), and were well supplied with guns; and Colonel Burr had not more than 2,800 men under his command, only 800 of whom were Europeans. The Mahrattas were led by Gokla, and the Peishwa was at the camp. Their skirmishers were the first to encounter the British, and the army was directed to advance, on finding the latter were acting on the offensive. Before the action commenced, the Peishwa's heart failed him, and he sent a message to Gokla, "not to fire the first gun." It is said, that the latter saw the messenger approaching, and suspecting the purport of his communication, he immediately opened a fire from a battery of nine guns upon the British, who had halted to unlimber their artillery; at the same time pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left, and sending a strong detachment of rocket-camels to the left. The British were not slow in returning the enemy's fire; and a body of the Mahratta infantry under a Portuguese named De Pinto, being discovered detached from the rest (they having marched under cover of hedges and enclosures, to get at the British by a shorter route), the sepoy's charged, and utterly routed them, and were pursuing the fugitives with great ardour, when they were recalled by Colonel Burr, to aid in repulsing a charge of a body of about

6,000 of the Mahratta cavalry, which, led forward by Gokla, had dashed onward to the British lines as soon as it was seen that the few Europeans alone remained. Providentially for the British, there was a deep slough in front of the left of their little band, which appears to have been unknown either to them or the enemy. Into this slough the foremost of the Mahratta horse plunged, and the horses immediately rolled over—the riders, many of them, tumbling off their backs into the morass; whilst those who followed, being unable suddenly to arrest their career, were plunged upon the top of them. At this moment the sepoy, who had returned, and who, at Colonel Burr's order, had reserved their fire, but had not been able to form in line, opened an irregular discharge upon the confused mass with terrible effect. The cavalry was unable to rally, and those who could extricate themselves fled, on the Europeans advancing to support the sepoy. Another body of cavalry, who had galloped round to plunder the British camp, was dispersed by a spirited discharge from two guns at Kirkee; and the infantry, after a short but animated contest, of which they soon had the worst, also retreated; the whole taking refuge either in Poonah or in a fortified camp, which was near the town.—Thus ended the battle of Kirkee; won against an enemy which numbered at least ten to one of the victorious force, whose loss was 186 killed and 57 wounded; that of the vanquished, being 500 in killed and wounded. This was one of the most glorious battles ever fought and won in India.

The day after the battle, the detachment from Seroor joined the British force at Kirkee, which was still too weak to attack Poonah, where the Peishwa's troops committed shocking barbarities upon the women and camp-followers who fell into his hands, having been found in the deserted British cantonment near the city. The acts, indeed, of the Mahrattas at this period, upon a small scale, were precisely of the same character as the atrocities committed by the Sepoy of the Bengal army during the revolt against British authority, which gave a mournful celebrity to the year 1857 in the north-west provinces of India. They murdered men; beat, and otherwise ill-treated women; two of the latter being shamefully ill-used and mutilated, and then turned out, in that state, to find their way to the brigade at Kirkee.

Ensign Ennis, of the Bombay engineers, who was employed on a survey about fifty miles from Poonah, fell into the hands of some straggling Mahrattas, and was shot. Captain Vaughan, of the Madras army, and his brother, were travelling with a small escort between Bombay and Poonah. As they approached the latter city, ignorant of what had occurred, they encountered the army of the Peishwa. Being promised quarter and honourable treatment, they surrendered without resistance; and, in violation of the pledges given them, were immediately hung. The camp-followers were robbed, beaten, and frequently mutilated; and the gardens at the residency and in the cantonment at Poonah, were laid bare, the trees torn up by the roots, and the very graves of the dead violated. Mr. Elphinstone, as soon as intelligence of these atrocities reached him, sent a messenger to inform Bappoo Gokla, that if they were not discontinued, he would make a severe retaliation. This led to the interference of that general; and during the short time the Peishwa remained at Poonah, no more lives were taken in cold blood.

On the 13th of November, General Smith arrived at Kirkee from the banks of the Godavery, and it was resolved to take immediate steps for the reduction of Poonah. On the 14th, it was thought the army would have crossed the Mola; but the movement was not made till the 16th. On that day, having provided for the defence of Kirkee, General Smith, at the head of his Europeans and sepoy, crossed the river and advanced on the capital. Resistance was offered by the Mahrattas at only one of the fords; and the corps which attempted to make a stand there was soon dispersed. When the British arrived before Poonah, they found that the Peishwa and his troops had fled, except a few hundred Arabs who garrisoned Poonah. The fugitives took the road to Sattara. All the guns were carried off, except one of immense size, which could not be removed; but, in the camp, the tents were left standing. The inhabitants of Poonah were not inclined to offer any resistance; and, at their request, the garrison surrendered upon the first summons. General Smith remained till the 19th, when he set out in pursuit of the Peishwa, having previously been joined by Lieutenant-colonel Colebrooke and a regiment of Madras cavalry. The same day, eighteen guns, with their tumbrils and ammunition,



NELSON'S CONFLICT WITH A SPANISH LAUNCH.

Nelson quickly got alongside the Spanish launch, which was crowded with men, greatly outnumbering his boat's crew. Nothing daunted he boarded the launch, and the boldness of the attack, though resisted desperately by the Spaniards, ensured its complete success.

and a considerable quantity of baggage, fell into the hands of a detachment commanded by Captain Turner; but the Peishwa, taking to the Ghauts, for a time evaded pursuit.

A diversion in his favour was made by the open defection of Appa Sahib, rajah of Nagpoor, from the English alliance. He opened a communication with the chiefs of the Pindarries, and with the Peishwa; and when remonstrated with by Mr. Jenkins, the British resident at Nagpoor (who refused to visit the palace to see the rajah invested with some robes of honour, sent him by Bajee Rao), he interdicted all communication between the residency and the city; and, at the same time, stripping the palaces of their valuables, he left Nagpoor himself, and joined his army of 8,000 infantry and 13,000 cavalry, the latter including 3,000 Arabs, excellent horsemen and soldiers. The British contingent at Nagpoor consisted of the 20th and 24th native infantry, three troops of the 6th Bengal native cavalry, and four 6-pounders, manned by Europeans of the Madras artillery. Lieutenant-colonel Hopetoun Scott commanded this small force of about 1,400 men fit for service, and he removed it from the cantonments, which were very inconvenient, to the heights of Seetabuldee, on the outskirts of the town, overlooking the residency, which was separated from the city by a rocky ridge on the north. On the east side was a lower eminence, at the foot of which stood the village of Talporee, almost embosomed in shrubs and trees. During the 26th of November, these hills and the village were occupied by the Arabs of Appa Sahib's army, who commenced hostilities by firing upon some British officers engaged in posting pickets, about 6 P.M. The British artillery and infantry instantly returned the fire, and the action became general—one officer, Captain Sadler, being killed, and another, Captain Charlesworth, wounded, soon after its commencement. The engagement continued with great fierceness till 2 A.M. on the 27th; several attempts to carry the hill during that time, by the enemy, having been repulsed, and the village of Talporee set on fire. A pause then ensued, which the British employed in strengthening their position; for which purpose, in the absence of other materials, they used sacks of wheat and flour to cover the approaches. Day had scarcely dawned, when the enemy was again in motion; and then the British discovered the extent of the force by which

they were assailed. The height was surrounded by Arab and Mahratta cavalry; the infantry and the artillery were favourably posted for their support; and one battery of nine guns was planted on small hill commanding the heights of Seetabuldee. At seven o'clock the enemy recommenced their fire, and for some time the fighting was maintained without any decided advantage on either side, when the explosion of a tumbril on the lower hill threw the defenders into confusion. The Arabs saw the accident, charged up the hill with great fury, gained the spot where the explosion had taken place, and drove the sepoys from the guns, which they turned upon the British, killing, at the first discharge, Dr. Neven, the surgeon, and Lieutenant Clark; and at the second, Mr. Sotheby, the resident's chief assistant, who, with Mr. Jenkins, had been present with the troops all the previous day. The camp-followers, and the wives and children of the sepoys, appear to have congregated near this spot, and they sent up a wild cry, which struck terror into those who heard it. At that moment all seemed lost; when Captain Fitzgerald retrieved the fortunes of the day. He had withdrawn the three troops of cavalry into the residency grounds, where they were joined by twenty-five of the resident's escort. At their head he crossed a nullah and bridge with the utmost impetuosity, dashed into a vast body of the enemy's cavalry, scattering them on all sides; seized some guns, which he turned upon the foe; and was soon master of the plain. Still the Arabs remained. But the troops on the heights, witnessing the success of the cavalry charge, gave a joyous shout, discharged a volley into the Arab ranks, and then rushed upon them with the bayonet, driving them down the hill, and capturing two guns, which they spiked. The Arabs rallied at the bottom of the height, but were finally dispersed by a charge of cavalry; and, about twelve at noon, victory remained in the hands of the British, after one of the most desperate *rencontres* on record. All the artillery of the enemy became the prize of the victors, who lost one-fourth of their number, and "performed prodigies of valour, which have rarely been equalled either in ancient or modern times. If glory were to be proportioned to difficulty and danger, the memory of such men would be imperishable."*

* Thornton.

The result of this battle led the rajah once more to seek the friendship of England. He sent messengers to Mr. Jenkins, for the purpose of expressing his regret at the attack made on the company's troops, which he declared he had not authorised; and he employed the women of his family to go to the residency and sue for peace. The withdrawal of his troops from the scene of the late action, he was told, was the only condition upon which any answer could be returned to his communication. He complied with this condition by concentrating them in Nagpoor and a camp on one side of the city. But whilst he was thus apparently anxious for peace, he was, in reality, taking steps in another direction to increase his army and strengthen his artillery. The Marquis of Hastings was not disposed to spare him; and he resolved to send more troops to Nagpoor, on hearing of the first breach of the alliance, and its result; it being essential that other chiefs should be deterred from rising against the English by Appa Sahib's fate. A considerable body of troops was therefore dispatched from the Nerbudda, where the governor-general then was, to Nagpoor, under the command of Brigadier-generals Doveton and Hardyman, and Major Pitman. This reinforcement appeared before Nagpoor on the 14th of December; and on the morning of the 15th, Mr. Jenkins communicated to Appa Sahib the terms upon which the governor-general was ready to enter into another treaty with him, viz.—That he should deliver up his ordnance and military stores; disband his Arabs immediately, and the rest of his troops in a reasonable time; allow Nagpoor to be occupied by the British; and take up his abode at the residency till the treaty should be finally concluded. The rajah demurred to these terms, which still left to him the titles and authority of sovereignty, and he attempted to temporise with the resident. In consequence, General Doveton moved his men near to the town walls, and bivouacked for the night in that position. At six o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the rajah sent to request General Doveton to allow him a respite of two or three days, as his Arabs would not allow him to go over to the residency. The general gave him two hours; and as at the end of that time he did not appear, the army advanced in order of battle. As soon as Appa Sahib saw the troops, he mounted his horse, gal-

loped off to the residency, and delivered himself up as a hostage. On his arrival, he gave a written order that the artillery in the camp and arsenal should be surrendered; and thirty-six guns in the latter were taken possession of without resistance. The Arabs, however, attempted to defend the camp. They fired into the British lines on their approach, and a contest of an hour's duration took place before the batteries were carried and their desperate defenders put to flight. The spoil thus obtained consisted of seventy-five guns, mortars, and howitzers, forty-five elephants, the camp, and all the rajah's handsome-camp equipage. The Arabs were not, however, thoroughly beaten. They rallied in the city, and occupied the fortress, in which were the rajah's palaces and other buildings. An attempt to storm this fort cost the British 90 killed and 179 wounded; and it was not till the 30th of December that the brave Arabs—for brave they were—capitulated, on being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

The Marquis of Hastings desired that the conditions that Appa Sahib had assented to should be embodied in a treaty; but the events at Nagpoor prevented this from being effected. The governors of several forts refused to give up their positions, and it was found that the rajah, who had been permitted, after assenting to the proposed terms, to leave the residency and return to his palace, was not only instigating their conduct, but was planning his escape. Documents which had been found in his palaces also established, not only his treachery to the British, but that he had murdered his paralysed and idiot predecessor, Pursajee Bhonslay. It was also discovered that he was opening communications with Bajee Rao, who was at that time making an advance towards Nagpoor. These circumstances led to his arrest; as Mr. Jenkins justly thought, that to suffer him to remain at large would only be playing into the hands of the enemies of the company. He was sent, under escort, to Benares; but the troops employed were of his own selecting, and he escaped on the journey. One night, when the officer on guard went to visit his charge at the usual hour, he was told that he was ill and asleep, and his attendants requested that he might not be disturbed, as repose was absolutely necessary for him. The officer looked at the bed where the rajah was, as he supposed, lying, and left

the room. A pillow, however, was doing duty for Appa Sahib, who got clear off, fleeing to the Mandoo hills, from whence he took refuge in the fortress of Asseerghur.

We must now return to the Peishwa, who was pursued into the Ghauts by General Smith, accompanied by Mr. Elphinstone. The army had long and weary marches, but no fighting except in one instance, when Gokla attempted to defend a ghaut leading to the high land in which the river Kistna rises, where Bajee Rao had taken temporary refuge. He was, however, defeated; and the British cleared the pass, but could not come up with the Peishwa, who eluded them for some time; and the British getting too far to the north, he ultimately retraced his steps, and announced that he meant to recover Poonah. General Smith was soon in his track again; and Colonel Burr, who commanded at Poonah, on being informed that the rajah was returning with a large force, sent to Seroor, to request that some of the troops from that station might be dispatched to strengthen his hands. In accordance with this request, Captain Francis French Staunton started for Poonah at the head of one battalion of native infantry, 600 strong; 350 irregular horse; two 6-pounders, and 26 European artillerymen. This corps commenced its march in the evening of the 31st of December; and, at 10 A.M. on the 1st of January, 1818, Captain Staunton found himself at Corygaum, about sixteen miles from Poonah. On reaching the heights on which the village is built, he ascertained that he had been anticipated by the Peishwa, who, with his entire army of 25,000 men, was encamped between Corygaum and the city. The gallant young officer saw all the disadvantages and difficulties of his position in an instant. He was not only intercepted in his advance to Poonah, but could scarcely expect to be permitted to retrace his steps with safety. He was not long in coming to a decision. The houses of Corygaum were of stone, and stood in gardens, surrounded by strong stone walls. He resolved to occupy this village; but as his little band entered on one side, some of the Peishwa's Arabs entered on the other, and a desperate struggle took place. The British obtained possession of a small *choultry*, or place of refreshment (originally a pagoda), where the two guns were stationed, which were well served, and the enemy could only bring two guns to oppose them. The battle

raged here from noon till nine at night, during which time the British troops had no food to eat, nor a drop of water to drink. The deadly strife was chiefly between the Arabs and the British infantry and artillery; for the cavalry with the former—whose commander, Captain Swanston, was wounded early in the action—were too weak to attack the vast masses of the Mahratta horse, who, on their part, were too cowardly to assail the heights, and left the fighting to the Arabs. The latter made attack after attack, and failed in all. At length, Lieutenant Chisholm, of the artillery, having been killed, three-fourths of his men killed or disabled, and all the European officers, except three, wounded, the Arabs, in one of their charges, got possession of a gun at the pagoda, and immediately began to cut and hack the dead bodies that were lying around, and to massacre the wounded. Assistant-surgeon Wingate, Captain Swanston, and Lieutenant Connellon, were among the latter; and poor Wingate was soon cut up into small pieces! But the triumph of the barbarians did not last long. Lieutenant Patterson, who had been wounded, headed the grenadiers of the native infantry in a desperate charge, and recovered the gun; whilst Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant-surgeon Wylie, headed another charge, and recovered the *choultry*. The Arabs were then chased from the heights, and returned no more to the attack; the exhausted sepoy being soon after enabled to procure water, somewhat recovered from their fatigue, and they passed the night in quiet. In the terrible struggle of the day, 153 of the native infantry, 96 of the cavalry, 18 of the artillerymen, and five of the officers, were killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy is not known; but it must have been very great—the killed having been estimated at 700. Their attacks were witnessed by the Peishwa, Gokla, and Trim buckjee, who had again joined his former master; and as repulse followed repulse, the Peishwa is said bitterly to have reproached his officers, whose persuasions had induced him again to engage in the war.

In the struggle of the 1st, the brigade under Captain Staunton had consumed nearly all their ammunition, and had no provisions. As he despaired of being able to reach Poonah, though the enemy had moved off from Corygaum, he resolved to

return to Seroor; and by sacrificing some of his baggage he was enabled to take all his wounded and his guns back to that position, where he arrived at 9 A.M. on the 3rd of January; his gallant men having been, since the 31st of December, without food. Due honour was done to the heroes. The corps was raised to the much-coveted rank of grenadiers, and the word "Corygaum" was placed upon their colours; the commander was made an honorary aide-de-camp, and soon after appointed to the command of the important fortress of Ahmednuggur; and General Smith, in his official report of the action, characterised it as "one of the most brilliant affairs ever achieved by any army;" one "in which the native and European soldiers displayed the most noble devotion and most romantic bravery, under the pressure of thirst and hunger almost beyond human endurance."

After the defeat at Corygaum, the Peishwa's Mahrattas dared not stop before Poonah, particularly as they learnt that they were closely followed by General Smith; whilst they were liable to be intercepted by General Pritzler, who was advancing in another direction. But the wily foe seemed gifted with peculiar facility in evading pursuit; and Mr. Elphinstone proposed, that, taking the army from this harassing, and as appeared useless, labour, the strong places in the Peishwa's dominions should be stormed; Sattara, the nominal capital of the Mahratta confederacy, taken; and Pertaub Sing, the rajah (who had been confined there as the pensioned captive of his minister the Peishwa; but who, with his family, was then in Bajee Rao's hands), restored to liberty, and replaced in the position held by his ancestors—that of an independent sovereign. This advice was taken; and though Bajee Rao, who fled back to the table-land of the Kistna, again made overtures for peace, his offers were rejected. Sattara was the first place attacked. General Smith arrived before it on the 9th of February, and on the 10th it surrendered, the garrison of four hundred men scarcely offering any resistance. The British colours were immediately hoisted, but lowered the next day, and the standard of Sevajee was raised in their place; a manifesto being issued by Mr. Elphinstone, in which it was announced, that the British government took possession of all the dominions of the Peishwa, except the city of Sattara and a

small tract round it, which were reserved for Pertaub Sing, as rajah of Sattara.

A junction was now formed between the forces of General Smith and General Pritzler; and the two divisions were reorganised by again dividing them into two corps—one of cavalry and light troops, for field service, to keep up an active pursuit of the enemy; the other of infantry, with an ample battering-train, to reduce forts, occupy the country, and deprive the Peishwa of all means of supporting an army. General Smith took the command of the light division, and again set out in pursuit of the Mahrattas. Having good information of their route, on the 19th of February he surprised them at Ashtee, a town in the north-west division of the British district of Sholapore, about 112 miles to the south-east of Poonah. Great was the surprise of the Peishwa and his officers when the British force, composed of the 2nd and 7th regiments of the Madras light cavalry, and two squadrons of his majesty's 22nd dragoons, appeared on the brow of a hill overlooking the Mahratta camp. The Peishwa, after reproaching Gokla with negligence in exposing their movements to the English, galloped off with his personal attendants; but Gokla determined to take the initiative in the fighting, and, attacking General Smith, succeeded in out-flanking his force, and would, probably, have got round to his rear, had he not been cut down by an English dragoon. This decided the victory. The dragoons charging directly into the camp, the Mahrattas took to flight; and the tents, baggage, twelve elephants, and fifty-seven camels, with the rajah of Sattara, his mother, and two brothers, fell into their hands. Pertaub Sing voluntarily placed himself under British protection, as did his relatives. General Smith was wounded in this engagement, but his wound proved of no consequence. His loss, in killed and wounded, was only 19; the enemy's was 200 in killed alone. After the battle, the Peishwa, with the remains of his army, moved towards Nagpoor, expecting to be joined by Appa Sahib, with whom he had long been in communication, but who, by that time, was in as bad a plight as himself. By the subsequent arrangements made with Pertaub Sing (who, on being informed by Mr. Elphinstone of the favourable intentions of the British government, assumed the state with the title of a sovereign), the territory of Sattara, producing an annual

revenue of £137,500, was assigned to him, besides jaghires, or feudal grants, and other alienations from the rent-roll; making, in the aggregate, about £200,000 for his gross annual income. The sovereignty thus assigned was to be held by the rajah "in subordinate co-operation with the British government;" which engaged to defend Pertaub Sing's territories, and to protect him from all injury and aggression.*

Notwithstanding the visitation of the cholera, which shed such desolation over the camp of the Marquis of Hastings, the advance of the noble marquis on Gwalior had the effect intended—of preventing any combined action between Scindia and the Pindarries; the fidelity of the former being still doubtful, notwithstanding the treaty to which he had so recently affixed his signature. The latter assembled under their three leaders, Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed, occupying positions between Indore and Sagor, in considerable force; but prevented, by their mutual dissensions, from undertaking any combined enterprise. After the rainy season of 1817 had ceased, they all set off in different directions. Kureem Khan attempted to reach Gwalior, relying on the co-operation of Scindia; but he was driven back by General Marshall, and in his retreat was encountered by a detachment under General Doveton, who beat the plundering herd completely; capturing Kureem's wife, his kettle-drums, and state elephants, and dispersing the band, who fled in all directions: but some of them rallied again before the close of the year. Wasil Mohammed sent a detachment into the rear of the British army in Bundelcund, which committed serious ravages; but a small body of troops, detached from the Marquis of Hastings' division, drove them back into Malwa, and he was heard of no more. Cheetoo had the largest party (nearly 8,000 men) under his command. He entered Mewar, or Oodeypoor, a district which had long been the rendezvous of the Pindarries and

Mahrattas, and had suffered greatly from their depredations. Sir John Malcolm marched against him, and his close pursuit caused the Pindarree chief and his band to take shelter in Holkar's camp, situated on the left bank of the Seepra, opposite the town of Mahedpore, which stands on the right bank of that river. On learning where Cheetoo had fled, Sir John Malcolm, probably not feeling himself strong enough to attack the combined forces of that chief and Holkar, fell back upon Oojein, where Sir Thomas Hislop was stationed. The two divisions of the British army then formed a junction; and Sir Thomas Hislop took the command of the combined forces.

Toolsee Bye† still continued to exercise authority in the dominions of Holkar—an authority which was shared with her paramours; her favourite, at the time in question, being the dewan or minister, Gunput Rao. There was a disposition, both on the part of Toolsee and Gunput, to treat with the English, with a view to preserve their authority; but the Patan chiefs of Holkar's army were clamorous for war. It is said, that Toolsee Bye had made secret advances to the English; but whether this was so or not, the Patans were convinced she intended taking that step; and, to prevent the adoption of a course which they thought—and thought truly—would curb their power, and put an end to their predatory proceedings, they enticed young Holkar away from the tent where he was playing, and placed him under surveillance—imprisoned Gunput Rao, and, seizing Toolsee Bye, they carried her to the banks of the Seepra where she was beheaded, and her body thrown into the river. As every means had been taken to strengthen the Mahratta army, its numbers had been considerably increased before this murder was committed; and so bold were the Patans, that parties were sent out in the direction of the English encampment, by whom the advanced and outlying posts of Sir Thomas Hislop's force were much harassed and

* Thornton.

† See *ante*, p. 184. There is much of romance in the history of Toolsee Bye, as related by Sir John Malcolm. She was supposed to be the daughter, though she passed as the niece, of a mendicant priest, named Abjeeba, who obtained considerable power and influence, and paid great attention to Toolsee's education. She was married before she attracted the attention of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, who fell in love with her at first sight, and, sending her husband to prison, he had the lady conveyed to his palace. The

former does not appear to have entertained so high a regard for his wife as she had inspired in the rajah, for he shortly after accepted some presents, and retired to his home in the Deccan, never troubling her any more. Toolsee soon acquired great power over Holkar; and was, in her turn, influenced by a waiting-maid, nearly double her age, who made use of her position for the purposes of extortion; and was, after amassing large sums, thrown into prison, where she was cruelly tortured, and finally took poison, not long before the murder of her mistress.

annoyed. This determined him to hasten his march on Mahedpore, in order at once to put down these turbulent marauders, who sought to prolong hostilities only to promote their own personal advantages; and he was *en route* for that town when the Patans were exulting in what they looked upon as the success of their schemes—to put a stop to the alliance between the English and the young rajah, their master.

It was on the 20th of December, 1817, when the life of Toolsee Bye was terminated, her minister imprisoned, and Mulhar Rao removed into close custody. On the next morning, shortly after daylight, Sir Thomas Hislop came within sight of the camp, strongly posted on the left bank of the Seepra, behind batteries ranged in the form of a crescent, containing about seventy guns. The British were on the right bank of the stream; but confident in the firmness and bravery of his troops, Sir Thomas Hislop determined upon an immediate attack, and gave directions for the river to be crossed and the camp assailed. The light troops and the horse-artillery were the first to pass over, in front of the left of the enemy's position, their advance being somewhat protected by the fire from a battery of foot artillery, planted on the right side, but which was shortly silenced by the heavy discharges from the enemy's batteries. The two brigades of infantry followed, under the command of Sir John Malcolm; the cavalry being on the left, where it was partially screened by some rising ground in front. The horse-artillery threw up batteries in front of the ford; whilst the light brigade, taking possession of two ravines which ran down to, and communicated with, the river, enabled the rest of the army to land, and, by a counter-march, to bring their right in front. This being effected, the first brigade rushed forward, the second acting as a reserve. These movements were made under a terrific fire from the enemy's guns, which soon silenced or dismounted the British horse-artillery, and cut off many of the men. When once the troops got fairly into action, however, the result was never doubtful. The first brigade of infantry, under Sir John Malcolm, their ranks much thinned by the discharges of grape which the enemy poured upon them as they advanced, carried, at the bayonet's point, a ruined village, which was considered as the key of the enemy's position; whilst the cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-

colonel Russell, of the 3rd regiment, and Major Lushington, of the 4th, and the Mysore horse, attacked the right, gallantly fighting their way through all obstacles, breaking the ranks of the infantry, who fled, and attacking the guns, which were bravely defended by the Patans, many of whom were cut down and bayoneted, as they would not desert their posts. After some sharp fighting, the rout became general; the camp and the guns were deserted, and the British remained masters of the field. The loss of the Mahrattas, in killed and wounded, is estimated at 3,000: the British had 174 killed and 604 wounded, of whom 35 were European officers. The enemy's camp, 63 guns (many of large calibre), and the ammunition tumbrils, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Five guns left in the rear of the camp to cover the retreat of the enemy, were also captured.*

The enemy fled to Mundesore, a town situated on the tributary of the Chumbul, in the territory of Gwalior. They were followed by the British, under Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant, who took in the pursuit much valuable booty, including elephants, several hundred camels, &c. The chiefs were too much disheartened to make a stand and renew the contest; and at Mundesore negotiations took place, which ended in a treaty, signed on the 18th of January, 1818; the mother of the child Mulhar Rao Holkar (who, though a woman of inferior rank, became the acknowledged regent of the Mahratta states), having first made her submission to the British. By this treaty Holkar renounced his pretensions to certain dominions of native chiefs who were protected by the government of the company, and also to any place north of the Bhonee hills. He ceded to the company all claims of revenues and tributes from the Rajpoot states, and the territories within and south of the Satpura range, including the fort of Sindwa, as well as all his possessions in the province of Khandeish, and others intermixed with the territories of the Nizam and the Peishwa. He undertook to abstain from diplomatic intercourse with other states, except with the knowledge and consent of the British resident; to entertain in his service no Europeans or Americans, without similar permission; to permit an accredited agent from the British government to reside at Indore; and to disband

* Blacker's *Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India.*

his army, not keeping on foot a larger force than 3,000 horse, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement was to be made. The British government, on its part, engaged to protect the territory of Holkar, and to maintain a force for preserving its internal tranquillity, and for defence against foreign aggression; disclaimed all concern with Holkar's relatives or subjects, and entered into a stipulation not to permit the Peishwa, or any of his heirs or descendants, to claim or exercise any sovereign rights over the dominions of Holkar, and to restore to the latter chief the dominions recently conquered from him.* Thus a new condition was conferred upon "the Holkar state. Twenty years had elapsed since it had enjoyed any regular resources or government; its name, during the greater part of that period, having only served as a pretext to plunderers for committing every species of excess and crime."† By this treaty the possessions of Ameer Khan were also defined. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, after that Patan chief attached himself to his fortunes, granted to him Tonk in Rajpootana, and Seronje in Malwa; besides which he had acquired Perawa and Chupra, in the latter territory; and Nimbera, with some other pergunnahs, in Mewar. The area of the whole amounted to about 1,864 square miles, and all were guaranteed to him by the treaty; the fort and district of Rampoora being added as a free gift by the British government.‡

Scindia and Holkar, being thus both rendered useless to the Pindarries, nothing remained but to follow up the detached forces of the latter, and entirely to disperse and reduce them. Some of the Patan chiefs were at first disposed to aid those whose pursuits were so nearly allied to their own; but they were defeated, and most of their adherents slaughtered, by a detachment of Europeans and sepoys near Rampoora. Kureem Khan, who had rallied some of his followers after their dispersion by General Donkin, was pursued by the 3rd Bengal cavalry, under Major Clarke, and overtaken near the village of Ambee. Dividing his force into two divisions, the major attacked the Pindarries, and they sustained a complete overthrow, which was followed by the surrender of Kureem to Sir John Malcolm, on the 15th of February. And now Cheetoo was the only one of the Pindarree chiefs who remained in the field. After the battle of Mahedpore, he fled with his *durra* or band,

* Thornton. † Sir John Malcolm. ‡ Thornton.

in a north-westerly direction, closely pursued by the Bombay army from Guzerat, under the orders of Major-general Sir William Kerr. He was overtaken, and his followers harassed and partly cut up; but he himself succeeded in getting into Malwa, where, on the 25th of January, he was, after some days' evasion amidst the rocks, jungles, and forests with which that country abounds, surprised by a British detachment, and saw what followers were then left him entirely cut up and destroyed. But again he eluded pursuit; and, in the month of February, he presented himself, accompanied by his son, before the fortress of Asseerghur, where Appa Sahib was sheltering himself from the English. His followers had all deserted him; he stood alone with his son, and claimed admission within the walls. It was refused him; and the father and son then appear to have separated. Young Cheetoo was subsequently taken by the British, who allowed him the means of subsistence; but all that was thereafter seen of the father was his head and torn clothes, which were discovered in a jungle near Asseerghur, being the sole remains of the once formidable Pindarree leader; a tiger having killed him and devoured his body. His horse, saddle and bridled, with a bag containing 250 rupees in the saddle, was found near the spot; and in the saddle were letters from Appa Sahib, containing promises to Cheetoo of future reward. Such was the end of that daring chief, and with him perished the race that had so long devastated the country. There then remained "not a spot in India which a Pindarree could call his home." Their principal leaders had either died, submitted, or been made captives; while their followers, with the exception of a few whom the liberality and consideration of the British government aided to become industrious, became lost in that population from whose dress they originally issued. In a very few years after Cheetoo's death, "a minute investigation only could discover those once formidable disturbers, concealed as they were amongst the lowest classes, where they made some amends for past atrocities by the benefit which was derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times; but, as a body, the Pindarries were so effectually destroyed that their name was forgotten," though they had so recently "spread terror and dismay all over India."§

§ Sir John Malcolm's *Memoirs of Central India*.

The Pindarree war at an end, the English had now only Appa Sahib and the Peishwa to deal with; from neither of whom was any formidable resistance to be expected. The former, after some delay, was besieged in the fortress of Asseerghur, which occupies a formidable position on a scarp'd hill, being rendered exceedingly strong by nature as well as by art. Scindia had, by the treaty of November, 1817, agreed to surrender this fortress to the British; but the killadar held a letter from the Maharajah, ordering him to defend it to the last extremity. General Doveton and Sir John Malcolm commanded the besieging party, which suffered some loss from several desperate sorties of the besieged, and still more by an explosion of the magazine of one of the breaching batteries, containing 130 barrels of powder, by which an entire company of sepoys was destroyed. A breach being effected, however, the killadar did not dare to stand an assault, and he surrendered at discretion on the 7th of April, 1819, when 1,200 men, chiefly Arab mercenaries, were made captives. Few of the enemy had been killed during the siege; but the British lost 299 men killed and wounded, several officers being amongst them. As soon as the garrison had marched out and piled their arms, the Mahratta flag was hauled down, and replaced by the union-jack; and the company has since retained possession of the fortress. When the English troops proceeded to occupy the place, it was found that Appa Sahib had escaped;* and, soon after, by a proclamation of the governor-general, he was declared dethroned; the son of a daughter of Ragojee was appointed his successor, and, during his minority, the widow of the murdered Pursajee was nominated regent. The administration of every department, however, remained in the hands of British officers till 1826, when the government was formally made over to the rajah, who was also called Ragojee.

The pursuit of the Peishwa was set on foot at the same time with that of Appa Sahib, and was brought to a conclusion some months earlier. After the battle of Ashtee, and the fall of Sattara, Bajee Rao made for the north-west, his intention being to gain the territory of the Nizam, where he expected to be able to maintain himself, as he knew that potentate was pretty nearly bereft of troops. Though pursued by General Smith in one direction, and General

Doveton in another, he succeeded in traversing the Deccan from east to west, and appeared on the banks of the Werda on the 1st of April. Here he was again threatened by a force under Colonel Adams, and by another under General Doveton, approaching from opposite sides. He eluded both, and continued his flight till, on the 17th, near Soondee, he was arrested in his progress by the former, who had with him only one regiment of native cavalry and some horse-artillery. Even then the Peishwa would have avoided an action; but he was compelled to fight; and the result was, as usual, a decisive victory for the English. The enemy, completely routed, took shelter in the jungle, several hundred men having been killed and wounded; and four brass guns, three elephants, nearly 200 camels, and much valuable property, captured. The Peishwa had a narrow escape; his palanquin was amongst the valuables taken, he having left it to seek safety on horseback. After the battle a large part of his army quitted his standard, and returned to their homes; the rest divided themselves into different parties to distract the attention of the pursuers; and Bajee Rao attempted to retrace his steps to the north-east, but he was stopped on his route by Sir Thomas Hislop.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Mundesore, Sir Thomas had proceeded to take possession of the several forts ceded by Holkar, and also of those ceded by Scindia by the treaty concluded with him. No resistance was made by the killadars of these places, except by the commandant of Thal-neir—a fort on the right bank of the Taptee, one of the places given up by Holkar. Sir Thomas held a written order for its surrender; but when he approached the fort with his detachment, a fire was opened upon them from the walls. The killadar was warned of the consequences of his conduct: he was told that his master had ceded the fortress, and that if he persisted in holding it he would be treated as a rebel; but he refused to open his gates, and continued his discharge of grape. The only artillery Sir Thomas Hislop had with him consisted of one 6-pounder and two small howitzers. These were placed on a neighbouring height that commanded the gateway of the fort; and by the admirable manner in which they were worked, the fire of the enemy was subdued, and some damage was done to the parapet, &c.; but the main walls remained

* He died at Joudpore, in 1840.

uninjured, owing to the small calibre of the besieging train. After some hesitation as to the best course to pursue, it was resolved to force an entrance by the gateway; and a party was detached for the purpose of making the assault, under the command of Major Gordon. They had not reached the walls when a flag of truce was displayed, and the killadar, showing himself upon one of the bastions, offered to surrender, but upon terms; saying, that the gates should be thrown open as soon as those terms could be arranged. Major Gordon replied, that the resistance being in contravention of the treaty, the surrender must be unconditional; and this not being assented to, hostilities were resumed. The masonry on each side of the gateway had been so much damaged, that the storming party had not much difficulty in pushing through. On entering they found several gates, but all were open, except the last. In this there was a wicket, which, after a short delay, was opened from the interior, and Major Gordon and a small party entered; a brief parley on the terms of surrender taking place. Suddenly the wicket was closed, and Major Gordon and his small party were surrounded and murdered! Nothing could exceed the indignation of the British soldiers when they became aware of this treachery. A party of pioneers darted forward, and the wicket and adjoining walls soon fell before the blows of their pickaxes and spades. The Arabs had gathered in numbers to dispute the entrance; but nothing could resist the ardour of the assailants, who dashed forward, shooting down and bayoneting all who opposed them. Upwards of 150 fell dead; some fugitives concealed themselves in haystacks, but they were compelled to come out by the stacks being set fire to; and they fell under the avenging arms of the English, enraged at the slaughter of their commander and comrades. It is said, that only a woman and two Arab boys escaped; and the next morning (February 28th), Sir Thomas had the killadar tried and hung. Intimidated by this example, no further resistance was offered; all the other forts ceded by the treaty were quietly taken possession of; and it was when returning from the performance of this duty, that Sir Thomas Hislop fell in with the Peishwa, who, not daring to fight, immediately, and at the quickest possible speed, retraced his steps.

The pursuers of the Peishwa, soon after

this retrograde movement, inclosed him on all sides; and his attempt again to enter Malwa being defeated by Sir John Malcolm, who was stationed at Mow, he sat down on the Nerbudda, about forty miles from that cantonment; and from thence, on the 27th of May, sent a messenger to the British camp, offering to treat,—though surrounded, and without any means of escape, still the conduct of the Peishwa was far from being frank and straightforward. He wanted delay—no doubt to have another chance of escape; and it was not till the 3rd of June that, finding all evasion and resistance alike vain, he went to Sir John Malcolm's camp, and, with his family, delivered himself up to that general. The treaty was concluded on the same day. By its terms, Bajee Rao renounced all sovereign power, accepting a pension instead. The town of Bithoor, on the right bank of the Ganges, twelve miles to the north-west of Cawnpoor, was fixed upon for his residence; he was permitted to retain all he had preserved of his treasures, and £100,000 was allotted to him as a yearly allowance. The extravagance of this allowance was disapproved of by the supreme government, and loudly condemned by all who knew anything of the circumstances. As, however, Sir John Malcolm had acted in pursuance of full powers with which he was entrusted, the governor-general ratified the treaty. The title of Peishwa was abolished by this treaty, which was quietly acquiesced in by the Mahrattas. The army which had remained with Bajee Rao quickly dispersed; and though Timbuckjee Danglia, who was with him to the last, tried to keep a force together, he could not succeed. That favourite of the ex-Peishwa's, anxious to keep out of the hands of the English, fled to Nassick, a large town in the collectorate of Ahmednuggur, and a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Brahmins. Concealed amongst the Hindoo fakirs and pilgrims, he remained there for some time; but he was at last captured by Captain Swanston, who had distinguished himself at Corygaum; and first confined in the fort of Tannah, and then on the rock of Chunar, near Benares. Here he was visited by Bishop Heber in September, 1824 in whose *Indian Journal* will be found an account of his mode of living, with a description of his abode, and his pleasant little garden. His treatment was too lenient. If the Bengal government were justified in confining him

at all, close imprisonment within the walls of a fortress was the only punishment fitting for his crimes.

Sir Thomas Munro had, as we have already stated, been placed in command of the districts ceded by the Peishwa under the treaty of June, 1817; and whilst the operations against the Pindarries and Mahrattas, Appa Sahib and Bajee Rao, were carrying on, he rendered good service to the company.

“If the reader will take the trouble to consult any good map of India, he will find a tract of country, extending from Dharwar on the north to Sillona on the south, and from about the latitude of Belgaum on the west, to that of Kolapore on the east, through which run important branches of the Kistna and the Geatburda, with many lesser and tributary streams that fall into them. This district belonged to various jageerdars or chieftains, who were as much attached to the Peishwa as Mahrattas ever are to an acknowledged head, but who seem to have agreed on one point, viz., in harbouring sentiments of bitter hostility to the English. The whole of this district Munro determined to reduce, and he succeeded. He began by arming the people of Dharwar and the villages dependent upon it, and putting them under the orders of his revenue officers. With these, and his handful of regular troops, he first marched upon a place called Nawilgoond, which, having been included in the surrender of Dharwar, was at once invested, and placed in great jeopardy by the enemy. He raised the siege without any difficulty, and contrived to strengthen himself by bringing in from the ceded districts a small battering train, and six more companies of infantry, through the avenues thereby opened. He then felt himself equal to wage an offensive war, and he entered upon it with equal vigour and address. Town after town, and castle after castle, fell before him. He fought more than one battle in the open field, particularly at Sholapore, where upwards of 11,000 good Asiatic troops sustained from him a terrible defeat; and, in the course of an incredibly short space of time, he made himself master of the whole district,”* which he organised most skilfully and successfully. Great part of the country came into his hands “by the most legitimate of all modes—the zealous and spirited efforts of the natives to place themselves under his

rule, and to enjoy the benefits of a government which, when administered by a man like him, is one of the best in the world.”† Promoted to the rank of major-general, Sir Thomas Munro, soon after peace was concluded, returned to England, his health being much impaired by his zealous attention to his duty; leaving India on the 24th of January, 1819.

The company was also well served in other quarters. The reserved division, under General Pritzler, besides skirmishes in the field, besieged and captured Singhur, Belgaum, and Sholapore. Singhur withstood a bombardment of ten days, its natural strength being great, from its situation among the Western Ghauts, with which it communicates, on the east and west, by long narrow ridges. The fort, upwards of two miles in circumference, and of a triangular shape, crowns an immense craggy precipice, and is defended by a strong stone wall and towers. When they invested this fort, the British had a good siege-train; and the garrison suffered so much from shot and shell, that it capitulated on the 1st of March. Belgaum, on the route from Dharwar to Kolapore, is not naturally so strong as Singhur, and is about 1,000 yards long by 700 broad, being surrounded by a broad and deep wet ditch, cut in very hard ground. The British force laid before this place twenty-one days, when the garrison, 1,600 in number, surrendered, having lost twenty killed and fifty wounded. The loss of the British was eleven killed and twelve wounded. Sholapore was the most strongly defended of the three forts. It stands at the eastern extremity of the collectorate of Sholapore, in the Bombay presidency. Its ground-plan is an oblong of a considerable area, with a wall and *fausse-braie* of substantial masonry, flanked by lofty round towers. When invested by General Pritzler, the number of guns in the fort amounted to thirty-seven, including eleven field guns; besides which there were thirty-nine wall-pieces. It was defended by 850 horse and 5,550 foot, stationed in the town, outside the fort; the garrison in the fort was estimated at 1,000 men. The town was taken by escalade; and the fort being breached, it surrendered in four days. There were detachments also actively employed under Lieutenant-colonel Macdowall and Lieutenant-colonel Adams, who reduced all the

† Letter from Sir John Malcolm to Mr. Secretary Adams.

* Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*.

Peishwa's fortresses in Khandeish—a rich province, which had declined greatly under Bajee Rao's administration, bands of organised robbers having occupied the country, and laid it waste in every direction. The most important of the fortresses in this district were Chandah, Malligaum, Trimbuk, and Raegurh. The last-named stands amidst the Northern Ghauts, and was regarded as one of the strongest fortresses in India, being deemed "as impregnable as Gibraltar." It was invested by a force under Colonel Prother, in April, and surrendered in fourteen days, after a bombardment, by which every building, except one granary, was reduced to ashes. In all, thirty hill-fortresses were captured in a few weeks by the three divisions of the British army, and that with very ineffective means, and a great deficiency both of men and of officers. Many of the latter were worn out and invalidated, and many died of fatigue.*

By the second Mahratta war, "the most powerful and martial dynasty of India was annihilated. Little more than half a century had passed since 200,000 Mahrattas fought on the plains of Paniput; but their empire was now dissolved, and the conquests of fifty years were ratified on the banks of the Nerbudda."† By the treaty there concluded, 50,000 square miles of territory, with 4,000,000 inhabitants, were added to the British dominions;‡ most important cessions had also been made by Scindia and Holkar; and "nothing remained between the Indus and the capital of Bengal, except small states, either attached to the English, or too weak to raise a standard against them."§ The greatest attention was paid to the improvement of the ceded districts by Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Mr. Elphinstone; the latter continued as commissioner at Poonah, till, in October, 1819, he was appointed to succeed Sir Evan Nepean as governor of Bombay; and then the districts over which he had so judiciously presided were not deprived of the benefits of his administration, as they were annexed to the Bombay presidency. In dealing with these ceded countries, the rights of property were respected, and interfered with as little as possible, and the administration of the law was retained pretty much in the Mahratta form; great strictness, however, being

introduced into the native criminal courts, where an organised system of plunder and corruption was found to exist. The changes it was considered necessary to introduce were all acquiesced in with great readiness; as were the improvements in the old dominions of the company, which the Marquis of Hastings sanctioned or originated, except in Bareilly, in Rohilcund, a district ceded to the British government in 1801. A police tax imposed there was not only unpopular in itself, but the Mohammedan inhabitants were very averse to the manner in which it was levied. Discontent arose, which was greatly increased by the conduct of the *cutwab*, or native head of the police. Tumultuous meetings were held at Bareilly; and no notice being taken of an address against the tax, it led to an insurrection, which came to its height, under a mistaken impression that the mufti, who sided with the people against the magistrate, was to be arrested and sent from the town. Under this impression the mufti took refuge in a mosque, and caused the green flag of Mohammed to be hoisted from the minaret, as a signal that he required protection. The demonstration thus made led Captain Boscawen, with two companies of sepoy and two guns, to take post close to the mosque, where he was attacked by the mob, under an idea that he was about to arrest the priest. The fighting was desperate; it continued for several hours, and the insurgents were not repulsed till they had lost 2,000 in killed and wounded. Numerous parties were apprehended, tried, and acquitted (with one exception, and that individual was pardoned) for want of evidence. Many of the principal instigators of the movement, however, left the town; and a general amnesty being proclaimed to the inhabitants, tranquillity was restored.

‡ In March, 1819, the Marquis of Hastings was obliged to send a division of troops to Cutch, a state under British protection; with whose rajah, Barmaljee, a treaty had been concluded in 1816, for limiting the employment of Arab mercenaries, for the receipt of military aid from the British government, and for other purposes. Violations of this treaty, and other misconduct, rendered it necessary that the rajah should be deposed; and his infant son, Rao Desal, was nominated to succeed him. Resistance

* Thornton; and Lake's *Journal of the Sieges of the Madras Army*.

† Horace St. John's *British Conquests in India*.

‡ Wilson's *British India*.

§ Lord Hastings' *Reply to an Address from Calcutta*, in 1818.

was made to this arrangement, chiefly at the instigation of the Ameers of Scinde, who had themselves designs upon the principality. The gates of Cutch were closed against the British troops; but on the 26th of March, the walls were escaladed, and the town taken. The young rajah was recognised by the Ameers, with whom a treaty was concluded, and tranquillity restored.—In September of the same year, an expedition under Sir W. Kerr was sent to Ras-ul-Khaimas, in Arabia, where a political agent resided; the tribe of Beni-bu-Ali having thrown off their allegiance to the Imaum of Muscat, an ally of the company, and commenced piracy. This tribe was attacked by six companies of sepoys, with six guns, and 1,000 of the Imaum's troops. The Arabs only numbered 600; but they fought so desperately, that 400 sepoys were killed, with six British officers; and the Imaum himself was wounded. A stronger expedition was then sent, under Sir Lionel Smith, by whom the tribe was nearly annihilated. Some prisoners were carried captives to Bombay, where they were kept for two years, and then permitted to return to their homes.—An expedition had also to be sent to Mocha. An agent resided in that town, for the regulation and superintendence of British commerce in the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. The governor took some dislike to him, and he was assaulted, beaten, and his residence and the British factory pillaged. As redress was refused, an armament was sent in 1820, under the command of Captain Locke, of the *Eden*, by which the town was bombarded, and nearly reduced to ashes. The governor, who had authorised the assault on the resident, was surrendered to Captain Locke, and not released till he gave promises of future good behaviour. The Imaum of Senna, who was the chief of the district, entered into various stipulations with the British for the protection of merchants, and also of the person of the resident. During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, the islands in

the Indian Ocean, conquered from the Dutch, were given up to that power, in compliance with the conditions of the treaty of Vienna; but Sir Stamford Raffles founded the colony of Singapore, which since has been found such a valuable auxiliary in promoting British commerce in those seas.

Whilst the noble marquis presided at Calcutta, the first episcopacy was founded in the British dominions in the East. In 1814, the bishopric of Calcutta was created, and Dr. Middleton appointed the first bishop. The diocese embraced all India; and the right reverend prelate actively employed himself in organising the clergy, and in making provision for building churches. He also founded the Bishops' College in Calcutta, which was not completed at his death, on the 8th of July, 1822.

The Marquis of Hastings, his health being greatly impaired, laid down his power as governor-general at the close of the year, and in January, 1823, sailed for England. Few governor-generals have done more than the noble marquis effected to consolidate the British power in India, and improve its tenure. The territory of the company was greatly increased, and the revenues augmented from £17,228,000 (the amount in 1813), to £23,120,000, which they produced in 1823. The necessities of the times unfortunately increased the expenditure in a greater proportion; the excess of that of 1823 over 1813 being £9,770,000, and the debt was increased by the sum of £2,800,000. The noble marquis was not responsible for this increase of expenditure and debt; though much of the improvement witnessed in India during the ten years he resided there may be justly attributed to him. By his just and equitable administration he acquired general esteem; he was equally beloved and respected by Europeans and natives; and great regret was expressed by both when he took his departure for his native land.*

* The East India Company voted the noble marquis £60,000 at the close of the Mahratta war; but they refused to grant him an annuity of £5,000, which was proposed on his return to England. Appointed governor of Malta in 1824, his health further

declined; and he died on board the *Revenge*, in the Bay of Baia, on his way to Naples, Nov. 29th, 1825. In August, 1826, the East India Company invested £20,000 in the hands of trustees, to be paid to his successor, then a minor, on his attaining his majority

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AD INTERIM ADMINISTRATION OF MR. ADAMS; TREATY WITH THE DUTCH; PECUNIARY AFFAIRS OF THE NIZAM; CAUSES OF QUARREL WITH THE BURMESE; ARRIVAL OF LORD AMHERST; AGGRESSIONS OF THE BURMESE; DECLARATION OF WAR; THE EXPEDITION SAILS FROM THE ANDAMAN ISLES; CAPTURE OF RANGOON; SICKNESS AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE TROOPS; THE BURMESE MODE OF FIGHTING; FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE BURMESE; STORMING OF THE BLOCKADE AT KEMMENDINE; ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF A FORTIFIED CAMP AT KUMMEROOT; EXPEDITION TO TENASSERIM; THE KING'S BROTHERS JOIN THE ARMY; ROUT OF THE BURMESE; MAHA BANDOOLA IN ARRACAN; HIS SUCCESS AT RAMOO; HE IS SENT TO PEGU; COLONEL SMITH FAILS AT KYKLOO; MUTINY AT BARRACKPORE; REPEATED DISCOMFITURES OF THE BURMESE; RANGOON ON FIRE; VICTORY OF KOKIEN; ADVANCE UPON PROME; FAILURE OF AN ATTACK UPON DONABUE; ITS CAPTURE; DEATH OF BANDOOLA; CAPTURE OF PROME; OPERATIONS IN ASSAM, ARRACAN, AND CACHAR; VICTORIES OF SIMBIKE AND NAPADEE; ADVANCE ON MELOWN; NEGOTIATIONS AND TRUCE; DEFEAT OF COLONEL CONROY IN PEGU; HOSTILITIES RENEWED BY THE PRINCE OF DARKNESS; HIS DEFEAT; SUBMISSION OF THE KING, AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE; RETURN OF THE ARMY.

WHEN the Marquis of Hastings quitted India, he resigned his office into the hands of Mr. John Adams, the senior member of the council, who administered the affairs of the presidencies for something more than five months. During that time he was involved in differences with the Dutch, the Nizam, and the Burmese—all legacies left him by his predecessor. The differences with the Dutch arose out of the colonisation of Singapore by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles—a step which the government at the Hague opposed, as it interfered with that monopoly of the traffic of the Spice Islands, and other parts of the Indian archipelago, which the people of the Netherlands wished to preserve for themselves. This question was not settled whilst Mr. Adams remained at the head of affairs; but the somewhat protracted negotiations closed in 1824, by a treaty between Great Britain and Holland. By the terms of that document the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to the British government; the East India Company giving up, in exchange, Bencoolen, and whatever rights it might be entitled to in Sumatra.—The differences with the Nizam were the result of his pecuniary difficulties. He had borrowed large sums of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., who, in 1811, had established themselves as merchants and bankers at Hyderabad. The transactions of this house were opposed to the regulations laid down by the court of directors; and also contrary to an act of parliament, passed in 1797, by which all pecuniary transactions with native princes were declared illegal unless sanctioned by

the supreme council in India, or the directors at home. The Messrs. Palmer were, however, supported by the Marquis of Hastings, who, just before he left India, confirmed, by his casting vote in the council, an arrangement by which—a new loan of sixty lacs of rupees being advanced to the Nizam—a portion of his revenues were assigned to one of the partners, Mr. W. Palmer, as a security for the principal and interest advanced; Mr. Palmer appointing his own collectors. It was contended that this loan was fictitious; that, by the arrangement, all the demands—many of them old and disputed, and very questionable—were capitalised, together with the highly usurious interest; and that the whole transaction was illegal, and could not be sustained. Mr. Adams had uniformly condemned the sanction accorded to Palmer's proceedings, and, as soon as he was installed in office (the Nizam's affairs being brought before him), he ordered the agreement with that chief to be set aside as fraudulent and usurious, and directed the assigned revenues to be restored. The house of Palmer and Co. was ruined by this step of the governor-general, which caused an angry litigation, that continued for twenty years; and, of course, then ended by dissatisfying most of those who were parties to it.

With Burmah we had disputes and differences of long standing. The Burmese empire was founded, or, at all events, greatly extended, by a chief named Alompra, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the first considerable accession of territory being the kingdom of Pegu. Arracan was added in 1783; about 1793 the coast of Tenasserim was obtained from the Siamese;

and subsequently the domains of the king of Burmah were further extended by the annexation of Manneepore, Assam, and Cachar. The acquisition of the two last-named provinces and Arracan brought the Burmese to our north-eastern frontier; and collisions could scarcely be avoided. The first violation of British territory by the Burmese, took place during the government of Sir John Shore, when an armed force, under a Burmese general, entered the province of Chittagong, in pursuit of three criminals who had taken shelter there. Satisfactory explanations were given; but fresh differences soon sprung up out of a similar cause. The Mughs were a class of people, by some termed "robbers," by others "an agricultural race," settled in Arracan, who were subjected to great oppression and tyranny by the Burmese. In 1797 and 1798 immense numbers of these Mughs migrated into Chittagong. Not less than 10,000 crossed the frontier early in the latter year; and they were shortly after followed by another body still more numerous. In the first instance, a Burmese force was sent in pursuit; and a detachment, under General Erskine, marched into Chittagong to expel the intruders. Explanations taking place between the two commanders, the Burmese troops were withdrawn; and some of the fugitives were secured by the British authorities, and being found guilty of robbery, &c., they were delivered over to the Burmese—an act which the latter attributed to timidity.* The position of these emigrants was very pitiable. They preferred death at the hands of the English, they said, to returning to Arracan; and as, in the English territories, they committed no offences, but sustained life as best they could, even on "reptiles and leaves," the government at last appropriated to them some waste land in the province of Chittagong, and there nearly 40,000 Mughs, fugitives from Arracan, congregated and thrived. Repeated demands were made on the British to expel these people, and several missions were sent from Calcutta to Ava on the subject; "but in each instance the British representative experienced humiliating neglect, and no beneficial results ensued."† At length, in 1811, a chief of these Mughs, named Khyen-bran, collected a large body of men, at whose head he invaded Arracan, with the intention of expelling the Burmese. For a brief

space he was successful in his attacks upon the forces of that people; but they soon rallied in considerable numbers; Khyen-bran was in his turn defeated, and returning to Chittagong, the Burmese again entered the British territory in pursuit. The king of Ava professed to believe that these violations of his territory were made with the consent of, if they were not instigated and supported by, the British. To assert our good faith, Captain Canning was sent on a fresh mission to Ava, to give every explanation as to the shelter afforded to the fugitives. This embassy did not proceed further than Rangoon: it was insulted on its entire route; and on reaching that city the authorities offered the envoy and his companions such contumelious treatment, that they returned to Calcutta. Khyen-bran died in 1815; and the British authorities exerted themselves to prevent the immigrants from passing over the frontiers, threatening to give up those who violated the Burmese territories. The Burmese government, however, still demanded the expulsion of the entire body; and, in April, 1816, the rajah of Ramree, who was governor of the Burmese frontier provinces, sent a letter to the British authorities on the subject; an extract of which, as exemplifying the style of Eastern correspondence, we subjoin. After demanding the surrender of the Mughs, the document thus proceeded:—

"The English government does not try to preserve friendship. You seek for a state of affairs like fire and gunpowder. The Mughs of Arracan are the slaves of the king of Ava. The English government has assisted the Mugh of our four provinces, and has given them a residence. There will be a quarrel between us and you, like fire. Formerly the government of Arracan demanded the Mughs from the British government, which promised to restore them, but at length did not do so. Again the Mughs escaped from your hands, came and despoiled the four provinces, and went and received protection in your country. If at this time you do not restore them according to this demand, or make delays in doing so, the friendship now existing between us will be broken."

These differences continued for several years; the British government preventing the Mughs from invading Arracan, but refusing to give them up, because to do so would be a violation of those principles of justice on which that government invariably acted. The attempts to repress the predatory invasions were not, however, entirely successful; and it is not to be wondered at, that the Burmese authorities were annoyed.

* Thornton.

† *Ibid.*

In 1818, they took very high ground. In that year, a letter was communicated to Mr. Pechell, the magistrate at Chittagong, which, he was told, was written under the direct authority of the young king of Ava. In that document a direct claim was made to several provinces of the British dominions, as follows :—

“The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, Moorshedabad and Cozimbar, do not belong to India—those countries are ours. The British government is faithless; this was not formerly the case. It is not your right to receive the revenues of these countries; it is proper that you should pay the revenue of these countries over to us; if you do not pay it, we will destroy your country.”

This communication was delivered about the time when the British arms had gained decisive advantages over the Mahrattas, with whom the king of Ava had been in correspondence, urging them to expel the British from India, and when the Burmese themselves had been worsted in a contest with the Siamese. The Marquis of Hastings, in his answer, treated the arrogant and unfounded demand as an unauthorised act on the part of the rajah of Ramree, and trusted that such an unwarrantable proceeding would receive the punishment it merited. “By this procedure,” said his lordship, “I evaded the necessity of noticing an insolent step, foreseeing that his Burmese majesty would be thoroughly glad of an excuse to remain quiet, when he learnt that his secret allies had been subdued.”* But the Burmese were not so easily satisfied. Having extended their possessions in Assam, and thus come in contact with another portion of the British possessions, several acts of aggression on villages situated in that quarter were committed. Encroachments were also made on the frontiers of Chittagong; jungles, frequented by British elephant-hunters, were claimed as Burmese territory; many of the hunters were detained on the pretence that they were trespassing upon that territory; and a Mugh boat proceeding to the island of Shahpooree, laden with rice, was assaulted, and the crew killed.

This was the state of affairs when, in June, 1823, Lord Amherst arrived at Calcutta as governor-general, and Mr. Adams resigned the office which he had temporarily held.† The noble baron was the son of Lieutenant-general William Amherst, and

* Despatch to the Court of Directors.

† Mr. Adams continued in India till June, 1825,

had succeeded to the barony of Amherst, on the death of his uncle, the first baron, who had rendered distinguished services during the American war, for which he was elevated to the peerage, with remainder to his nephew, he having no children. His lordship had been ambassador to China, and knew something of the East; and—Mr. Canning having been first nominated governor-general, but resigning that appointment on the death of the Marquis of Londonderry opening out to him a brilliant career in England—the choice had lain between the noble lord and Lord William Bentinck, who had been recalled from Madras in 1807. Ministerial influence caused the decision to be made in favour of the former, who arrived at Calcutta when India was apparently in a state of tranquillity. The extensive provinces which had been subdued by our arms, or acquired by negotiation, submitted quietly to their new masters; the Mahrattas were quelled, the Pindarries extinguished; and, for some time, the troops had been unemployed, except on services arising out of disputes with the zemindars, or some trifling outrage by a band of petty marauders—services rather resembling those of the police, than of the military. There were symptoms of war, however, on the Burmah horizon, and hostilities soon broke out.

The island of Shahpooree lies at the entrance of the Tek Naaf, an arm of the sea, dividing Chittagong from Arracan. It is little more than a sand-bank, and at that time only afforded pasturage for a few cattle. A guard of thirteen men was stationed there, rather with a view of checking the predatory excursions of the Mughs into Arracan, than for any other purpose. One night, in September, 1823, about 1,000 Burmese landed on this island; killed three of the guard, wounded four, drove the rest off, and took possession of the place for the king of Ava. On an explanation being demanded from the governor of Arracan, the reply was, that the island belonged to the “fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth;” and that if his claim were not admitted, the British territories would be invaded. This threat was soon followed by a Burmese force of 4,000 or 5,000 men crossing the frontier of Cachar, and entering the British province of Silhet, where they took up a position close to the

when he embarked for England, and died on his passage.

chief town, and only 260 miles to the north-east of Calcutta. The Burmese commander called upon the rajah of Jyntee, a district of Eastern India, situate in the Cossya hills, to join him in active hostilities against the British; but the rajah had no wish to see the Burmese such near neighbours, and he appealed to the British government for protection; as did various other native chiefs, whose territories lay between those of the East India Company and the dominions of the king of Ava.

When the Burmese invaded Silhet, Major Newton was in command of a small force on the frontier; but it was not till January, 1824, that he appears to have taken any active measures against them. On the 17th of that month he attacked one division of the invading army, which had taken possession of a village, and defended its position with stockades. The Burmese were driven from the village with the greatest ease: they made a more determined stand behind the stockades, but were obliged to desert them also, having lost about 100 men. The loss on the side of the British was only six sepoy killed. The Burmese fled to the hills; and Major Newton did not pursue them, but returned to Silhet. The Burmese followed; reoccupied the district from which they had fled, and stockaded their positions most formidably. Another division, 2,000 strong, collected in their rear, and pushed their stockades on the north bank of the river Surma, to within less than a mile of the British fort of Bhadrapore. Captain Johnstone, who commanded the small force stationed there, attacked the enemy before they had finished their works of defence; and, on the 13th of February, drove them, at the point of the bayonet, beyond the Surma. On the 14th, Lieutenant-colonel Bowen arrived and took the command. He pursued the Burmese, who fled before the British, and would not stand to come within reach of the bayonet a second time. Returning from the pursuit, the colonel found another division of the enemy strongly posted at Doodpattee. Their position was defended by two stockades of a most formidable nature; the rear was protected by steep hills, the front by the Surma; and in the face of the intrenchment was a deep ditch, fourteen feet wide, with a strong fence of spiked bamboos.

* The names of the kings of Burmah are not known till after they are dead. But, amongst other titles, they are styled "King of the White Elephants," and

The approach to this post was through jungle and high grass; and the British made their way gallantly over every obstacle, being only stopped by the ditch. As soon as they reached that spot a heavy fire was opened upon them; they could not advance, and would not retreat till Lieutenant Armstrong was killed, four other officers wounded, and 150 sepoy put *hors de combat*. Then Lieutenant-colonel Bowen thought it right to give the order to retire, and the force fell back to Jatrapore. On the 27th of February Colonel Innes arrived, with four guns and a battalion of fresh troops; but on their advance, the Burmese retreated before them till they had crossed the eastern frontier of Cachar, and there was no more fighting at that time.

Whilst the Burmese were endeavouring to obtain a footing in Silhet, Major Scott, the British commissioner, arrived and proceeded to Bhadrapore, for the purpose of communicating with the Burmese commander. In a message addressed to the commissioner, the latter justified his advance, from the orders he had received to follow and apprehend certain persons wherever he might find them. He was told, in reply, that he must not cross the Burmese frontiers and invade the possessions of the company; if he did, the British force would not be content with expelling them, but would follow them into Cachar and Assam. No reply was received to this communication.—The encroachments of the Burmese being also reported at Calcutta, Lord Amherst gave orders, early in the year, for the equipment of a force of from five to six thousand men, at the presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George: and, after the delay of a few weeks, finding that the Burmese were continuing their hostile movements, his lordship determined upon active war. He announced his determination in a manifesto, in which the Burmese were declared to be enemies; and British subjects, whether European or native, were prohibited from holding intercourse with them.—A curious document emanated from Ava in reply. By it the Burmese were told that the governors of the provinces on the Burmese frontier were invested with full power to act; and it was ordered, that "no further communication should be made to the 'Golden Feet'* till everything had been

"Lord of the Seas and Earth;" whilst the "golden car" is addressed, petitions are laid before the "golden feet," and supplicants go into the "golden presence-

“settled,” and the reign of the barbarians put to an end. Thus war was really commenced between the two powers, whose aspect towards each other had so long been threatening; and on the part of the Burmese it appears to have been ardently wished for. “From the king to the beggar they were all hot for a war with the English.”* The latter entered upon it quite unprepared. In many respects, the position of the army destined to invade Burmah resembled that of the forces which, thirty years later, were sent into the Crimea. “Want of information, and alarm, prevailed at Calcutta respecting the Burmese country. Nothing was known of the geographical aspect of the land, of its military resources, its capability of furnishing provisions, or the nature and amount of its population.”† The military and civil authorities were alike ignorant of the best means of access, and this ignorance caused the unnecessary expenditure of many thousand pounds; and, what was of more consequence, the loss of many lives that might have been saved.

As soon as the government determined upon active measures, no time was lost in carrying them out. The two divisions that had been ordered to be equipped were directed to rendezvous at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andaman island. Major-general Sir Alexander Campbell was to take the command; and they were to proceed to Rangoon, the principal port of Pegu, and then the chief place of trade in the Burman empire. Between the 12th and 17th of April, the Bengal division assembled at Calcutta, and, before the end of the month, arrived at the destined rendezvous.‡ It consisted of his majesty’s 13th and 38th regiments, and two companies of artillery. On the 4th of May it was joined by the greater part of the troops from Madras, viz., his majesty’s 41st regiment, one of the company’s European regiments, and several battalions of native infantry. Orders were immediately given that the fleet should sail the following morning; and two detachments, under Brigadier M’Creah and Major Wahab, were dispatched—the first to take possession of the island of Cheduba, on the west coast of Arracan; and the second to

capture the island of Negrals at the mouth of the Negrals, or Bassein river, one of the mouths of the Irawaddy: both these minor expeditions were successful.

There was no delay in the sailing of the main expedition. Early on the 5th, at a signal from the flag-ship, the fleet weighed anchor; and, on the 10th, it was safely moored within the bar of Rangoon river. It consisted of the *Liffy*, Commodore Grant; the *Larne*, Captain Marryatt; and the *Sophia*, Captain Rives—royal vessels; several of the company’s cruisers, and a steam-vessel, the *Diana*, which was the first time a vessel of that description was used for the purposes of war. Such an arrival at Rangoon seems to have been wholly unexpected by the court of Ava. Indeed, the idea of an expedition proceeding there was ridiculed; and when it was hinted to the king, by a *détenué* at Ava, that such a thing was likely to occur, his majesty laughed, and replied, “As to Rangoon, I will take such measures as will prevent the English from even disturbing the women of the town in cooking their rice.” That town—built by Alompra in 1753, and called Rangoon, or the City of Victory, in reference to his recent conquest of Pegu—stands on the eastern branch of the Irawaddy, a fine river, which, rising at the eastern extremity of the snowy range of the Himalaya mountains, runs to the south, traversing the heart of the Burmese territories, and separating them into two nearly equal divisions. At the southern frontier of Burmah it crosses into Pegu, and reaches the coast, after having diverged into two branches; one, the more easterly, designated the Rangoon or Siriam river, from those two cities which are built upon its banks, falls into the Gulf of Martaban; the other, the Bassein river, discharges itself into the Bay of Bengal. Rangoon is about twenty-five miles from the sea: in 1824 it stretched along the banks of the river in the form of a parallelogram; the houses, with the exception of some public buildings, being of wood and bamboo, raised on piles, and thatched. There were Armenian and Portuguese churches; and on two roads which extended from the town to the chief pagoda, were numerous smaller pagodas, built by in-

* See deposition of John Laird, in Wilson’s *Documents Illustrative of the War*.

† Taylor’s *India*.

‡ The Andamans are a group of densely-wooded islands, in the Bay of Bengal, between 10° and 13° N. lat. The settlement of Port Cornwallis, on Great

Andaman, was made in 1793, but abandoned in 1796; it was fixed upon as the rendezvous for the Calcutta and Madras divisions, on account of its convenient position. In 1858 a penal colony of convicted Sepoy rebels was established on the South island.

dividuals, and varying in size and richness according to their wealth or zeal.

The inhabitants were soon aware of the near approach of a hostile fleet, its arrival being "announced by numerous beacons, quickly prepared at the different guard and custom-houses at the mouth of the river, and in the course of the night repeated, by blazing fires, in every part of the surrounding country. It was, therefore, most desirable that no time should be lost in appearing before the town, which, it was sanguinely hoped, would, by accepting of the protection of the British, at once place at their disposal the resources of the country in cattle, boats, drivers, and boatmen, with which they were totally unprepared. In boats, especially, Rangoon was known to be well supplied; and it was, by many, anticipated that, should the king of Ava, upon the capture of his chief commercial city, still refuse to make atonement for his wanton and unprovoked aggressions, the city would afford the means of pushing up the river a force sufficient to subdue the capital, and bring the war at once to a conclusion."* None of these anticipations were fated to be realised, although proclamations, conveying assurances of protection, were sent ashore directly after the fleet's arrival in the Rangoon river; and the landing was put off till the next day to test their effect.

In taking possession of the town, however, the troops met with little difficulty. The inhabitants, on the news of the fleet's arrival, were ordered by the governor to be assembled together, and they were all driven, by his officers and slaves, into the inmost recesses of the jungle, according to the "invariably adopted system of the Burman government. The men, in such cases, are organised into levies or corps; and the unfortunate women and children strictly guarded, as pledges for the good conduct of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, whose desertion or misconduct in the field, is punished by the barbarous sacrifice of their nearest female relatives."† Some troops remained at the batteries in the town; and there were also a few men in the *chokies*, or guard-houses, on the banks of the river; from whence, as the fleet sailed towards Rangoon on the morning of the 11th, a

few shots, which fell quite harmless, were fired. These discharges were the only impediments offered to the progress of the vessels; "although, from the intricate navigation, and narrow channels through which they had to steer, every ship, successively, passed within a few feet of a thickly-wooded shore, where a few expert marksmen might, with perfect safety, have committed the greatest havoc upon the crowded decks."‡ It was twelve o'clock when the *Liffy* anchored close to the principal battery, at the King's wharf, the other vessels following successively in her rear. At first all was silence, there being a great unwillingness on board his majesty's ships to fire on what they supposed to be an unarmed and defenceless population, and the batteries remaining mute. At length a very feeble fire was opened by the batteries, which was immediately returned by the *Liffy*, and after a few broadsides, all the gunners fled, and the troops were landed to take possession of a deserted town.

And now the difficulties of the expedition commenced. Expecting to capture a town where they would find everything, the fleet had sailed from Calcutta and Madras very scantily supplied with provisions, and without any adequate mode of conveyance either by land or water. But Rangoon was found not only deserted by the inhabitants, but despoiled of everything which could be useful to the invaders; and all the buildings except one—called the Shwe-da-gon, or Golden Dagon Pagoda, which stood on the summit of an abruptly rising eminence, about two miles and a-half from Rangoon—were in ruins. Disease also prevailed extensively among the troops; and the prospect before them was anything but pleasant or bright. Instead of being joined by the people of the country, they found themselves deserted; whilst they were unprovided with the means of advance, and the rainy monsoon was fast setting in. All that appeared practicable for the time was, therefore, to take up their residence in the miserable and dirty hovels of Rangoon, trusting to the transports for provisions—adding such partial supplies as the foraging parties might from time to time be able to procure.

On landing, a part of the troops were pushed forward in advance of the town; and, on the morning of the 12th, the advanced patrols of this detachment found, in two houses near the great pagoda, the Bri

* *Narrative of the Burmese War*, by Major Snodgrass, military secretary to the commander of the expedition, and assistant political agent at Ava.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

tish merchants and American missionaries who were at Rangoon when the fleet appeared in the river. As soon as the alarm was given, all the foreigners were seized, strongly ironed, and lodged in the custom-house. They were subsequently taken to the hall of justice, and harshly interrogated, as it was supposed they were privy to the invasion. It was in vain they urged their innocence; their death was resolved upon, and they were taken back to the custom-house to await it. Though their guards "took a savage pleasure," we are told, "in parading and sharpening the instruments of execution before their eyes," no actual injury was offered them beyond their imprisonment; and a 32lb. shot from the *Liffy* falling into the custom-house, caused all to leave it. The prisoners were taken a few miles into the country, when the guard, alarmed for their own safety, left them in the houses where the British troops met with them, and made off into the interior. The prisoners rejoiced in their recovered liberty; and the information they were enabled to give Major-general Campbell and his officers was of great use to them.

The invaders soon ascertained what was the Burmese plan of defence. The troops of the king of Ava were not very much inclined to come to close quarters with their enemies at any time. Like the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, they preferred getting behind stockades, or wooden barricades, concealed by a leafy screen, which they raised rapidly and ably, rendering them most formidable in point of strength; and they defended them with great perseverance. The province of Rangoon, or Henzawaddy (as it was called by the natives), was well adapted for their irregular mode of warfare. With the exception of a few considerable plains, or rice-grounds, it was covered with a thick jungle, with no roads, but numerous creeks and rivers, which were great impediments to a strange army. There were foot-paths through the woods, totally inapplicable, without great labour, for military purposes, and they were impassable in the rainy seasons. They appear also to have been unknown to the inhabitants generally: a tribe called the Cariaus seem alone to have been familiar with them—a wretched race, who were considered as slaves of the soil, were exempt from military service, and lived in huts as miserable as themselves, being heavily taxed and oppressed. Within this province—laid waste by the orders of

the authorities—it was the object of the Burmese generals to confine the invaders, and to interrupt all communication with the interior. It appeared to be especially their wish to prevent any interchange of messengers with Ava, so that no intercourse or negotiation might be opened with the king. The Burmese troops—regular and irregulars—speedily formed a cordon round the British cantonments, "capable, indeed, of being forced on every point, but possessing, in a remarkable degree, all the qualities necessary for harassing and wearing out in fruitless exertions the strength and energies of European or Indian troops. Hid from view on every side in the darkness of a deep, and, to regular bodies, an impenetrable forest, far beyond which the inhabitants and the cattle of the Rangoon district had been driven, the Burmese chiefs carried on their operations, and matured their future schemes, with vigilance, secrecy, and activity. Neither rumour nor intelligence of what was passing within their posts reached the British cantonments: beyond the invisible line which circumscribed their position, all was mystery or vague conjecture."*

The Burmese—when the war with the English, which they took every means to provoke, broke out—had expected that the military operations would commence on the side of Chittagong, and they had set on foot preparations for invading that province. As soon as it was found that the attack was to be made in an opposite direction, no time was lost in accumulating a force to resist it. Every village, within 300 miles of Rangoon, was ordered to send its contingent to the royal army in that province; and the Irawaddy, very soon after the arrival of the British, was covered with innumerable boats, conveying men eager to meet the enemy, to the grand rendezvous in Henzawaddy. The command of the army collected there was given to Sykia Wongee, one of the Burmese chief ministers of state, whose orders were to "drive the British into the sea"—orders much more easily given than executed; as other monarchs besides him of Burmah have found to their cost. However, there was no backwardness amongst the Burmese troops in attempting to execute the commands of their sovereign; and, by the 28th of May, they had pushed their stockades within musket-shot of the British cantonments. Sir Archibald Campbell then

* Major Snodgrass.

thought it time to interfere, and teach the enemy that they would not be permitted to come so near his lines with impunity. On the morning of the 28th he went out, with four companies of Europeans from the 13th and 38th regiments, two field-pieces, and 400 native infantry, to reconnoitre. A few minutes' march brought the advanced guard up to the first stockade, which was erected across the pathway by which the troops were marching, with its flanks thrown back into the jungle on each side. This work was unfinished: after firing a few shots, the Burmese stationed behind it retired into the wood. The British continued to advance by a path which hardly admitted of two men marching abreast. They saw, at every opening of the jungle, unfinished stockades, which were hastily abandoned as they approached; and at the end of about five miles they came to a rice-field, intersected by a morass and rivulet, and crossed by a narrow wooden bridge. That bridge the enemy attempted to defend, but were soon driven away by the fire of two field-pieces. When the reconnoitring party had reached this spot, the rain began to fall in torrents; and, as the guns could not be taken any further, they were left in charge of the native infantry, while the Europeans proceeded onwards; Sir A. Campbell being determined to reach a plain called Joazoang, which, he was informed, laid beyond the jungle, and where he was also told that numbers of the women and children of the inhabitants of Rangoon were kept. If these could be liberated, Sir Archibald anticipated, that their male relatives, who had been compelled to join the Burmese army, would desert. The British soldiers pushed on with great cheerfulness, though they were sometimes knee-deep in water; and at length came upon the plain, on a narrow gorge of which, flanked by the jungle on either hand, stood two villages, called Yang-hoo and Joazoang; and behind them rose a cloud of smoke, as if a cooking process was going on. The troops pushed on for these villages, expecting to find there a number of women and children, and came, instead, upon a numerous body of the enemy, whose officers appeared busily forming them for the defence of the gorge. There appeared to be from 4,000 to 5,000 men, and the British advanced upon them, in *échelon* of companies. The villages were defended by two stockades; and the defenders, secure, as they supposed, in their numbers and

position, shouted, "*Laghee!*" "*Laghee!*" (come! come!) The cries were accompanied with heavy discharges of musketry, to which the British (their muskets being nearly all rendered temporarily useless from the rain) could, at first, make little return. They therefore closed with their opponents. The right company being ordered to hold the line on the plain in check, the other three rushed on, with irresistible impetuosity, to the works in front, which were not above eight feet high. They soon forced their way into the interior, where the numbers of the enemy proved their ruin. The conflict was fierce and sanguinary. The enemy, unable to escape from the only narrow ways of egress, became an unmanageable mass, who were exposed to the bayonets of the British, besides occasional discharges of musketry poured in amongst them, as the assailants got rid of the water from their weapons. Still they fought desperately, neither asking nor giving quarter; whilst there was a considerable force on the plain, which did not come to their assistance—either trusting with too much confidence to the ability of the occupants to defend the stockades, or believing that the British had a larger force in reserve, masked by the jungle in their rear. As soon, however, as the Europeans were seen in possession of the works, the whole line, with a horrid yell, began to move towards them; but they were first checked by the right company left on the plain; and then the three which had carried the stockades moved rapidly forward, and formed to receive their new opponents. This arrested the latter in their career. They desisted from attack; and, as day was closing, the British marched slowly back to their cantonments, leaving 400 of the enemy dead on the field.*

The main body of the enemy, after this affair, took post at Kemmendine, a village on the river, three miles above Rangoon; where they laboured incessantly, day and night, to render their position impervious to assault. Sir Archibald Campbell, as soon as he discovered what the enemy were doing, organised arrangements for attacking the fort; but before the attack took place, the Burmese made an effort to negotiate. On the morning of the 9th of June, a communication was received by the British general, asking him to grant passports to two men of rank, who were desirous of conferring with him. The passports were

* Abridged from Major Snodgrass's *Narrative*.

granted, and the messengers arrived. They appeared perfectly at their ease, sat down with the familiarity of old friends, and the oldest of the two began the conference with the question, "Why are you come here with ships and soldiers?" The cause of the war, and the redress that was demanded, were explained to them; and the ill consequences which must result from the conduct pursued by the generals, in preventing all communication with the court, were pointed out. The messengers professed much as to the good faith, sincerity, and friendly disposition of the court of Ava, and of their own love of peace; but they could neither promise to remove the barrier which prevented intercourse with Ava, nor offer terms themselves. Their object was evidently to gain time, no doubt to enable the troops to complete their defences; and they strongly entreated for a few days' delay, that they might confer with an officer of high rank, who was stationed further up the river. This was refused; and they were informed, "that the war would be vigorously prosecuted, until the king of Ava thought proper to send officers with full authority to enter upon a treaty with British commissioners." They then took their departure—as they arrived—by water; their boatmen singing in chorus, as they rowed, "Oh, what a happy king have we!"

The next day Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to attack Kemmendine. This village was a war-boat station, and chiefly inhabited by the king's war-boat men.* The road to it, from Rangoon, ran parallel to, and at no great distance from, the river, from which it was divided by rice-grounds; and, on the other side, was a dense and impassable forest. The village had also a thick forest in the rear, and the heights in front were strongly stockaded. The road ascends a sloping hill, about a mile and a-half from the town, and there the head of the advancing column was received with a smart fire from a stockade, which was chiefly concealed by the jungle; and the only visible part, about twelve or fourteen feet high, was protected by an *abatis*, a railing, and a palisade, driven into the ground diagonally. Two 18-pounders were brought against this stockade, and a breach was soon effected,

* Every town on the Irawaddy, according to its size, was obliged to furnish a war-boat, manned and kept in constant readiness, for his majesty's use. Of these boats, the king could muster from 200 to 300, with crews of from 40 to 50 in each.

which his majesty's 41st regiment and the company's Madras European corps were ordered to storm, supported by a party of the 13th and 38th in the rear. The work was carried in a few minutes; the first who appeared on the top being Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale, of the 13th. The enemy left 200 dead on the ground. The Burmese commander was killed, and his *chattah* (umbrella), sword, and spear, were found at the rear-gate of the fort. His body was also found, and recognised as that of one of the pacific messengers of the preceding day.

The capture of this stockade opened the road to Kemmendine; but it was 5 P.M. before the troops arrived in position before that place, at the distance of only one hundred yards from the stockade, which was of immense strength, and covered by heavy jungle. The attack was deferred till the next morning, when it was resolved to try the effect of mortars, the Burmese being quite unused to those destructive weapons. The night was a most uncomfortable one; the men, deluged with rain, were employed in cutting down and clearing away the wood, so as to open a free passage for their fire; and the enemy made repeated attacks on their rear, while their sharpshooters, stationed on trees on every side, kept up a fire upon the workers. Morning came at last, and then the contest was soon over. A bombardment was opened, and columns were formed for the assault: but the Burmese were so completely astonished or frightened at the effect of the shells which burst within their stockade, that they soon evacuated the place, and the storming parties only arrived in time to see them rapidly retreating. This position, apparently so formidable, was thus taken with little loss. The enemy retreated to another stockade some miles in the rear.

These successes of the British appear to have produced no impression on the Burmese; no desire for peace was evinced by the combatants; and not a single native inhabitant came in to join the invaders. There were, however, a few days' quiet after the occupation of Kemmendine; but they were employed, by the active and indefatigable enemy, in removing the herds of cattle still farther into the interior, as well as the canoes from the rivers, abandoning the towns and villages, and arming every man against us. The chief reason that had led to the campaign being opened in that quarter—viz., the expectation that the in-

habitants of Pegu would gladly take part against the Burmese—was proved to be without foundation. “Promises of reward, and offers of protection, supported with frequent examples of our power to afford it, proved equally unavailing in drawing from their allegiance men brought up in terror of their chiefs, and still impressed with extravagant notions of the talents and resources of their rulers.”* Those chiefs continued to pursue their desolating system with undeviating rigour; and towards the end of June, Sykia Wongee resolved to make an attempt to carry out the commands of his master—“to drive the British into the sea.” On the 30th of June, there was unusual bustle and animation in the woods in front of the British cantonments; 8,000 men were computed to have crossed to the Rangoon side of the river, above Kemmendine, in one day. At the same time, the British were reinforced by the arrival of the 89th European regiment from Madras, and the junction of the detachments which had captured Cheduba and Negrais; a seasonable addition of strength, as their ranks were considerably diminished by sickness and death. The Shwe-da-gon pagoda† was garrisoned by a battalion of Europeans, being considered as the key of the British position. The rest of the force occupied the two roads which ran between that edifice and the town; the pagodas and pilgrims’ houses erected upon them affording good shelter to the troops. There were two detached posts—one at Kemmendine, to protect the shipping against the enemy’s fire-rafts; the other at Puzendown, where the Pegu and Rangoon rivers meet. These positions were attacked by the Burmese on the 1st of July, the pagoda being the point on which the chief demonstration was made. Numerous bodies advanced on the right and front of that building; and a column was detached to the left, which occupied the village of Puzendown, and set it on fire. The left wing of the enemy made a furious onset upon the British right; and if they had carried the pagoda, or any part of the position, a signal was to have been made for the advance of the entire line. The left wing was, however, everywhere repulsed, and finally dispersed at the bayonet’s point,

by the 43rd Madras native infantry. The signal was not, therefore, given; but the first part of Sykia Wongee’s plan having failed, he gave orders for a general retreat. When the news of this retreat reached Ava, orders were sent for him to leave the army; and he was disgraced by being deprived of all his employments. Any way he would have lost the command of the troops; for about the time of this attack, a senior officer (the second chief minister, Sykia was the third) Soomba Wongee, arrived to replace him.

Soomba abandoned the plans of his predecessor, of attacking the British in the field; and he resolved to post his army in a strong position, that he might be able to avail himself of any circumstances which might offer to distress and harass his opponents. He chose a place called Kummeroot, in the midst of the jungle, about five miles from the great pagoda; and, in communication with it, a commanding point above Kemmendine was stockaded; and this enabled him not only to obstruct the navigation of the river, but afforded an excellent situation for the construction of fire-rafts, by the employment of which he hoped to destroy the British shipping. These arrangements appear to have been completed with uncommon speed; and we are told, “the confidence they inspired was soon conspicuous in the daring inroads of numerous parties, which paid nightly visits to the British lines.”‡ These harassing attacks determined Sir Archibald Campbell, notwithstanding it was in the midst of the rainy season, to endeavour to bring Soomba to a general action.

His plans were well laid. Two columns of attack were formed on the morning of the 8th of July; the first, under Sir A. Campbell himself, embarked for the position on the river; the second, under Brigadier-general M’Bean, marched to Kummeroot. The first division found that they had indeed a formidable series of works to assail. The river, about a mile from Kemmendine, separates into two branches, being divided by a bold and projecting point, on which the principal stockade was erected; whilst others were placed on the opposite banks of each branch of the stream. The work on

entomb, the staff of Kraku-Chunda, the watering-pot of Gunaguna, the bathing-robe of Kasyana, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama—the four last Budd’has.

‡ Major Snodgrass.

* Major Snodgrass.

† This building was of solid brickwork, elaborately decorated and gilded; hence its name. The peculiarly sacred portion was a solid cone, 300 feet high, which was supposed to enshrine, or rather

the front was well provided with artillery, and defended by a numerous garrison. It was about nine o'clock when the armament arrived; and a brig of war, with three company's cruisers, under Captain Marryatt, the senior naval officer, took up their stations so as to open a heavy fire upon the stockade. The enemy's guns were well-served, but they could not prevent a practicable breach from being made. This result was announced by a preconcerted signal from the senior officer's ship; and the storming party, consisting of companies of his majesty's 41st and the Madras 17th native infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Godwin and Major Wahad, pushed across the river in boats, effected a landing in the face of immense difficulties, and carried the stockade with little loss; whilst the enemy suffered severely, as, besides those killed in the fight, many were drowned in attempting to escape.—The attack on Kummeroot was equally successful. There were stockades on all sides, and the principal work consisted of three, one within the other; in the third, Soomba Wongee had established his head-quarters, and was sitting down to dinner, when he was told that the British were approaching. "Drive the audacious strangers away!" was his reply: but the quick and rapid sound of musketry, the falling-in of his troops, and the reports of fugitives, convinced him that this was a difficult order to execute. He, however, set an example not very common with the Burmese commanders. Finding his men flying on all sides, he put himself at the head of a determined few, and attempted to rally them. It was in vain. The British assault was irresistible; and the prolonged resistance only increased the slaughter. At length, Soomba himself being killed, with several other chiefs of rank, and at least 800 men, the rout became general: all who could fly did so; whilst the jungle and villages in the neighbourhood were filled with the wounded, who were left to die for want of food and care.—On the 11th, the captured stockades were visited by a reconnoitring party, who found several wounded Burmese lying about the place. They were taken to the British hospitals; but none of them recovered. They said that, the day after the battle, a party of their countrymen came for the purpose of collecting balls, and such muskets or other weapons as might be left undestroyed. They gave a deplorable account of the army, from which

numerous desertions were taking place. They left food and water with the wounded men; but, as their wounds were mortal, they did not offer to remove them. Amongst all, able-bodied men and wounded, there appeared to be a general conviction, that troops which in one day had taken ten stockades garrisoned by vastly superior numbers, and thirty pieces of artillery, could not be safely encountered in the field.*

The British troops now suffered severely from sickness, and Sir A. Campbell found it impossible, notwithstanding the defeat of the enemy, to advance into the interior. Though repeatedly beaten, the Burmese appeared determined not to yield; but, as there was no force in the immediate neighbourhood, the British general resolved to attempt the release of such of the inhabitants of Rangoon as might be desirous of returning to their houses. He was informed, that many families were detained in the villages upon the Puzendown Creek, and a detachment proceeded up the river, in the steam-vessel and the boats of the flotilla. They only succeeded, however, in surprising the guards in one instance—when a few families were released, who gladly returned to Rangoon. "To the influence of their report of the kind treatment they experienced, the British were subsequently indebted for the return of the great body of the people, to whose services and exertions the army was much indebted in the ensuing campaign."†—An expedition, consisting of the 89th regiment, and the 7th Madras native infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Miles, was also dispatched to the coast of Tenasserim. The town of Tavoy surrendered to this small force: they next attacked Mergui, which was stormed, and fell. The entire coast of Tenasserim then submitted; the people cheerfully exchanging the Burmese for English rule. The troops sent there, affected by the diseases prevalent amongst the army in Pegu, were soon restored to health by the genial nature of the climate.

As the events of the campaign had seriously affected the people both of Pegu and Burmah, lowering their spirits, and rendering it difficult to recruit the army, whilst desertions were numerous, the king resolved to send two of his brothers, the princes of Tongboon and Sarrawaddy, to join the troops, and superintend the operations of the war. They were accompanied by astro-

* Major Snodgrass.

† *Ibid.*

logers (in whose predictions the Burmese have implicit confidence, and who were to ascertain and promulgate the time most favourable to attack the enemy), and by a detachment of the king's "Invulnerables." One of the princes established himself near the town of Pegu, which is situated about sixty-two miles to the north of Rangoon; and the other at Donabue, sixty-five miles to the north-east of that port. Both put the conscription laws rigorously in force; and both proclaimed their intention to surround the British force, ordering the river in their rear to be blocked up, to prevent their escape. Some time had to elapse, however, before the "lucky moon" arrived, which the astrologers named as the period for a successful attack; and, in the interim, the British, in the beginning of August, attacked and took the old Portuguese fort and factory of Siriam, which was naturally a strong post, and had been greatly improved by the Burmese; eight guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition were there taken possession of. Several other posts were attacked with equal success; but at one, on the Dalla river, the assailants lost a considerable number of brave men. At last the time arrived pronounced by the astrologers to be favourable for an attack upon the great pagoda, still the principal point of the British position. At midnight, on the 30th of August, that attack was made by the "Invulnerables," who had, it was understood, volunteered for the occasion. They emerged from the jungle in a compact body; and, rushing towards the pagoda, encountered a small picket thrown out in front of the British, which retired skirmishing with the enemy, till they reached the stairs of the building, at the summit of which the troops were drawn out: their silent and firm demeanour was strikingly contrasted with the voluble fierceness of the Burmese, who advanced, uttering terrible threats and imprecations against the strangers if they did not immediately leave the sacred temple. They continued to advance, boldly and rapidly, along a narrow path, which led to the north gate of the pagoda; when, suddenly, vivid flashes from the cannon's mouth illuminated the dark atmosphere, and showers of grape and volleys of musketry arrested the onward progress of the assailants. They stood a few minutes; but soon their sense of "invulnerability" departed, and they made for the jungle. No doubt they invented a plausible

tale to account for their failure. That failure had one good effect; it prevented them from volunteering upon any more such dangerous encounters, and protected the troops from the harassing movements that had so frequently deprived them of a night's rest.*

Whilst the Burmese in Pegu were constantly defeated in their encounters with the British, there was one chief on whom victory had hitherto beamed—Maha Bandoola, who commanded the Arracan army, destined for the invasion of Bengal. In the early part of the campaign in Pegu, this chief had been advancing upon, and finally had invaded, the British territories. Entering the Chittagong district, he pushed on to Ramoo, only sixty-eight miles from the town of Chittagong, with a pretty numerous body of the regular troops of the Burmese army, and found Captain Noton posted there with a much smaller force. The only men the latter could rely upon were 350 native troops: he had, in addition, 600 irregulars; but they were not to be trusted. The enemy were at least six times in number, and they set down before the British cantonment on the 11th of May. Captain Noton expected reinforcements from Chittagong, and he bravely defended his post for six days. On the 17th the enemy had made their way to within twelve paces of the British advanced works, and got possession of a tank in their rear, which supplied them with water. Captain Noton then found that he had no resource but to retire, for which the necessary orders were given. For some time the retreat was conducted in tolerable order, though the British force was closely pursued by their numerous foes. But at length the irregulars became entirely broken up, and the sepoy left the line of march at every opportunity. Captain Noton, and most of the officers, gallantly fighting to the last, were killed: three only, and a few of the troops, made their escape; all the rest were slaughtered, or fell into the hands of the Burmese.† The expected reinforcement was on its route to relieve Ramoo; but it had not started so soon as was expected; and the commanding officer heard of the defeat and death of Captain Noton before he reached the spot where that sad catastrophe took place. He returned to Chittagong, to prepare for its defence; whilst Bandoola employed himself in erecting stockades in the neighbourhood of Ramoo, which he, no doubt, intended

* Major Snodgrass.

† Thornton.

should form the basis of his forward movement on the return of the cold season; but from which he was, ere long, recalled to the defence of his own country. He received an order, about the latter end of August, to withdraw his troops from the British territories, and repair to the Irawaddy: accordingly, he suddenly broke up, and left the Chittagong district, much to the relief of the inhabitants.* His arrangements were admirably made. Without his movements being even suspected by the British advanced guards, in one night he and his troops disappeared from Ramoo, leaving a considerable quantity of grain in the evacuated stockades, but carrying off all his sick; whilst not a trace of his route could be discovered.

Before Bandoola reached Pegu one disaster had fallen upon the British there, in the midst of their many successes. General Campbell—the rainy season being nearly over—resolved to make the attempt of driving the Burmese from the vicinity of Rangoon. With this view, Major Eyre, at the head of 300 men, was sent, early in October, up the Lyne river; and Colonel Smith, with the light division (consisting of sepoy), took the road to Pegu. He had advanced several miles, through a difficult and almost impracticable country, when he was informed that a large body of Burmese—infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with some elephants—had established themselves at Kykloo. Deeming his force not sufficiently strong to attack this post, the colonel sent to the commander-in-chief for a reinforcement of Europeans. His request was refused, with something like a taunt for his having made it, which induced him to hazard an attack. It took place on the 7th of October, and the colonel was gallantly supported by his officers; but the sepoy appear to have imbibed a dread of the Burmese, and would not fight. Considerable loss was sustained; and at last the order to retreat was reluctantly given. The unfortunate result preyed upon the mind of Colonel Smith, whose conduct was most undeservedly made the subject of injurious comment. He completely exonerated himself in the minds of all fair and honourable men; but the slander did its work—it hurried him to the grave.

The success of Maha Bandoola in Chittagong, with the defeat and death of Captain Notou, excited great alarm at Calcutta;

* Snodgrass.

and among some of the sepoy regiments a report was spread that the Burmese possessed charms which rendered them invincible. Dreading the advance of the enemy, the peasants on the frontiers fled from the fields; and the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to remain in that city. The impression produced somewhat impeded the efforts of the Bengal government to reinforce their army in Pegu; and when, a few months later, the 10th, 26th, 47th, and 62nd regiments of native Bengal infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, were ordered on active service—some to proceed to Arracan, the others to embark for Pegu—the 47th refused to march; the commands and entreaties of their officers being alike powerless to move them. They were joined by portions of the 10th and 62nd; and the aspect of affairs looked alarming. General Dalzell, the commanding officer, communicated with Sir Edward Paget, at Calcutta; and on the 31st of October, the royals, with the king's 49th, and a battery of light artillery, which were at that city, were quickly moved to the scene of disturbance. The 47th were then summoned to the parade-ground, and commanded to fall-in; they obeyed: but nothing could induce them to comply with any other orders. At length, after every means of persuasion had failed, the artillery was ordered to open upon them, and, at the first discharge of grape, they broke and fled. Many were taken prisoners, brought before a court-martial, and condemned to death. Only a few were executed; but the regiment was entirely disbanded and erased from the army list. Thus ended this disagreeable affair, which, but for the promptitude of the commander-in-chief, might have had serious results. As it was, the punishment of the 47th had its due effect: the mutiny spread no further.

But to return to Pegu. Maha Bandoola, after his abrupt departure from Ramoo, took the most direct road to that country; but, says Major Snodgrass, "little is known of the march of his force through the provinces and across the mountains of Arracan, to the Irawaddy, a distance by the shortest route, of upwards of 200 miles, at a season of the year when none but the Burmese could have kept the field for a week, much less have attempted to pass the insalubrious jungles and pestilential marshes of Arracan, with rivers, arms of the sea, and mountain torrents opposing their progress at every

step." But a Burman regarded obstacles of this sort very lightly: "half-amphibious in his nature, he takes the water-work without fear or reluctance; he is, besides, always provided with a chopper; and expert in the construction of rafts when necessary. He is seldom encumbered with commissariat or equipage of any kind, and, carrying a fortnight's rice in a bag slung across his shoulders, he is at all times ready to move at the first summons of his chiefs; who, when unembarrassed by the presence of an enemy, divide into parties, for the greater celerity of movement and provisioning the men, each pursuing his own route to the general rendezvous appointed by the chief commander."* Such appears to have been the plan pursued by Bandoola, who, having received reinforcements in the latter part of his route, arrived at Donabue at a time when Sir Archibald Campbell was preparing for an advance into the country, being entirely unaware of the near approach of a large army of the king of Ava's best troops, under the most celebrated general in his service.

The British had not been idle while the enemy was advancing. Besides the expeditions under Major Eyre and Colonel Smith, Lieutenant-colonel Godwin was, on the 13th of October, sent with a small detachment, consisting of his majesty's 41st regiment, and the 3rd Madras native infantry, to occupy the city of Martaban, situate at the bottom of the gulf of that name, and about a hundred miles to the eastward of Rangoon. A Siamese army—raised, apparently, to enable the king to take advantage of any opportunity that might offer for his benefit, whichever were the victors, the British or the Burmese—was encamped within a few days' march of that city; and its occupation by the British would, it was conceived, afford an opportunity of opening a direct communication with this army, and of watching its movements. An active and resolute chief, Maha Oudinah, was the governor: he obtained notice of the approach of the expedition, and prepared for defence: The attack could not be made by land; thick forests, impassable marshes, and rice-grounds, still covered with the inundations of the monsoon, prevented the approach of an army. By water, a shallow winding river offered many impediments. These were all overcome; and as Maha Oudinah refused the offer of terms, the

troops were landed, and the place assaulted. In a very brief space of time the enemy was driven, with great loss, from all his positions, and the town was in the possession of the British. It was chiefly inhabited by families of Taliens (the people of Pegu), who received the soldiers with great joy; and, while the place was in their possession, remained their fast friends.—Soon after, Yeh, situated to the eastward, between Martaban and Tavoy, was occupied by Lieutenant-colonel Godwin without resistance.

It was from an intercepted letter, addressed to the ex-governor of Martaban, that the first intelligence of the advance of Maha Bandoola was conveyed to the British general. This letter informed Maha Oudinah that that commander had led Prome at the head of an army of "Invincibles," with horses, elephants, and all warlike stores, for the purpose of driving the British from Rangoon. At this time the latter were recovering from the sickness brought on by the rains. "Five hundred Mugh boatmen had arrived from Chittagong, and were busily engaged in preparing boats for river service; and a reinforcement of two British regiments (the 1st and 47th), some battalions of native infantry, a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and one of rockets, were also destined to join the army before it moved in advance."† These reinforcements had begun to arrive, when the Burmese chief was drawing nigh, at the head of 60,000 men, with a considerable train of artillery, and a body of horse, composed of the people of Cassay or Maneepore, a state lying between Burmah, Assam, and Cachar, and subject to the former. These people possessed supreme skill in the management of the horse, and the Burmese cavalry was almost exclusively composed of them; the regiments being distinguished by the national appellation of "the Cassay horse." There were 35,000 musketeers in this army. Many were also armed with *jingals*—a small piece of artillery, carrying a ball of from six to twelve ounces, mounted upon a carriage, which two men could manage and move about at pleasure. That part of the infantry which did not carry muskets or manage the *jingals*, were armed with swords and spears, and well provided with every implement for erecting stockades and throwing up intrenchments. A corps of the "Invulnerables" was also attached;

* Snodgrass.

† *Ibid.*

“who, amply provided with charms, spells, and opium, in the ensuing operations afforded much amusement in the dance of defiance, committing all manner of ludicrous extravagances, with the most prodigal exposure of their persons.”*

Active preparations were made to give Bandoola a proper reception. Redoubts were thrown up; the pagodas were fortified and garrisoned, so as to connect the great pagoda with Rangoon by two distinct lines; and a strong garrison was placed at Kemmendine, where his majesty's sloop *Sophie* (Captain Rives), a company's cruiser, and a strong division of gun-boats, were stationed. These arrangements were scarcely completed, when, on the 30th of November, the Burmese army, it was ascertained, had assembled in the extensive forest in front of the Shwe-da-gon pagoda, their line reaching from the river above Kemmendine, in a semicircular direction towards Puzendown. The same night, the approaching sounds of a multitude in slow and silent movement through the woods, were heard; and the next morning, ere day had scarcely dawned, hostilities commenced with an attack on Kemmendine. The enemy poured in a heavy fire of musketry and cannon, which was returned by the British garrison, who were seconded by the heavy broadsides of the ships. The daring and resolute assailants were driven off; but though defeated, they were not disheartened. In the afternoon, a large force, formed in five or six divisions, their *chattahs*, or umbrellas, glittering in the sun, advanced on the west side of the river, across the plains of Dalla, to Rangoon. On reaching the side of the river opposite the city, a party commenced throwing up batteries on the shore, whilst the main body established their stockaded camp in a jungle in the rear. Later in the day, several heavy columns issued from the forest, about a mile in front of the east face of the great pagoda, and extended their line to within gun-shot distance of the town, resting on the river at Puzendown. This formed the left wing; the right was on the left bank of the river; the centre in the forest, extending from the great pagoda to Kemmendine. The British were thus completely surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in their rear, and with only the limited space within their lines to call their own.

* Snodgrass.

† *Ibid.*

The activity and engineering skill of the Burmese were surprising. No sooner were the positions taken up, than the men began to work with their intrenching tools, and in about two hours their line had disappeared, “and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth gradually increasing in height, and assuming such forms as the skill and science of the engineer suggested. The moving masses which had so lately attracted the anxious attention of the troops, had sunk into the ground; and by any one who had not witnessed the whole scene, the existence of the subterranean legions would not have been credited.”*** “By a distant observer, the hills, covered with mounds of earth, would have been taken for anything rather than the approach of an attacking army; but to those who had watched the whole strange proceeding, it seemed the work of enchantment.”†

The British did not suffer the enemy, however, to complete their works without molestation. In the afternoon the 13th European regiment, and the 18th Madras native infantry, under Major Sale, made a sally, and were upon the enemy just as their approach was perceived. The Burmese immediately commenced firing upon their disturbers; but the British forced a passage through the intrenchments, took the enemy in flank, drove the whole line from its cover with considerable loss, destroyed as many arms and tools as they could find, and retired unmolested—the numerous bodies which rushed up on all sides, and hastened to the spot, not arriving in time to molest them. In this sally the troops learnt the Burmese method of intrenchment: “the trenches were found to be a succession of holes, each capable of containing two men. They were excavated so as to afford shelter both from the weather and the fire of an enemy. Even a shell, lighting in the trench, could at most kill but two men. As it is not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a sufficient supply of rice, water, and fuel for its inmates; and, under the excavated bank, a bed of straw or brush-wood was prepared, in which one man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of trench was completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of night, pushed forward to where the second line was to be opened; their place being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on pro-

gressively." * * * "Before Rangoon the works were advanced in this way; and in the course of the evening of the 1st of December, the trenches from which the enemy had been driven by Major Sale were reoccupied, and their labours recommenced; a strong corps of reserve, however, being brought forward to the verge of the forest, to protect them from further interruption."*

Whilst one part of the enemy was busily employed in forming these intrenchments, another body, during the afternoon, made repeated attacks on Kemmendine, all of which were repulsed. During the night another attack was made; and this time, whilst the post was attacked with musketry and cannon from the shore, several tremendous fire-rafts were sent down the stream towards Rangoon, in the hope of driving off the vessels. Our gallant tars, however, got into their boats, grappled the flaming rafts, and either conducted them past the shipping, or run them ashore on the bank. On the land side the assailants were again repulsed, in the most resolute attempt they had made to reach the interior of the fort.†

The Burmese had constructed their fire-rafts very ingeniously, and with great strength. They were made, says Major Snodgrass, "wholly of bamboo, firmly wrought together, between every two or three rows of which a line of earthen jars of considerable size, filled with petroleum, or earth-oil and cotton, was secured; other inflammable ingredients were also distributed in different parts of the raft, and the almost unextinguishable fierceness of the flames proceeding from them can scarcely be imagined. Many of them exceeded, considerably, a hundred feet in length, and were divided into many pieces, attached to each other by means of long hinges; and so arranged, that when they caught upon the cable or bow of any ship, the force of the current should carry the ends of the raft completely round her, and envelop her in flames from the deck to the main top-mast head, with scarcely a possibility of extricating herself from the devouring element." If the enemy could have obtained possession of Kemmendine, they might have used their rafts very effectively; but whilst that post remained in the possession of the British, they were obliged to dispatch them from a point

* Snodgrass.

† *Ibid.*

above it, and the current carried them past the vessels, generally driving them upon a projecting point of ground, where they invariably stranded. This circumstance made Bandoola anxious to drive the British away from their important position; and from the 1st to the 5th of December, he eagerly pushed forward his works, which, by the evening of the 4th had reached the margin of the tank of the great pagoda; and from this advanced post a constant fire was directed upon the British barracks—every one who showed his head above the ramparts being saluted with a dozen muskets. On the side of Rangoon, the Burmese had approached near enough to fire upon the town; and from their intrenchments on the opposite side of the river, they kept up a constant fire on the shipping, which was anchored as near the shore as possible on the Rangoon side, except one or two armed vessels kept in the middle of the stream to return the enemy's fire. The garrison of Kemmendine (a European detachment, and the 26th Madras native infantry) was constantly harassed during these three days; and they repulsed, most gallantly, all the attacks of the numerous and somewhat daring Burmese.

Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 5th of December, determined to drive the enemy out of their advanced works. Two columns of attack were formed: one, 800 strong, under Major Sale, was directed to attack the centre of the Burmese; the other, of 500 men, under Major Walker, was ordered to attack the post in front of Rangoon. A troop of dragoons, which had landed the previous day, supported the first column, ready to assail the enemy in his retreat; and Captain Chads, with the men-of-war's boats, and part of the flotilla, proceeded up Puzendown Creek, and cannonaded the nearest intrenchments in that direction. Major Walker and his column were the first that came in contact with the enemy. They met with a stout resistance, in which the gallant commander and many of his officers fell; but the intrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet; and the enemy being chased from trench to trench, this part of the field soon presented the appearance of a total rout. The first column forced the centre; and this entire wing of the Burmese (their left) was driven from the ground, which was covered with their dead; their guns, intrenching tools, and a number of small arms, were also left behind

them in their flight. The loss of the British, except in the first onset of Major Walker's column, was very trifling.

The right wing of the Burmese still remained in front of the great pagoda, and was joined, on the 6th, by many of the fugitives, whom Bandoola exerted himself to rally. On the 7th, General Campbell resolved to attack this position; and four columns were organised for the purpose. The left column was under Colonel Mallet; the two central ones under Colonel Parlbly, of the Madras army, and Captain Wilson, of his majesty's 38th; and the right under Colonel Brodie, also of the army of Madras. The action was commenced by a severe cannonade, which the Burmese stood with great firmness, making a return with muskets, *jingals*, and light artillery. Shortly after the cannonade opened, the four columns made their attack on the trenches. They were gallantly defended for a brief space. Soon, however, the Burmese gave way, ran from their works, and were chased to the jungle and thick forest in their rear, where pursuit was given up. A great number of dead were left in the trenches. They were athletic men, and each wore a charm. Scaling-ladders were also found, with which they had intended to storm the pagoda. This success was followed up by the 89th European regiment and the 43rd Madras native infantry, under Colonel Parlbly, being embarked in the evening, for the purpose of crossing the river, and driving the enemy from the intrenchments at Dalla. This service was most successfully executed. The British got into the trenches without opposition; and only a faint resistance was made before the enemy quitted the position, and scampered across the plain at a rate which showed their desire to get out of the reach of pursuit. They left all their guns and stores, which were very acceptable to the victors.

There has seldom, if ever, been so complete a rout of the besieging force as was the result of the operations of the 5th and 7th of December. On the morning of the former day, the entire route, from Rangoon to Kemmendine, was covered with the enemy's works, defended by thousands of apparently resolute warriors. On the evening of the latter not a soldier was to be seen, and the works were in ruins. The Burmese general had a reserve posted at Kokien, a village about four miles from the great pagoda; and the fugitives from Ran-

goon and Kemmendine were directed as much as possible upon that point. The desertions, however, were numerous; and Bandoola's army of 60,000 men, was, by the 9th of December, reduced to about 25,000. After the affair of the 7th, Bandoola himself had moved on Donabue. Some reinforcements meeting him, however, he resolved to make one more effort to disperse the British, and he accordingly returned to Kokien. There an extensive field-work had been marked out, along an elevated ridge, commanding the road leading from Rangoon, towards the enemy's line of river defences, up to Donabue. As soon as the general returned to Kokien, the troops set about fortifying the position; and "the height was, in an incredibly short space of time, completely stockaded round about with the solid trunks of trees. A broad and deep ditch surrounded the stockade, and the ground in front presented the usual impediment of a thick line of felled trees, the numerous branches of which were sharpened at the point, rendering it both difficult and dangerous to reach the ditch."* These works were completed in an incredibly short space of time; and secure, as he supposed, from attack, Bandoola resorted to treachery to weaken his assailants, before he made his contemplated movement to drive them from Rangoon. Numerous deserters had entered that place, and as they came unarmed, were permitted to remain. Most were honest and well-disposed; but there were spies, assassins, and incendiaries amongst them; and to put the British in some degree off their guard, a report was industriously spread, of the arrival of a chief named Mounshoezar at the Burmese head-quarters, with authority to conclude a peace. Sir Archibald Campbell, however, resolved to again attack the enemy ere negotiations were entered upon; but before his arrangements were complete, in the night of the 12th of December, Bandoola's emissaries set fire to Rangoon. They distributed combustible matches in several detached parts of the town most to windward; and as soon as they were lighted, the flames spread amongst the houses (all built of wood and bamboo) with the greatest rapidity. It was very fortunate that the depôt of stores and ammunition was in another quarter of Rangoon, or nothing could have preserved it. As it was, the troops, who assembled with the

* Major Snodgrass.

greatest alacrity on the drums beating to arms, had great difficulty in preventing the flames—which burnt, says Major Snodgrass, “with awful splendour, and illuminated the whole surrounding country”—from spreading to the military quarter. While part of the men worked, some of the corps were drawn up, with great promptitude and regularity, on the side from whence the enemy might be expected; as it was reasonably supposed, that whilst the fire was raging, they would descend upon the town. However, no attack was made; and in about two hours the flames were completely subdued, without any serious damage to the British property; but more than half Rangoon was destroyed.

As the vicinity of such an enemy was particularly disagreeable, as well as dangerous, the preparations for the attempt to dislodge him were actively carried on: it was not till the evening of the 14th that they were completed, and the morning of the 15th was fixed for the attack. The daring nature of that attack may be imagined, when the reader recalls what we have already said of the defensive works reared at Kokien; and is further informed, that the assault had to be made unaided by artillery, or at most by one or two light field-pieces; that the works were defended by at least 20,000 men; and that the route lay through the narrow and winding foot-path of a dense forest, where a well-posted body of native sharpshooters might thin the ranks of the British long ere they reached their stronghold.* But it was absolutely necessary to dislodge the enemy; and in firm reliance on the bravery and steadiness of the men under his command, General Campbell resolved that the attempt should be made. Only 1,500 men could be spared to make it; the rest of the small force at Rangoon being required to guard the cantonments. This insignificant body, in point of numbers, was divided into two columns. One, led by Brigadier-general Willoughby Cotton, consisting of the 13th light and the 18th Madras infantry, moved round the stockade by its left, and assaulted in flank. The other, under Sir Archibald Campbell, comprised the 38th, 41st, and 89th British regiments with detachments from some corps of native infantry. Divided into two bodies, this column made the attack in front. Both attacks were completely successful. The ditch was crossed by means

* Major Snodgrass.

of scaling-ladders; and the enemy, under what influence it is impossible to say, suffered Brigadier Cotton's column to make such progress before they began to resist, that that resistance, though bold and desperate for a short time, and costing the British four officers and a considerable number or men of the 13th regiment (who were killed or wounded), was useless; and they soon fled. The second column entered the stockade by escalade, and drove out the defenders at the point of the bayonet. Their numbers in convenience them rather than not; and the interior of the work was speedily covered with the dead and wounded. The fugitives made for the jungle, and in crossing a narrow plain that led to it, they fell in with a small body of cavalry attached to the British force—the body-guard of the governor-general, which Lord Amherst had sent to the aid of Sir A. Campbell—by whom they were terribly cut up. In a few hours the numerous host had vanished, leaving the field completely open in front of the British; not a man in arms remaining in the open country round Rangoon; whilst the peaceable inhabitants, convinced of the superiority of the British, and hearing of their clemency, flocked eagerly to the place.—Whilst the attack on Kokien was taking place, the *Diana* steamer, with the *Arachne* and some other vessels, under Lieutenant Kellett, attacked the flotilla of the enemy. The latter were astonished at the movements of the steamer, which they attributed to magic; and the destruction her broadsides occasioned added to the fearful impression she otherwise made. On this occasion, besides what were destroyed, about forty of the Burmese boats were taken.

The year 1824 thus closed gloriously for the British, who, before the end of January, 1825, were joined by the 47th European regiment, two squadrons of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and a rocket troop: 1,700 cattle and their equipments were also landed at Rangoon. Thus reinforced, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to resume offensive operations. It was not till the second week in February, however, that the army could move, the low delta through which the troops had to march to reach the Irawaddy, not being sufficiently dry for the passage of artillery, or to ensure them against disease. The commander-in-chief's strength, even with the reinforcements, was insignificant compared with the task he had to achieve. He divided the main body of his little army

into a land and sea column, taking the command of the former himself, and entrusting the latter to Brigadier-general Cotton. The land column comprised 1,300 European infantry, 1,000 sepoys, two squadrons of dragoons, a troop of horse artillery, and a rocket troop. As the banks of the Irawaddy formed the line of operations, the arrangement was for this column to advance on Prome, the second city in Burmah, situated nearly 180 miles to the north-west of Rangoon. It was to be supported by the marine column of 800 European infantry, a small battalion of sepoys, and a powerful train of artillery. These troops were embarked in the flotilla of sixty boats—all carrying one, and some two pieces of artillery, 12 and 24-lb. carronades—commanded by Captain Alexander, R.N.; and the flotilla was escorted by the boats of the men-of-war lying at Rangoon, manned by more than 100 sailors. This column was to pass up the Panlaing river to the Irawaddy, drive the enemy from his stockades at Panlaing, and push on to Donabue. Another detachment (the 13th European and the 12th Madras native regiments), under Major Sale, was embarked in boats to attack Bassein; the naval part of this expedition was commanded by Captain Maryatt, of the *Larne*.

The land column started on the 11th of February, and marched to Mienza, eight miles from Rangoon; where, on the 13th, it was joined by the general and his staff. The march was resumed on the 15th, and continued on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, through a country where the villages were destroyed, and the inhabitants fled. In the route the troops came upon some of the miserable abodes of the Carians—"mere pigeon-houses, perched in the air on poles, with a notched stick as a sole means of egress and ingress to the dwelling."* On the 17th the column arrived before the old fort at Mophee, where it was understood a body of the enemy was stationed, under Maha Silwah. The advanced guard was pushed on to the fort, to the great surprise of the enemy, who, it appears, had received no information of the movement from Rangoon. As the British reached the fort, the enemy were seen leaving it, and rushing into the jungle, apparently in great dismay and confusion, and having left their dinners cooking, of which the British partook. At Mophee houses had been erected for

* Major Snodgrass.

† *Ibid*.

the reception of Maha Bandoola and Maha Silwah; it being frequently necessary to build houses for the chiefs at every stage, as it is "death for a Burmese to inhabit a house of a higher order of architecture than he is entitled to; and degrading to live in one beneath his rank. The poor villagers generally receive very brief notice of the great man's approach; yet woe be to them, and to their village, if the house is not completed when he arrives, or one bamboo of the particular order of architecture forgotten."†

Sir Archibald Campbell continued his advance, it being his object to reach Prome before that city was stripped and deserted, as had been the case with every other place the troops arrived at. On the 1st of March, information was received, that Brigadier-general Cotton had taken Panlaing, and was advancing up the Irawaddy; and on the 2nd, at Sarrawah (a large and populous place, the head-quarters of the king's war-boats in Pegu), the land column saw that majestic river, rolling on in a deep and rapid stream, from 700 to 800 yards in breadth. All the inhabitants had left Sarrawah, and crossed over to the other side of the river. The British halted four days, hoping to hear something decisive from Donabue, from which there were rumours that Bandoola had retreated. Receiving no tidings, they again advanced towards Prome, hearing, on the 7th of March, a cannonade at Donabue. Of course victory was anticipated; but on the 11th they received official intelligence that the attack had failed, and that Brigadier-general Cotton could not take the post without a larger force. Sir Archibald Campbell immediately resolved to fall back on Donabue, where the column under his command arrived on the 25th.

It is not wonderful that Brigadier-general Cotton failed at Donabue. The place was of immense strength. Major Snodgrass describes the stockade as extending for nearly a mile along a sloping bank of the Irawaddy, its breadth varying from 500 to 800 yards. This work was composed of solid teak beams, from fifteen to seventeen feet high, driven firmly into the earth. Behind this formidable wooden wall, the old brick ramparts of the place rose to a considerable height; they were connected with the front defences by cross-beams, and afforded a firm and elevated footing to the defenders. Before the right face, or that

lowest down the river, two strong outworks were constructed. The advance of a hostile force was still further impeded by a ditch of considerable breadth and depth; the passage of which was rendered still more difficult by the insertion, along the sides and bottom, of spikes, nails, sword-blades, and similar obstructive materials. Beyond the ditch were several rows of strong railing; and there was a formidable *abatis* in front of all, except on the side next the river. On these works upwards of 150 guns and swivels were mounted. The place was defended by a garrison of 15,000 men, and Brigadier Cotton had only about 1,000 with him. It is thought, that if he had passed the whole fortress and taken the works in flank, he might have succeeded, as the movement would have rendered most of the enemy's guns useless. The men were landed, however, and the attack made, on the outworks in front of the right face, which were first reached by the flotilla. One of these works was carried; but at the next the resistance was so stubborn, and its effects so fatal (150 of the assailants being killed and wounded), that a retreat was ordered. This retrograde movement was made so precipitately, that the wounded were left behind. As soon as the troops got on board the flotilla, the boats returned about ten miles down the river, being much tormented by the Burmese war-boats. The next day they were horrified by seeing rafts floating down the river, bearing the wounded who had been left behind the preceding day, and whom the Burmese had crucified, and thus sent adrift. This proceeding, revolting to every humane feeling under any circumstances, was doubly barbarous in the Burmese; for their wounded at the first stockade had been kindly and carefully treated by the British surgeons, and had liberty given them to go where they pleased.*

When Sir Archibald Campbell arrived before Donabue, he found that it would be impracticable to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*. His small force was quite insufficient to surround it, even by a chain of posts; he therefore took up a position with his left retiring on the river above the stockade, and his right extending in a circular direction towards the centre of the rear face of the fort.† This was not effected without molestation. The enemy, while the British

were pitching their tents, fired upon them from a great many guns; numerous golden *chattahs* were seen behind the stockades and on the walls, glittering in the sun; and the cavalry came out of their cantonments, and hovered upon the flanks of Sir A. Campbell's little force. But the latter effected their object under all disadvantages; and the camp being pitched, the enemy discontinued his annoyance. It was only for a time. In the night, whilst a fire was opened from the works upon our left and centre, a strong column sallied from the town, and made an attack on our right, for the purpose of turning it. But the British had no sooner heard the report of the cannon than they flew to their arms; and as the Burmese passed round their right flank, two regiments, kneeling down to ensure a better aim, kept up a running fire, so rapid and effectual, that the advance of the enemy was checked. They retreated, but returned more than once, with the same result each time. At last they returned, dispirited and hopeless, to Donabue, where Bandoola ordered many of them to be beaten because they had not succeeded in beating their enemies.

On the 26th, a party of 100 European infantry and a few cavalry, was sent to open a communication with the marine column. The service was one of difficulty, but it was effected by the perseverance of the men, who could not, however, return, as the enemy, apprised of the movement after it had been commenced, occupied the jungle in their rear in great force: they therefore remained with General Cotton. The enemy at Donabue, quiet during the day, made another sally at night, which was repulsed; and early on the morning of the 27th, they were surprised by seeing the British flotilla appear in sight. Bandoola instantly ordered a sortie to be made upon the British right flank, which was assailed by a large body of infantry and cavalry, accompanied by seventeen war-elephants, bearing their accustomed proportion of armed men; at the same time all the guns of the fort opened upon the advancing flotilla. The British cavalry, under the protection of the horse artillery, charged the Burmese, and rode up to the elephants, who seemed by no means disposed to give way to their comparatively pigmy antagonists. But their drivers were soon shot; and then the unwieldy animals, finding themselves no longer under restraint or control, turned

* Major Snodgrass; and *Quarterly Review*, No. 70.

† Snodgrass.

their tails upon the foe and walked leisurely back to the fort. The infantry and cavalry were also repulsed; and the flotilla, while this contest was going on by land, succeeded in passing the stockades without much loss, and anchored beyond them.

The 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st of March were employed in making approaches to the town in landing the mortars and battering guns, and in constructing batteries. On the 1st of April those batteries began to play upon the town; and a discharge of rockets was kept up at intervals, by one of which Bandoola was killed. No efforts of the other commanders could then get the garrison to stand to their guns. They began to quit the place; which, by the next day, was completely evacuated, nothing being left for the British to do but to march in and take possession. They found in the abandoned works not only a great many guns and plenty of ammunition, but stores of provisions sufficient to supply them for several months to come.—The road to Prome was now open; and, on the 4th of April, the column recommenced its march for that city. Messengers, the bearers of pacific proposals, met them on their way; but Sir Archibald Campbell, suspecting their sincerity, would not delay his march. On the 25th of April, his small but resolute little band arrived before Prome, which presented almost as formidable an appearance as Donabue. It is covered by a ridge of hills to the southward, which extend a considerable distance to the south-east and east. To the west the river forms an excellent barrier; and that side is also commanded from every hill for the distance of about a mile. Each hill was fortified to the very summit, and there were about 100 pieces of cannon in the works. Sir A. Campbell's opinion was, that 10,000 men might have defended this place against 100,000 for months; but no attempt at defence was made. The stockades were found unoccupied, the city deserted, but on fire; and the troops taking possession without resistance, were obliged to occupy themselves in extinguishing the flames, which they did not succeed in doing till after a great part of the town was destroyed. It subsequently was ascertained that the Prince of Sarrawaddy, who commanded, when he found the British were not to be detained nor deluded by his messengers, headed the flight of the garrison, who "burnt and laid waste the villages on their route, driving

thousands of harmless, helpless people from their houses to the woods."*

About the time that Sir Archibald Campbell organised his advance on Prome, Burmah was threatened from other quarters. A large and well-appointed force, under Brigadier-general Morrison, was collected on the south-east frontier of Bengal, for the purpose of taking advantage of the proper season to penetrate into Arracan, and, after reducing its capital, cross the lofty chain of mountains which divide Arracan from Ava, and join General Campbell. Another body, under Brigadier-general Shouldham, was destined to advance through Cachar upon Ava, whilst Lieutenant-colonel Richards entered Assam, with a small field corps, to drive the Burmese from the positions they had seized and occupied in that quarter. Two of these expeditions were successful. Lieutenant-colonel Richards entered Assam, and, on the 1st of February, having carried a stockade that defended it by storm, occupied its capital, which was followed by the submission of the whole province.—Brigadier-general Shouldham marched through Cachar, in the direction of Muneepore, without interruption; but such difficulties were found to present themselves, in the soil and climate, there being no roads, and the marshes and jungles rendering the advance of an army almost impracticable, that this expedition was abandoned.—The force under Brigadier-general Morrison assembled at Chittagong, and was supported by a flotilla under Commodore Hayes. The united forces entered the territory of Arracan, by land and water, on the 28th of March. The capital was defended by a Burmese army of 9,000 men, who occupied a formidable stockaded position, on the summit of a range of hills from three to four hundred feet high, and defended with the usual *addenda* of palisades, *abatis*, &c., with numerous artillery. This position was attacked at daybreak of the 28th, the assailing party being led by the light company of the 54th under Lieutenant Clarke, supported by detachments of the 1st and 16th native Madras infantry. Gallantly did the British mount the hill, under a sharp fire, and missiles rolled down to intercept them. They approached close to the trench; but there the resistance was so fierce that they were compelled to retire. A battery was then thrown up, and, cannon being mounted, a vigorous fire was kept up on the pass where the main road traversed the

ills. This fire was maintained during the night of the 29th, to divert the enemy's attention from a second attack, made in an opposite direction, on the right of their position. The British advanced in the dark, and encountered great difficulties from the steepness of the ascent. They reached the summit of the hill, however, unperceived, entered the first stockade without resistance, and, the next morning, the enemy saw the British colours floating from the heights. They immediately abandoned the entire line, which our troops were preparing to attack, and the city of Arracan was occupied without further resistance. A detachment, under Brigadier-general M'Bean, having taken possession of the islands of Ramee and Sandowey, all the province quietly submitted.* The difficulty of the roads, however, defeated the attempt to join Sir Archibald Campbell; and the troops, after suffering much on the route, were compelled to return.

The operations of the expedition detached by General Campbell to occupy Bassein, were also attended with success. Entering the Bassein river, the British drove the enemy away from several stockades, and on the 3rd of March arrived at Bassein. They found the town abandoned and on fire, the governor having retreated to Lamina—about sixty or seventy miles higher up the river. Major Sale followed him with 200 men of the 13th regiment, 100 native infantry, and 70 seamen. All the villages on the river were found deserted, several of them being burnt; and at Lamina, a large town, not a single inhabitant was discovered: all had been driven into the interior. Having taken a gilt state-boat and two canoes, the major returned to Bassein; and, leaving there a small garrison, he returned, with the rest of his force, to Rangoon.

General Campbell had anticipated that the capture of Prome, which completed the conquest of Pegu, would dispose the king of Burmah to peace; and the anticipation was not unreasonable. It appears that the defeat of the "Invulnerables," the death of Bandoola, and the occupation of Donabue, had created great consternation in the city of Ava when they became known there. The inferiority of the Burmese to the British, and the impossibility of breaking their line in action, or preventing their advance, were

admitted.† Even the "Golden Fleece" was not ignorant of these feelings amongst his people; still he was not disposed to submit: on the contrary, orders were issued from the "Lotoo," or great council, to raise and equip 30,000 men for the purpose of reinforcing the remnant of Bandoola's army, which had collected at Melown, a village on the left bank of the Irawaddy, some distance from Prome. There was great difficulty in obtaining these reinforcements. The hope of plunder had, in former times, caused men to flock from all parts of the country, and rally round the imperial standard; but, on this occasion, each man was paid a sum equal to about £20 sterling, to induce him to enlist. The tributary Shan tribes, bordering on China, were also commanded to furnish their quotas; and their chiefs embodied, equipped, and disciplined an army of 15,000 men. Throughout Burmah the arsenals were kept in constant employment in repairing old arms and making new. Such was the result of these operations, that, during the suspension of hostilities by the rainy weather, the strength of the army was increased to 70,000 well-equipped and disciplined men; and, in October, the headquarters were advanced to Meaday, a town on the left bank of the Irawaddy, about thirty-five miles north of Prome. This had been a place of considerable importance: but the Burmese set fire to it on their retreat from Prome, and scarce a vestige of the former buildings remained.

This interval had been spent by the British, in the first place, in establishing a corps of observation, under Colonel Godwin, for the purpose of clearing the inland districts of Pegu from the detached military bands by which they were overrun. This corps met no opposition; but the country through which it passed bore painful evidence of the ruinous effects of the state of warfare adopted by the Burmese. "Even Russia, in her memorable resistance to the armies of Napoleon, did not offer to the invading host such a continued scene of desolation. Neither man nor beast escaped the retiring columns, and heaps of ashes, with groups of angry, hungry dogs, alone indicated where villages had been."‡ At Prome, cantonments were prepared for the troops; and care was taken to rest and refresh the men after the fatigue they had undergone. A depôt of provisions and ammunition was established in the town, and fleets of canoes were employed in conveying provisions, &c., from Rangoon:

* Thornton.

† Deposition of Henry Gouger, Esq., who at this period was a prisoner at Ava.

‡ Major Snodgrass.

the means of transport were also provided; and Sir Archibald Campbell, and the officers under him, were indefatigable in their efforts to provide the army with everything necessary to enable it to advance upon Ava as soon as the season permitted. Meanwhile, pains were taken to conciliate the inhabitants, who soon "poured in from every quarter. Some from the woods brought their families, waggons, cattle, and other property belonging to them: far the greater number, however, had escaped from military escorts, and returned in a most destitute and starved condition, having either lost everything belonging to them, or plundered by their guards. It is not, however," writes Major Snodgrass, who saw a good deal both of the country and of the people, "in the nature of a Burmese to despond, or long repine, at past sufferings or losses. Contentment, and a cheerful acquiescence in the career of fate, seldom abandon him; and those who had the good luck to find their houses undestroyed, were, in a few hours, comfortably re-established: their less fortunate companions, whose abodes had perished in the conflagration, applied themselves with such zeal and assiduity to the reconstruction of their light and airy habitations, that, in the course of a few weeks, Prome had not only recovered from the desolating effects of the system pursued by the Burmese leaders, but had risen from its ashes in greater magnitude than it could boast of even in its proudest days." The British soon became popular amongst these simple people. The towns and villages on the banks of the Irrawaddy and around Prome began to recover their lost population. Plentiful bazaars were established, from which the troops were supplied with every necessary; and, says the historian of the campaign—"these gallant fellows now lived in comfort and abundance, enjoying themselves in unmolested ease, after the fatigues and privations of an arduous though short campaign."

Prepared for war, the British commander was still resolved to endeavour to obtain peace. Towards the close of September, therefore, he sent a letter to the Burmese head-quarters, "representing the ruinous consequences to the king of Ava, of a further prolongation of the war, and urging the Burmese chiefs to consult the true interests of their sovereign, by listening to the lenient terms of peace that were still offered to their acceptance." No reply was made to this letter till the Burmese head-quarters

were removed to Meaday, and all the different corps of the army were concentrated on that point. Then a complimentary message was sent to Prome, which ended in a negotiation, and in interviews between the Kee Wongee (one of the king of Ava's chief ministers) and some of his officers, and Sir A. Campbell and his staff. It took place on the plain of Neoun-ben-zeik, equidistant between the two camps. A house was prepared there as a place of conference, where both parties met amidst the shaking of hands and other demonstrations of amicable feelings; and where an armistice was agreed to, while the terms demanded by the British general were transmitted to Ava for the consideration and approbation of the king. The English officers, however, had scarcely returned to Prome, when they received information that numerous predatory bands from the Burmese army had crossed the line of demarcation laid down by the armistice, and were plundering and devastating the districts under our protection. They were also passing beyond Prome, and threatening to cut off our communications with Rangoon. When remonstrated with, the Burmese leader denied all knowledge of these violations of the agreement so recently entered into; but the confession of the prisoners taken by our patrols, proved that they were acting under the orders of their superiors. It became, indeed, daily more evident, that the Burmese only wanted to gain time; and this was confirmed when, towards the expiration of the armistice, a definite answer being demanded to the proffered terms, it was given in the following words:—"If you wish for peace, you may go away; but, if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burman custom." This defiant answer was followed up by an advance of the Burmese army from Meaday towards Prome.*

The British army at Prome then consisted of eight weak British regiments, six battalions of Madras native infantry, one troop of dragoons, and a considerable train of horse and foot artillery. This force did not give the general, after garrisoning Prome, more than 5,000 rank and file for the field, about 3,000 of whom were British. There were also three regiments of natives, and one of Europeans, opposed to Sykia Wongee; Rangoon was occupied by one British corps, and a large body of native

* Major Snodgrass.

infantry; and a corps was stationed at Padoung-mew, on the right side of the Irawaddy, about ten miles below Prome. The Burmese army, which advanced in three divisions, numbered from 55,000 to 60,000 effective troops. The right division, under Sudda Woon, consisted of 15,000 men; the centre, under Kee Wongee, of from 25,000 to 30,000; and the left, under Maha Nemiow, of 15,000. The latter commander is said to have been "an old and experienced officer, lately arrived from court, with express authority for directing the general operations of the army." Besides these three corps, a reserve of 10,000 men was stationed at Melown, under Prince Memiaboo, half-brother to the king. When the main army was put in motion, the first division having crossed the Irawaddy, advanced by its west bank; the second moved along the east, or left bank of that river; and the third took a route about ten miles distant from the river. In selecting these lines of march, not much generalship was shown, as a forest separated the last division from the river, to which it "ran parallel for twenty miles. It was several miles in depth, and so thick and impervious as to form an impassable barrier between the left and centre, but leaving each exposed to a separate attack, without the benefit of mutual co-operation and assistance."*

The third division was the first that approached in near proximity to the British army. On the 10th of November it reached Watty-goon, about sixteen miles from Prome, where the Burmese began to throw up stockades. Colonel M'Dowall, with two brigades of native infantry, was sent, on the 15th of November, to dislodge them. Divided into three bodies, this force was to attack the enemy in flank, rear, and front. But the Burmese moved out of their stockades to meet them before this combined movement could be carried out, and an animated and continued skirmish took place with our troops, through a difficult and inclosed country. The centre body of the British drove the enemy back upon Watty-goon; but there Colonel M'Dowall was shot through the head, and soon after expired. This somewhat disheartened the assailants; and as the Burmese began to appear in great force on all sides, the British retreated. After this success, Maha Nemiow advanced direct upon Prome, but with great caution, moving slowly, and stock-

ading every mile as he advanced. In three or four days he reached Simbiki, very near Prome. At the same time the centre of the enemy had arrived at Napadee, only five miles from Prome; and the corps of Sudda Woon was also actively employed in stockading itself at about a similar distance on the opposite bank of the river. A strong detachment was sent from this division to drive the British from Padoung-mew; but the effort failed—the assailants were defeated in all attempts to get into the place.

The approach of such numerous bodies of the enemy, threatened a danger so serious, that, small as his force was, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to take the offensive, and to dislodge them; his first operations being directed against the right division of the enemy at Simbiki. Of this body, says Major Snodgrass, "8,000 were Shans, who had not yet come in contact with our troops, and were expected to fight with more spirit and resolution than those who had a more intimate acquaintance with their enemy. In addition to a numerous list of Chobwas and petty princes, these levies were accompanied by three young and handsome women, of high rank, who were believed by their superstitious countrymen to be endowed not only with the gift of prophecy and foreknowledge, but to possess the mysterious power of turning aside the balls of the English, rendering them wholly innocent and harmless. These Amazons, dressed in warlike costumes, rode constantly among the troops, inspiring them with courage, and ardently wished for an early meeting with their foe, as yet only known to them from the deceitful accounts of their Burmese masters." The British were equally anxious to try the mettle of their new opponents; and the arrangements for the attack, ordered by Sir A. Campbell on the 30th of November, were carried out with alacrity. The attack took place on the 1st of December, and the real designs of the British general were veiled by Commodore Sir James Brisbane, with the flotilla, cannonading the enemy's posts, on both sides of the river, at an early hour of the morning; whilst a body of native infantry threatened Kee Wongee's position at Napadee, driving in his advanced posts. The main body of the British pushed on to Simbiki in two columns; one, under Brigadier-general Cotton, making the attack in front; the other, under Sir Archibald Campbell, going to the rear, with the view of pre-

* Major Snodgrass.

venting any junction with the centre division. So deceived were the enemy by the cannonade from the flotilla, that when Brigadier-general Cotton's column reached the Burmese line, he found the pickets withdrawn; and he immediately attacked and carried the stockades, though the Shans fought bravely. They were encouraged by the presence of Maha Nemiow, "who, unable to walk, was carried from point to point in a gilded litter."* The Amazons also fearlessly urged them on to resist the assailants. But no sooner had the latter effected a lodgment within the interior of the crowded works, than the defenders fell into confusion. To fly was soon the prevalent feeling; and the few and narrow outlets from the stockades becoming choked up by the dead and dying, the Shans formed fresh ones for their more speedy egress. The Chobwas, most of them grey-headed men, set a noble example to their followers, but with only a partial effect—very few stood by them. They were nearly all killed, as was Maha Nemiow himself; one of the Amazons, also, was mortally wounded: but the soldiers, with chivalrous gallantry, as soon as her sex was recognised, bore her from the fight to a cottage in the rear, where she expired. Sir Archibald Campbell's column, meanwhile, advanced by the Navine river, and encountered the fugitives as they were endeavouring to cross that stream, not anticipating a foe in that direction. There another of the Amazons was seen, over whose head a shrapnel exploded, and she fell from her horse into the river. She was rescued, and borne off by her attendants; but whether her life was preserved or not, was not known. The complete rout of this division now ensued. The Shans, from whom so much was expected, dispersed, and made their way home, or to some place far distant from the seat of war, that they might not be obliged to rejoin the army: the other fugitives rallied on Napadee.

The victory was complete; and the British troops were allowed two hours for repose, and then they marched to the ford of the Navine, from whence there was a narrow route to the enemy's centre at Napadee, which it was determined to attack the next morning. Early on the 2nd, therefore, the troops were again in motion; the first division advancing by the route from the river to the enemy's front, the path being so

* Snodgrass.

† *Ibid.*

narrow, that they could only proceed along it by files. The commander-in-chief accompanied this division; and Brigadier-general Cotton, with the Madras division, was detached to penetrate, if possible, the jungle to the right. Sir James Brisbane was again requested to co-operate with his flotilla. The enemy's position was in front of a deep jungle; and the hills they occupied rose in succession along the banks of the Irawaddy, the range behind commanding that in front, and their base being washed by the river on one side, while the forest covered the approach on the other. "The only road to the heights lay along the flat open beach, until checked by the abrupt and rugged termination of the first hill, up the sides of which the troops had to scramble, exposed to the fire of every gun and musket on its summit. In addition to these difficulties, the enemy had a numerous body of men—stockaded along the wooded bank, which flanked and overlooked the beach for the distance of nearly a mile—in front of the position, and whom it was absolutely necessary to dislodge before the main body could be attacked."† This stockade was stormed and carried by six companies of the 87th, who penetrated the jungle in the rear of the flanking works: the advanced division of the enemy was then withdrawn, and the beach left open to the bottom of the first hill, at the base of which were two formidable redoubts. The flotilla now commenced a cannonade, directed on the enemy's position on both sides of the river; and some time was lost in hopes of hearing a fire opened from the Madras division. Brigadier Cotton, however, found it impossible to pass through the jungle that separated it from the Burmese, and the troops were therefore formed for an assault in front. While the necessary arrangements were making, a brigade, however, under Colonel Ebrington, succeeded in getting through the jungle in the rear, reached the flanking outworks of the hills, and attacked them so spiritedly (his majesty's 47th and the native 38th being the troops engaged), that a favourable diversion was effected for the main attack. The latter was made by his majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, under Major Howlett and Major Firth; and supported by the 87th. The 38th led; and, notwithstanding the obstacles we have described, they carried the heights at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were driven from hill to hill

with great slaughter; the entire position, three miles in extent, being left in possession of the British; whilst the flotilla, proceeding up the river, captured all the boats and stores that had been collected for the supply of the enemy's army. Thus, in two days, two divisions of the Burmese army were utterly routed; the loss to the British, in both engagements, being only twenty-five killed and about a hundred wounded. The enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, was severe; about one-third of the remainder deserted; and between forty and fifty pieces of artillery were taken.*—Of the large army sent to drive the British from Prome, the division of Sudda Woon only remained. On the 5th of December this force was attacked in its position, in flank and rear, by the British and native infantry; while the batteries and flotilla assailed the front. The resistance was feeble. The enemy were disheartened by the defeat and dispersion of the other parts of the army, and fled, after a short contest: and thus both banks of the Irawaddy were cleared of the Burmese troops; from whose advance, when their numbers were considered, nothing less than the total overthrow and destruction of the British could have been expected.

Sir Archibald Campbell now determined to advance upon Ava. The army was again divided into two columns; the first, under the commander-in-chief, marching by Wattygoon and Seindoup, and making a considerable circuit to the eastward, for the purpose of turning all the defences the enemy might have upon the river, as high as Meaday. The second column, still under Brigadier-general Cotton, marched by a road leading parallel to the river, being directed to keep up a communication with the flotilla, and to clear any positions which the enemy might occupy. Both columns were to concentrate at Meaday. There was another division in the field, under Colonel Pepper, of the Madras army. This corps was ordered to march upon Tongho, a large town, about eighty-three miles from Prome, in a north-easterly direction; and, having captured that place, then to advance and threaten Ava on that side. The co-operation of the force from Arracan, under General Morrison, was also looked for; but the general found it impossible to cross the mountains which divide that province from Burmah: and Colonel Pepper could not obtain the

* Snodgrass and Thornton.

necessary means of transport for his army. The army of the Irawaddy, therefore, unaware, at the time, that it would be totally unsupported, had to carry on the war in Burmah by itself; and it did not prove unequal to the task.

Ava is distant from Prome about 300 miles; a long march for a small body of troops through a hostile country. They were pretty well off for provisions and other necessaries. "The commissariat was conducted by natives, who even volunteered their services as drivers to the foot artillery; and, in more instances than one, showed no reluctance to expose themselves to the fire of their countrymen; testifying great delight at the precision with which the guns they were attached to were directed by their new friends and allies. The officers, no longer subjected to the inconvenience of walking, were generally mounted on Pegu ponies; and, instead of the many miseries and annoyances they had to endure in the march from Rangoon, commenced the second campaign, if not in the style and with the luxuries of Indian warfare, at least in comparative ease and comfort to what they had previously experienced. Both men and officers enjoyed the blessing of robust health, to enable them to bear and overcome any difficulties they might meet with on the journey."†—The first division started from Prome on the 9th of December. On the 19th it reached Meaday, where a sad scene of misery and death presented itself—at that time the dying being mixed with the dead; the dogs and vultures growling and screaming around, and feasting on the bodies. This scene of desolation continued for many miles. On the 26th, a flag of truce was received from Melown, announcing the arrival of a commissioner there, with full authority from the king to conclude a treaty of peace. On the 29th, the division arrived at Patanago, a town eighty-three miles north of Prome, on the opposite side of the river to Melown; which town, built upon a sloping hill, was full in view, within good practice distance of the artillery. There the reserve, under Prince Memiaboo, was still stationed, in a strongly-fortified post. "The principal stockade appeared to be a square of about a mile, filled with men, and mounting a considerable number of guns, especially on the water-face; and the whole position, consisting of a succession of stockades,

† Major Snodgrass.

might extend from one to two miles along the beach."* In the centre of the great stockade was a handsome new gilt pagoda, which had been raised to the memory of Maha Bandoola, as a testimony of the king's approbation of his services, and as an incitement to others to follow his example. Under the stockades, a numerous fleet of war, commissariat, and other boats, lay at anchor. These were immediately put in motion for the purpose of escaping. The passage of the British flotilla up the river had been deterred by the intricacy of the stream; but a cannonade from the guns with the troops, arrested the flight of the enemy's boats. Shortly after the *Diana* and the flotilla appeared; and were seen, writes Major Snodgrass, "passing close under the enemy's works, without a shot being fired on either side. On reaching the principal stockade, two gilt war-boats, pushing off from the shore, received the steamer with every honour, and escorted the squadron until safely anchored at some distance above the place, cutting off all retreat from it by water. Such unequivocal marks of a desire to prevent further hostility were immediately accepted; the division was forthwith encamped, and during the forenoon a truce was concluded, and arrangements made for entering on negotiations on the following day."

These negotiations were carried on with the Kee Wongee and other chiefs; and after strenuous attempts to evade the terms demanded—the payment of one crore of rupees (£1,000,000) towards the expenses of the war, the cession of Arracan to England, and the restoration of Cachar to its legitimate ruler—a treaty was concluded on the 3rd of January, 1826, and fifteen days were allowed for its ratification; which was also to be accompanied by the release of some American and English prisoners, missionaries, and others, who were held in bondage at Ava. The interval that elapsed between the 3rd and the 17th, was spent in the exchange of courtesies, and in a friendly intercourse between the two camps; though the Burmese were found to be frequently working at their defences, for the purpose of strengthening them, especially in the night. On the 17th, Sir Archibald Campbell was informed, that nothing had been heard from Ava respecting the ratified treaty and the prisoners. Several proposals were made, on both sides, for the prolongation of the time for a few days longer; but

* Major Snodgrass.

as those made by the Wongees were inadmissible, and as they peremptorily refused to accede to the *ultimatum* sent from the British camp—viz., that they should evacuate Melown within thirty-six hours, and retire before the British army upon Ava—they were informed that hostilities would formally recommence after twelve o'clock at night on the 18th. Accordingly, that hour had scarcely struck, when the British commenced throwing up batteries opposite Melown, the heavy ordnance being landed from the flotilla; and by 10 A.M. on the 19th, twenty-eight guns were ready to open upon the enemy's defences. The cannonade commenced shortly after eleven, and was continued for two hours, while the troops were embarked, to be landed upon the opposite side. Captain Chads took the charge of the naval operations; and one storming party—the first Bengal brigade, consisting of the 13th and 38th regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel (formerly Major) Sale—was ordered to land below the stockade, and attack it by the south-west angle; while three brigades landed above the place, and after carrying some outworks, were to attack the northern face. The first brigade reached the shore some time before the other three, under a heavy fire, by which Lieutenant-colonel Sale was wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Frith then took the command, and the troops moved on to the attack with the greatest regularity. Everything gave way before them; and, says Major Snodgrass, "a prouder or more gratifying sight has seldom perhaps been witnessed, than was presented by this mere handful of gallant fellows, driving a dense multitude of from 10,000 to 15,000 armed men before them, from works of such strength." The other three brigades landing and joining in the attack, the enemy were driven, with great loss, from all their positions; the commanders and their beaten army retiring towards the Burmese capital with all possible speed. Considerable booty was the fruits of this victory. All the artillery and military stores were lost by the flying foe; the stud of Prince Memiaboo, and from 30,000 to 40,000 rupees, left in his house, increased the value of the booty. And in that house were also found the English and Burmese copies of the late treaty, just in the same state as when they were signed and sealed; a proof that the negotiations had been only conducted for the purpose of gaining time, and that no

intention existed, at all events on the part of the king, to conclude peace upon such terms as the British were entitled to demand, and upon which they were resolved to insist. In the first instance, it is thought the monarch was sincere; but he is said to have listened to the representations of an emissary who saw the British force near Melown, and who persuaded him that it would be folly to listen to the degrading terms proposed by a mere handful of adventurers. The unratified treaty was sent to Kee Wongee, with an intimation, that in the hurry of leaving Melown, he had forgotten a document which might hereafter be of use to him. The Wongee returned a polite answer, intimating, that besides the treaty, a large sum of money had been forgotten, which he was certain the British commander only waited an opportunity to return.*

Disappointed in his hopes of peace, Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 25th of January, again moved forward with his army on the road to Ava. He was met, on the 31st, by Dr. Price, an American missionary, and Assistant-surgeon Sandford, of the royal regiment (who had been taken prisoner some months before), with four soldiers, who had also been prisoners of war. The missionary and Mr. Sandford had given their parole of honour to return; the soldiers had their liberty given them, as a compliment from the king. The object of the mission of Dr. Price and Mr. Sandford, was "to ascertain the true state of affairs between the British and Burmese negotiators; to express the sincere desire of his Burmese majesty for peace; and to bring back a statement of the lowest terms that would be granted to him."† These were sent, varying very little from those agreed to at Melown; and Sir Archibald Campbell agreed not to advance beyond a given point for twelve days, which would have allowed ample time for the messengers to return to Ava; and for the king to send a part of the money payment, and to liberate the European prisoners at Ava, in accordance with one of the prescribed conditions. During this delay, accounts were received of the repulse of Colonel Conroy, at Zitoung, in Pegu. There was a strong stockade at that place, which the colonel had attacked with a force inadequate to its capture. The consequence was, the assailants had to retreat, Colonel Conroy and another officer being killed, and several wounded. Immediately

on hearing of this disaster, Colonel Pepper, who had been left in command in Pegu, moved on Zitoung with a stronger detachment; and after some sharp fighting, the stockade was carried, and the enemy driven from the position with severe loss.‡

After the departure of the messengers, Sir Archibald Campbell continued to advance upon Pagahm-mew, a town about a hundred miles from Melown, and the place he had promised not to pass till he heard again from the king. As he approached it, stragglers came to the camp; and their information convinced the British commander that the mission of Dr. Price and Mr. Sandford to his camp, had been merely another expedient to gain time, as a numerous army was collected in the neighbourhood of Ava—no doubt to make another struggle for victory. A levy of 40,000 men had been ordered; a high bounty had been offered to induce the people to come forward; and a savage warrior was placed at the head of the new levy, called "Nee-Woon-Breen," which has been variously translated as "Prince of Darkness," "King of Hell," and "Prince of the setting Sun." On the 8th of February, the British were within a day's march of Pagahm-mew; and General Campbell was informed, that this new general was prepared to meet them under the walls of that city. He would not retire, though the number of his fighting men was not more than 1,800. On the contrary, on the 9th, the march was continued. The route lay through a jungle, where a strong body of the enemy's skirmishers endeavoured to arrest the progress of the advancing force; but in vain. On emerging from this jungle, Pagahm-mew came in sight. The enemy were also seen, drawn up in the form of a crescent, their guns bearing on the principal road, leading through their centre, and by which they supposed their opponents would advance. Sir Archibald saw the commanding nature of the Burmese position, and that their cannon could completely sweep the road in question. He therefore divided his little army into two columns; himself, at the head of the 13th and 89th, with a detachment of the governor-general's body-guard, taking the right attack; and Brigadier-general Cotton, with the 38th and 41st, and a small body of Madras artillery, the left. The fight was desperate, but of brief duration. The enemy could not withstand the dashing

* Thornton; Major Snodgrass.

† Snodgrass.

‡ *Ibid.*

impetus of their daring assailants, and, after a short conflict, both flanks gave way, falling back upon a field-work in the centre, where they attempted to make another stand. This work was stormed by the 38th, and carried, the loss of the enemy being immense. Nee-Woon-Breen, whose army was originally from 16,000 to 18,000 strong, had still a numerous corps in the centre, which had suffered little or nothing from the strife that had been raging on the flanks. With this body an attack was made on the British, with a view to separate them, and destroy the two wings in detail. This attempt failed; and the Burmese were repulsed on all sides. They were followed up in their retreat, and completely dispersed; many jumping into the river, and perishing there, to escape the victors. About 2,000 or 3,000 only reached Ava; with them was the unfortunate Prince of Darkness, who was immediately put to death by order of the king.* By this victory, the enemy's artillery, stores, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the British.

This was the closing victory. Dr. Price and Mr. Sandford were again sent to the British camp, to announce the submission of the king; but they did not bring with them the first instalment of the indemnity, nor yet the prisoners who were to be liberated. Twenty-five lacs of rupees was the amount of the instalment, and the king proposed to pay six lacs then, and the other nineteen when the British had returned to Prome. He also required that the force should not advance nearer to the capital. Sir Archibald Campbell positively refused these terms; and Dr. Price returned to Ava to inform the king of the result of his second mission. Mr. Sandford having his freedom given to him before he left the Burmese capital, remained at the camp. The army continued to advance, and had reached Yandaboo, within forty-five miles of Ava, when Dr. Price again arrived. This time he was accompanied by the prisoners, amongst whom were another missionary, Mr. Judson and his wife, and Mr. Gouger; and by two ministers of state, who paid over the stipulated sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees. They also bore an authority, under the sign-manual, to agree to any terms the British general might dictate; and, on the 24th of February, the treaty of Yandaboo was signed and sealed. The

* Sir A. Campbell's despatch; Mr. Thornton; Major Snodgrass.

commissioners spent the 25th in the camp; and on the 26th, Captain Lumsden, of the horse artillery, Lieutenant Havelock, deputy assistant-general, and Dr. Knox, proceeded up the Irawaddy, being the bearers of the treaty for ratification. They were stopped at Yeppandine, the king refusing to receive them. They informed Sir Archibald Campbell of this strange conduct on the part of his Burmese majesty; and the general sent immediate orders for their recall. Whilst the messengers were passing and repassing, the king repented, and sent a war-boat, richly gilt, to conduct the officers to Ava. There he received them graciously, and signed the document—thus putting an end to the war.

By this treaty, which consisted of eleven articles, it was stipulated, that there should "be perpetual peace and friendship between the honourable company on the one part, and his majesty the king of Ava on the other." The latter renounced all claims to, and agreed not to interfere with, Assam, Cachar, and Jyntea; and consented, if the rajah of Muneepoor wished to return to that country, to recognise his authority. His majesty also ceded all right to Arracan, including the provinces of Arracan Proper, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway, which had been conquered by the British, and were to remain in their possession. He also ceded to the British the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim; and agreed to pay to the British government, as part indemnification for the expenses of the war, one crore of rupees. There were various other stipulations, as to the indemnity of all persons engaged in the war; for the payment of public and private debts; for the abolition of all exactions upon British vessels in Burmese ports, which were not required of the Burmese themselves; and for including "the good and faithful ally of the British government, his majesty the king of Siam," and his subjects, in the treaty. By an additional article, it was agreed, that on the receipt of twenty-five lacs of rupees, the British army would retire to Rangoon; that on payment of a similar sum they would evacuate the king of Ava's dominions; and that the remaining moiety should be paid, in two equal payments, in two years from the date of the treaty.

Thus closed a war which Major Snodgrass describes as "being of a more serious and protracted nature than any in which

our Eastern empire had been engaged for a long series of years; distinguished from all others by the obdurate and determined perseverance of the enemy; and characterised by a series of difficulties, obstacles, and privations to which few armies have been for so long a period subjected." And, perhaps, still fewer armies have accomplished what that little band achieved. In the face of privations and difficulties, "through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, they forced their way a distance of 500 miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictated a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital."* Men and officers were, indeed, disappointed that they did not advance and take that capital; where, in all probability, a rich booty would have awaited them; though Major Snodgrass is inclined to think that the city would have been deserted and destroyed. But, if they had gained in wealth, the capture of Ava would not have added to their renown; which seems scarcely capable of increase.—They did not remain long at Yandaboo after the treaty was signed. Sir Archibald Campbell commenced the retrograde march on the 25th of March. Few incidents of note occurred on the way; and most of the survivors returned in safety to their Indian homes. Captain Ross, with the 19th Madras infantry, fifty pioneers, and all the elephants, proceeded from Yandaboo to Aeng, a village in Arracan, situate on the left bank of a river bearing the same name, and about forty-five miles from its mouth. He crossed the Arracan mountains, hitherto supposed impassable, by an excellent road, and found no difficulty whatever in the route. It was the first time it had been traversed by foreigners, and, in the mountains, the detachment frequently fell in with the Kieanns, a before unknown people, whom they found both gentle and hospitable.† This detachment also reached India without any loss.

The agreement with Burmah was the forerunner of one with the king of Siam. On the 26th of July, 1826, a treaty of alliance and of commerce was concluded between his Siamese majesty and the Indian government, by which his dominions were, for the first time, thrown open to British commerce. The friendly intercourse has continued from that time to this; and, as it has been unmarked by wars, or the acqui-

sition of territory, on the part of the English, it may be regarded as a proof, that the East India Company is not so grasping and aggressive as it has been represented to be; but that if other powers adhere to their engagements, the directors will not suffer its officers to violate those into which they may have entered. The war with Burmah, by which a considerable accession of territory was gained, could not have been avoided without an abandonment of right, and giving license to the barbarian monarch to insult us, and to violate our territories as he pleased. And as so much has been said, through the press and on the platform, as to the ruinous effects of the system of government adopted in India, it is only fair to look at the condition of the territories when ceded by the treaty of Yandaboo, and that which they presented a few years after. They were, says Professor H. H. Wilson, "distracted by incessant feuds, and overrun by hostile armies or predatory bands: regions once animated by a happy and numerous population, had been converted into wide and unwholesome thickets, and had ceased, not only to be the haunts of man, but had become hostile to human life."‡ In a few years all was changed. One who had had personal experience as to the truths of what he affirmed, writing in 1852, says, speaking of these ceded provinces—"The inhabitants are multiplied, and the jungle is disappearing under their hands. In Assam and Cachar new cultivations have been introduced, especially tea in the former. The Tenasserim provinces offer a similar aspect of renovation. Moulmein, which, in 1826, was a cluster of miserable huts, is now a flourishing town. Arracan, which was then a waste, has become, under English rule, the granary of that region; and hundreds of vessels now crowd the ports of a country which, as an able historian§ observes, at the time of conquest sent scarcely a fishing-skiff to sea. Twelve hundred square-rigged ships, with innumerable country boats, sailing in one year from an anchorage, then only visited by a stray fisher or a pirate; double the quantity of land cultivated than was cultivated thirty years ago; and the population multiplied in equal proportion;—these are the points of contrast, and palaces may rot without regret, if such are the monuments which succeed them."||

* Lieutenant-colonel Tulloch's *Statistical Reports*.

† *Two Years in Ava*; by an Officer of the Staff.

‡ *Documents illustrative of the Burmese War*.

§ Professor Wilson.

|| Horace St. John.

CHAPTER XV.

AFFAIRS OF BHURTPPOOR; SIEGE OF THAT CITY; ITS CAPTURE; DISTURBANCE AT KOLAPORE; DEATH OF SCINDIA; SIMLA; CLOSE OF LORD AMHERST'S ADMINISTRATION; LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK SUCCEEDS HIM; POLICY OF HIS LORDSHIP; ABOLITION OF BATTÀ; REDUCTION OF THE ARMY; ABSTRACTION OF MILITARY OFFICERS TO FILL CIVIL OFFICES; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S INTERVIEW WITH RUNJEET SING; AFFAIRS OF COORG; INVASION OF THE PROVINCE; DEPOSITION OF THE RAJAH; CHIEF EVENTS DURING LORD BENTINCK'S GOVERNMENT; HIS RESIGNATION; AD INTERIM ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

WHILST the war with Burmah was going on, the Indian government had its attention called to another quarter. A disputed succession at Bhurtpoor seemed to demand the intervention of the British resident at Delhi, in behalf of the rightful heir; and though Lord Amherst at first attempted to repudiate the proceedings of the resident, the affair ended in an appeal to arms. Runjeet Sing, of Bhurtpoor, and his successors, had faithfully observed the treaty concluded with the former in the early part of the century; and amicable relations had been the rule between the governor-general and the rajahs. Baldeo Sing, who occupied the musnud in 1823, was aged and infirm; he appointed his son, Bulwunt Sing, a child five years old, his successor; and, at his request, early in 1824, Sir David Ochterlony, then the resident and political agent at Delhi, officially recognised the child as the future rajah, by investing him with the *khelat*, an honorary dress which had been prescribed by the Marquis of Wellesley, as the formal sign of recognition in the case of all protected and subsidised princes. At the same time, the government was placed in the hands of the brother-in-law of the rajah, on account of the infirmity of the latter. Doorjun Sal, a nephew of Baldeo Sing, who aimed at the rajahship for himself, refused to acknowledge Bulwunt Sing; and shortly after his formal recognition by Sir David Ochterlony, Doorjun gathered a number of followers about him, seized the citadel of Bhurtpoor, murdered his uncle, imprisoned the young heir, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David Ochterlony demanded the immediate liberation of Bulwunt Sing, and when it was refused, he collected forces with the intention himself of marching on Bhurtpoor, and issued a proclamation to the Jats (the inhabitants of the province), calling upon them to support the cause of their rightful prince. At that

* Mills' *India*.

time the Burmese war, which had, in the outset, proved very expensive, appeared likely also to be extremely protracted; and Lord Amherst, fearing to be plunged into "hostilities with every Indian state, from the Punjab to Ava,"* countermanded the acts of Sir David, and forbade the latter from undertaking hostilities against Doorjun Sal; who, on his part, no doubt alarmed by the determined conduct of the resident, declared that he had no intention of usurping the rajahship. The governor-general, in consequence, ordered the troops back to their cantonments, and directed Sir David Ochterlony to withdraw his proclamation to the Jats. The resident could not resist the orders, but he shrunk from carrying them out, and resigned his office. He shortly after retired to Meerut, where he died on the 15th of July, 1825. It is supposed his end was hastened by the treatment he had received; for his last words (turning his face to the wall) were, "I die disgraced."† After his death the government recognised his worth; the following being the words of a "general order" issued by Lord Amherst on the melancholy occasion:—

"With the name of Sir David Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal army; and to the renown of splendid achievements he added, by the attainment of the highest military honour of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions an access to those tokens of royal favour which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition. The diplomatic talents of Sir David Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military qualifications. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the government reposed in an individual, gifted with such rare endowments, was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the public interest."‡

The government of Calcutta had soon cause to regret that it did not follow the

† Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*.

‡ Thornton.

policy of Sir David Ochterlony in the first instance; they were compelled to adopt it at last. Doorjun Sal, attributing the counter-order of Lord Amherst to weakness or fear, at once threw off the mask, and assumed the rajahship. His brother, Madhoo Sing, who had at first supported him, refused to bow the knee to him as rajah; raised an independent standard, which was joined by a number of Mahrattas from Gwalior; and a civil war ensued, which caused great confusion and tumult on the company's frontiers. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the new political agent at Delhi, urged upon the governor-general the necessity of putting an end to this state of things; of asserting the title of the young rajah, if necessary, by force of arms; and if we had to resort to force, of taking Bhurtpoor, which was regarded throughout India as an insuperable check to our power.* Lord Amherst yielded; and negotiation having been tried and failed, Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the 25th of November, issued a proclamation, under the authority of the governor in council, denouncing the usurper, and declaring the intention of the British government to support the rights of the lawful heir. As Sir Charles observed in his despatch, the result of the former siege of Bhurtpoor† had not been forgotten by the inhabitants of the province; whom Bishop Heber describes "as the finest people in bodily advantages, and apparent martial spirit, he had seen in India." They boasted that they were the only people in India who had been subdued by the British, and that Bhurtpoor was the only fortress that had not fallen before the British arms. The natives, in many parts of the country, believed that the attempt of the "*Feringhees*" (white men) to take the fortress would be fruitless; and great care was taken to equip the armament now sent against it so effectually, that success might be almost with certainty relied upon. The then commander-in-chief of the Indian army was Lord Combermere, who, as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had greatly distinguished himself under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war, and was raised to the peerage at its close. He took the command himself, and, on the 15th of December, 1825, his lordship set down with a fine army—composed of upwards of 20,000 men, with 112 field-pieces, and 50 pieces of horse

artillery—before the fortress, which, in 1805, had successfully resisted Lord Lake. One cause of that nobleman's discomfiture had been the broad and deep ditch, filled by the Jats with water, and which it had been almost impossible to cross. As soon as the garrison found that the British were advancing towards them with hostile intentions, they cut the embankment, in the hope of filling the ditch, as it was in 1805, and with the same results: but the British, arriving shortly after this operation had been commenced, seized the embankment, repaired the breach, and prevented what would certainly have delayed their progress, if it had not foiled their enterprise. The siege works were then pushed on. On the 23rd of December the first parallel was completed, under a heavy fire from the garrison, at a distance of 800 yards from the fort. A heavy fire was opened from two batteries in this parallel the next morning, and whilst the artillerymen were working the guns at them, another part of the force was pushing forward a third battery, between the first two, which, on the morning of the 25th, opened its fire at a distance of only 250 yards from the north-east angle of the fort. Another battery was then erected within 250 yards of the north face; and during the remainder of the month of December, and until the 6th of January, 1826, a vigorous bombardment was carried on, by which scarcely a house in the town was left uninjured; the garrison returning the fire, but making no effort to drive off the besiegers—except a sortie by about 200 horse on the 27th of December, which was speedily repulsed, deserved that name.

Though the bombardment had been so destructive to property in the town, and had also breached the curtains and injured some of the defences, the tough mud walls, which were from fifty to sixty feet thick, resisted the shock, and apparently received no impression from the heaviest fire. Doubt as to the success of the attack began again to be entertained, when the commander-in-chief adopted suggestions made to him by Major (afterwards Major-general) Galloway, and a young lieutenant of engineers, named Forbes, and resolved to adopt the process of mining. For several days this produced little effect. The first mine, commenced on the 6th of January (and carried beneath the moat, as were the others), was exploded early on the morning of the 7th, with little effect. In carrying out a second, the

* Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch, June 24, 1825.

† See *ante*, pp. 169—171.

workers were countermined and driven away. Shortly after, a shot from one of the enemy's guns fell into a tumbril, and 20,000 lbs. of gunpowder exploded. Other mines were carried out and exploded, with little effect, till the 16th, when two were sprung under one of the bastions and effected a breach, which was so much enlarged by a subsequent bombardment, that it was deemed practicable. On the 17th, another mine being carried under the north-east angle of the fortress, the next day was fixed for the assault; the explosion of this mine being the signal for the troops to advance. On the morning of the 18th, the storming party was arranged in two columns; the first (the 59th regiment) led by Brigadier-general Nichols; the second (the 14th) by Brigadier-general Reynell. They were in perfect readiness when, at 8 A.M., the mine, which was charged with 10,000 lbs. of powder, exploded with tremendous effect. The general had addressed a few words to the storming party, and had just left them, when the ponderous wall of the bastion under which the mine was carried, was seen to heave, as if shaken by an earthquake. There was, at the moment, no noise, no explosion; the very firing had, for the instant, ceased, but the wall rose and rocked like a ship lifted by a wave, and sunk down again. This occurred twice, when—with a sound to which the loudest thunder would be soft music—stones, earth, logs of wood, guns, and men, blew into the air; shrieks and groans burst upon the ear, and a dense cloud of dust and smoke obscured the sight. Several of the foremost of the storming party were killed, and the *debris* fell so thickly about Lord Combermere and his staff, that Brigadier-general M'Combe was knocked down, and two sepoys, within a few feet of the commander-in-chief, received mortal wounds. For a space—a very brief one—the storming party paused; but Brigadier-general Reynell, putting himself at the head of his column, and shouting "Forward!" on they rushed, sheering so heartily, that it was heard over the roar of artillery, and carried the breach. Brigadier Nichols' column, which was further to the left, had a more steep and difficult ascent to surmount; and were met with a resolute firmness that bespoke the determined bravery of the defenders. A hand-to-hand fight was maintained when they gained the summit; but a cheer was heard from the 14th, who were coming in the

rear of the party engaged with the 59th, the latter dashed forward, cleared the breach, and followed the enemy, who retreated slowly along the ramparts, turning every gun they came to upon the stormers. But it was impossible to arrest, or even to check, the latter; who chased the brave but flying foe, upsetting or spiking the guns as they successively drove away the gunners, till the two divisions united at the Kombhur gate; and Bhurtpoor, except the citadel, was ours. In the afternoon, the citadel surrendered. Soon after, Doorjun Sal, who, with his wife and two sons had quitted the fortress early in the morning, and sought to conceal himself in an adjoining wood, was brought in by Brigadier-general Sleigh, who commanded the cavalry, and had been expressly charged by Lord Combermere to prevent, if possible, the usurper's escape. All resistance then ceased; those of the garrison who were not killed, surrendered themselves prisoners.

This was a most important as well as a glorious advantage. The town and fortress were defended by a garrison of 20,000 men, Rajpoots and Affghans, the bravest races of India, and 146 pieces of cannon: that they should have been taken by a force only equal in number, was, therefore, as surprising as it was honourable to the captors. The latter lost 61 Europeans and 42 natives killed; 283 Europeans and 183 natives wounded. The loss of the enemy was not less than 4,000, mostly killed; 300 were slain at once by the explosion of the mine. They also lost all their guns, ammunition, and stores. Most of the fortifications were demolished. Amongst the works destroyed was one called "The Futteh Bourg," or "Bastion of Victory," which the Jats vaunted was built with the blood and bones of the assailants who fell in 1805. Some of the troops who were engaged in that siege, and who, said the inhabitants, "had been permitted to fly from the eternal walls" of Bhurtpoor, were amongst those who took a part in the work of destruction. After the monsoon rains, little remained of the once famed fortifications of Bhurtpoor; the capture of which afforded prize-money to the amount of £481,100.

Shortly after, the other Jat forts (Biana Waer, Kombhur, Deeg, and Kama) surrendered without resistance; and the infant Bulwunt Sing was established as rajah.

A treaty was concluded with his ministers, by which the British were indemnified for the expense of the war; the residence of a political agent was admitted at Bhurtpoor, where a detachment of British troops was to reside till the rajah was old enough to exercise the sovereign authority; and the fortifications, it was stipulated, were not to be restored. Doorjun Sal and his family were removed to Benares, where he received an allowance of £50 per month for his support, till his death in 1851. His mother and son survived him, and the pension is still paid to the latter. We may add here, that Bulwunt Sing was an excellent ruler, perhaps the best Bhurtpoor ever had. He faithfully carried out all his engagements with the British till his death, which took place in 1854; when arrangements were made by the government at Calcutta for carrying on the administration during the minority of his infant son.—After the conclusion of peace with Bhurtpoor, and the end of the Burmese war, Lord Amherst and Lord Combermere were both raised a degree higher in the peerage—the latter being created a viscount, the former an earl.

Simultaneously with the war with Burmah, and the affair with Bhurtpoor, differences arose with Kolapore—a Mahratta state, whose rajahs traced their descent from Sevajee. The independence of this state had been established by the intervention of Britain, before the rule of the Peishwa was at an end; and amicable relations between the chiefs of the raj, and the government of Calcutta, had been maintained. In 1825, the then rajah, Bawa Sahib, not only committed many acts of internal maladministration, but made aggressions on the neighbouring jaghedars, who were under British protection. The remonstrances of the government at Calcutta, whose interference was called for by the parties whom Bawa Sahib oppressed, were treated with contempt. Instead of desisting from his aggressive acts, the rajah levied troops, placed himself in an attitude of defiance, and continued to plunder his own dependent chiefs, as well as the territories of his neighbours; from whose inhabitants he extorted money by the perpetration of the greatest cruelties. Lord Amherst then, finding remonstrances useless, resolved to employ force. In September, 1825, a strong corps, under Colonel Welsh, was sent into Kolapore; and as soon as the British tents were pitched, the inhabitants crowded to the camp in great numbers, to

solicit protection. The rajah, finding he could not successfully resist, submitted; but scarcely had the British troops been withdrawn, when he again levied his followers, and resumed his oppression of the guaranteed chiefs. Military possession of the country was again taken, and the rajah then entered into a new treaty; but as there could be no reliance placed on his good faith, a corps of observation was stationed near his frontiers, ready to act if called upon.*

The remainder of Lord Amherst's administration was undisturbed by war. In March, 1827, Dowlut Rao Scindia† died; and the British government, in accordance with his wish, permitted his favourite wife, Baiza Rye, to adopt a child, and assume the regency; provision being made for the maintenance of a British contingent force in the territory. Later in the year, the governor-general proceeded to the upper provinces, and visited Delhi, where he had an interview with the aged king Akbar, then in his seventieth year. The complete independence of the government of the East India Company was, on this occasion, established in name as well as in fact. The family of the king and their retainers had propagated the idea of the company's vassalage to the deposed monarch, who held what was indeed a mimic court at Delhi; but now the complete and entire independence of the government of the Bengal presidency was asserted. Whilst this event is said to have filled the Delhi family with melancholy, it was looked upon with indifference by the people, who seemed to regard, without surprise, the assumption, by the governor-general and the other authorities, of that character "which had been purchased with the talents, treasure, and blood" of the British nation. The next year, the king of Delhi sent an eminent Hindoo, Rajah Rammohun Roy, to England, to represent his case to the government of the king. His mission was unsuccessful; the ministers, as the natives did not complain, declining to interfere.

From Delhi, Lord Amherst proceeded to Simla, a town in the lower or more southern part of the Himalayas, between the rivers Sutledj and Giree, which, from a cottage of spars, grass, and mud, built there in 1819 by Lieutenant Ross, had become a place of general resort for the higher classes of the company's servants, who sought a renovation of health, or relief from the oppressive heat

* Thornton.

† See *ante*, p. 154.

of the plains. Lord Amherst was the first governor-general who visited Simla; but since his time, it has been the constant and favourite retreat of his successors. Soon after his lordship's return to Calcutta, he gave up the office of governor-general into the hands of Mr. Butterworth Bayley; and in March, 1828, departed for England.

Lord William Bentinck was the new governor-general. Recalled from the government of the Madras presidency in 1807, his lordship had never ceased to remonstrate upon what he considered the injustice with which he was treated; and when Lord Amherst resigned, the influence of his family connexions and of the Right Hon. George Canning, who became prime minister and died in 1827, then in the zenith of his fame and power, procured him the appointment of governor-general. During his administration there were no great wars; and, therefore, it does not come exactly within the scope of this volume, which is more especially devoted to the "Campaigns" of India. But some events, connected with the army, and others which had an intimate relationship to one of the most unfortunate contests that the British in India ever were engaged in, require a brief notice; therefore we cannot entirely pass over the period of his government.

His lordship arrived in Calcutta in July, 1828; and Mr. Bayley surrendered the authority which he had exercised since the departure of Lord Amherst, into his hands. His lordship's instructions were, to adopt a pacific, a non-interfering, and, above all things, an economical policy; the Burmese war, and other transactions in which the Indian government had been engaged, having not only exhausted the finances, but added the sum of £13,000,000 to the public debt. The new governor-general, accordingly, as soon as he entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office, turned his attention to the reduction of expenditure. One of the first reductions his lordship made was in the outlay for the army. It had been the custom, from the earliest days of the Indian army, to make extra allowances for the expenses incurred in quarters, &c., to the officers on distant stations. The term *batta* was applied to these allowances, which had varied in amount and application till 1796. In that year an uniform system was established. It was then arranged, that *half-batta*, with quarters, or house-rent, should be allowed

to officers in garrison or cantonments; *full-batta* to those in the field; and *double-full-batta* to those who served in the dominions of Oude. In 1801 another change was adopted. The *double-batta* was abolished in Oude; and the payment of *full-batta* was ordered to all officers, instead of *half-batta* to some; the established allowance for house-rent made in certain cases being entirely withdrawn. This arrangement was approved of by the court of directors, and it continued in force, unquestioned, till 1814. Then orders were received at Calcutta, from Leadenhall-street, to discontinue the payment of *full-batta*, and to substitute, for the future, *half-batta* and house-rent, upon a revised scale. This change, which would have only afforded a very small aggregate saving to the company, would, it was felt by the Indian government, have excited great discontent, as it would occasion considerable individual loss and inconvenience. Lord Moira, therefore, declined to carry it out; and his council, in writing to the directors, observed, that—

"The court could not have been aware that *full-batta*, in Bengal, stood on the footing of a compromise for which the government was virtually pledged in *foro conscientia*, since the order for granting *full-batta* to the whole, was contemporaneous with that for withdrawing *double-batta* for a part."

Lord Amherst also declined carrying out the order of the directors. Lord William Bentinck, however, before he left England, promised to comply with it; and in November, 1828, he issued a general order for the carrying out of the regulation prescribed by the home government in 1814. This rendered his lordship and the company extremely unpopular with the army, and it was very fortunate that the Indian government was not involved in any wars like the Mahratta or Burmese hostilities. If it had, the fidelity of the officers could not have been relied upon. It was not worth exciting unpopularity and disgusting brave men for such a paltry saving; for the sum retained in the coffers of the company, by the substitution of *half-batta* and house-rent, or quarters, for *full-batta*, did not exceed £20,000 per annum. Mr. Butterworth Bayley, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the two most distinguished members of the council, disapproved of the course adopted by the governor-general in this transaction, as did Lord Combermere. The latter shortly after resigned his appointment as commander-in-chief. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Barnes, who served with distinction in

the Peninsula and at Waterloo, and had been governor of Ceylon. Lord William Bentinck himself thus recorded his sense of the measure his colleagues had dissented from, after nearly six years' experience of its effects.

"Trifling as that deduction is upon the aggregate amount of the pay of the Bengal army, it has been severely felt by the few upon whom it has fallen, and has created in all an alarm of uncertainty as to their future condition, which has produced more discontent than the measure itself."

The governor-general also undertook to make large reductions in the army; and he was employed in carrying those reductions out during the whole of the period he remained at Calcutta. When he assumed the government, the number of natives in the employ of the company amounted to 246,125; and of Europeans, to about 30,000. This army might be too large—it might have admitted of reduction to a certain extent; but the wholesale way in which it was dealt with, was certainly most injudicious. Without augmenting the European force by a single man, the native army was reduced to 152,938 of all ranks. The council of the governor-general, and all impartial men, saw the evil tendency of such a depreciation in the effective strength of the military force; but economy was the order of the day. Lord William Bentinck certainly carried that principle out in other departments, as well as in military arrangements; and so effectually, that, instead of the *deficit* which the revenue had exhibited under his predecessors, who were engaged in expensive and arduous wars, he left a surplus of £10,000,000. "But at what price was this treasure accumulated! At the cost of the most imminent peril to the empire, shaken to its foundations by the Afghanistan disaster, and in the fields of the Punjab."*

The evils of the reduction in the effective strength of the army were increased by a practice which had grown up and now became very general of drawing European officers from the native regiments, to fill diplomatic and other civil offices. The evil tendencies of this practice ought to have been apparent to those who sanctioned it; and we cannot but think, that it is *one*, and a *very prominent*, cause of the revolt and mutiny that in 1857 and 1858 distracted the north-west provinces of India. An historian, writing before that mutiny had broken out, in noticing this practice, remarks—

* Alison's *History*, vol. vi., p. 547.

"Economy was the chief motive for it. The diplomatic [or civil] servant was got at a less rate, because he continued to enjoy his pay, and it was also thought, in many cases, that the vigour and decision of a man trained to military duties, were more suitable to the severe diplomatic duties of resident at the native courts, than the habits of civilians could be. But with whatever diplomatic advantages such a practice might be attended, nothing can be more certain than that it was in the last degree prejudicial to the army. It not only deprived the officers so abstracted of a large share of their military experience, but it rendered them strangers to their men. Neither had confidence in each other, because neither knew each other. That most essential element in military vigour and efficiency, a *thorough trust and confidence between officers and men*, was wanting, when those engaged in the diplomatic [or civil] service only rejoined their regiments when hostilities actually broke out. To this cause, as much as to the great proportion of the native army, which was composed of young soldiers when the war in Afghanistan and the Punjab occurred, the narrow escape from total ruin is mainly to be ascribed. And to the same cause is to be referred the fact, so frequently observed in the later wars in India, that the sepoys were often not to be relied upon, and that they were very different from the veterans of Coote and Clive. They were so, because they wanted the essential element of military power in all countries, but above all, in Asia—that of a thorough acquaintance and confidence between officers and men."†

The pertinent nature of the above remarks will justify their introduction into a military work.

Another regulation of Lord William Bentinck, as regards the army, was the abolition of corporeal punishment in the native army. He had not the authority to abolish it in the European regiments; and the partial disuse of this degrading penalty—the entire abolition of which every admirer of the British soldier would hail with pleasure—was regarded as decidedly mischievous, as its effect must be to cause the sepoy to imagine that he possesses a moral superiority over his European brother-in-arms. "If this reflection did not occur to Lord William Bentinck, he had far less of sober thought and deliberative power than became his character of governor-general of British India: if it did occur, his lordship cannot be acquitted of the charge of wantonly and recklessly provoking consequences which his successors might have bitter reason to lament."‡

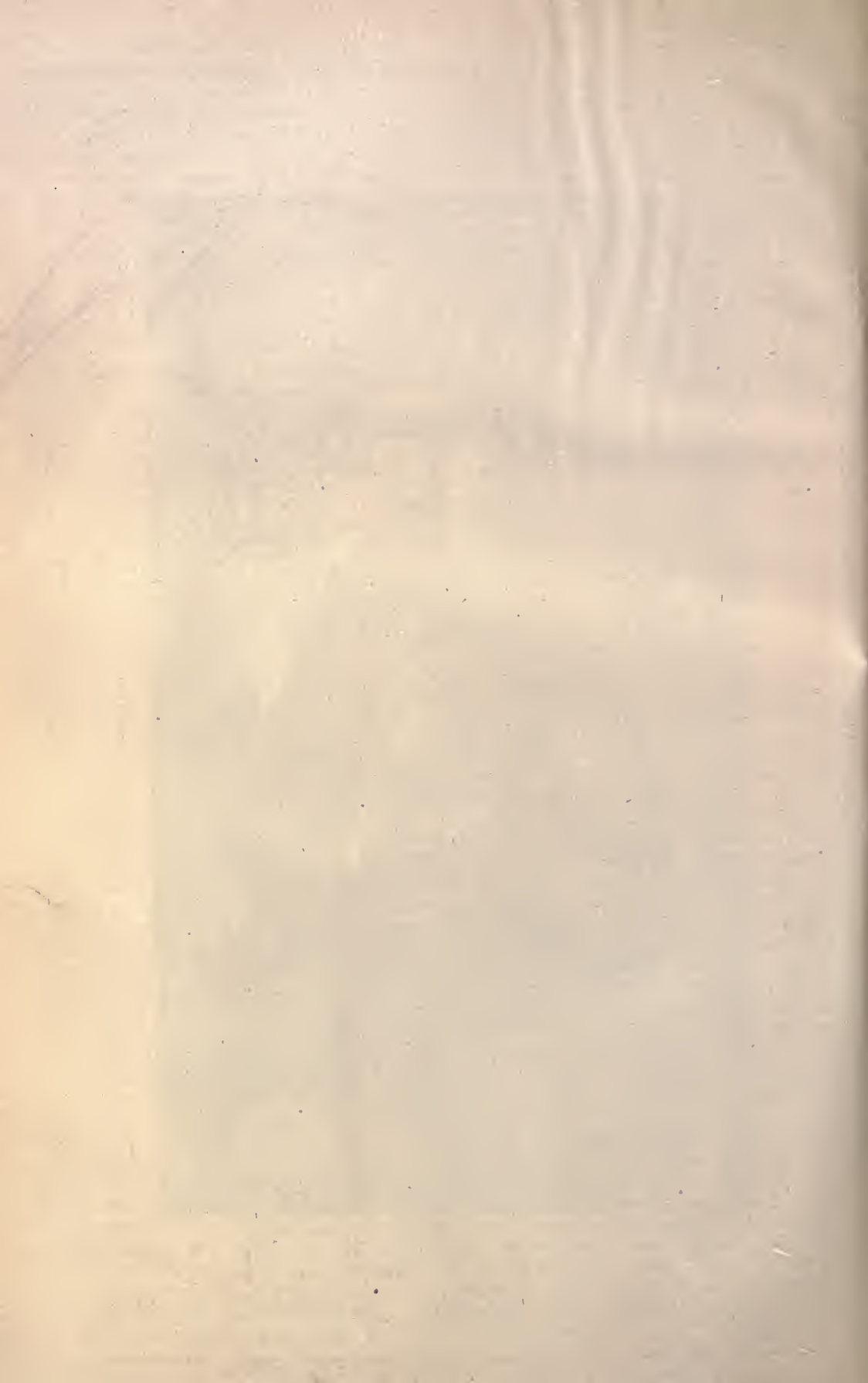
The governor-general, towards the close of 1831, gave himself some little respite from his economical and military reforms, by a residence at Simla, where he first formed an acquaintance with Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes. That

† Alison's *History*.

‡ Thornton.



GIBRALTAR.



young officer's mission to India was connected with the plan entertained at that time by the British government, of opening out the navigation of the Indus, and the extension of British trade in Central Asia, westward, as far as the Caspian Sea. He had ascended the Indus, from its mouth, between Cutch and Scinde to Lahore; and his opinion was, that, from the sea to that capital—a distance of 1,000 miles—there might be an uninterrupted navigation by steam-vessels. The only impediment, in his opinion, arose from the fierce and predatory habits of the tribes subject to the Ameers of Scinde, who lined its banks; and the governor-general was instructed to re-open communications, and establish friendly relations with them; and also to renew the intercourse with Runjeet Sing, the rajah of Lahore, with whom our alliance had been dormant since the treaty concluded with him by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, in 1809.* Lieutenant Burnes was soon in perfect accord with the governor-general, who facilitated his departure upon that journey through Affghanistan and Bokhara to Persia, which caused the gallant officer to imbibe the confident opinion, that a Russian army would be able to travel the same route, and attack our Indian dominions from the west. Thus the germ of the Affghan war was laid. On this journey, Lieutenant Burnes was hospitably received at Cabool by Dost Mahomed, who had exercised supreme authority there for many years, having supplanted Shah Soojah,† who resided at Loodiana, under British protection. After his communications with Lieutenant Burnes, Lord William Bentinck sent Captain Pottinger to treat with the Ameers of Scinde, with whom that officer concluded a treaty, by which those chiefs agreed, moderate duties being paid, to open the roads and rivers of their territory to the merchandise of India. Three conditions, however, were attached to this concession. "First, that no military stores should pass; secondly, that no armed vessel or boat should come by the river; third, that no English merchants should settle in Scinde, but should go there as occasion might require, transact their business, and return to India."‡ This third condition was a retrograde step; as previously, the subjects of the Ameers and those of the British government were at liberty to reside in the terri-

tory of either, as long as they conducted themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner. Soon after Captain Pottinger had departed for Scinde, the governor-general himself proceeded to Rooper, on the Sutledj, where he had an interview with Runjeet Sing, who made professions of the warmest friendship. He agreed to form an alliance with Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk; and a paper was placed in his hands by Lord William Bentinck, promising him the perpetual amity of the British government.

The governor-general remained in the north-west provinces during the entire year of 1832, being joined at Simla, in the early part of it, by Lord Clare, the governor of Bombay. He arrived at Calcutta on the 2nd of February, 1833; and in March (Sir Edward Barnes having resigned the command of the army) he received the appointment of commander-in-chief, in addition to that of governor-general. During his absence, the British government had undertaken the entire administration of Mysore and its dependencies. For some years subsequent to the termination of the career of Tippoo, the affairs of that province had been conducted by Purneah, a Brahmin, in the name of the rajah, who was restored to his authority on the defeat and death of Tippoo. At that time the rajah was an infant; but on coming to a competent age he took the government into his own hands; and so mismanaged his affairs, that he not only completely exhausted his exchequer, but introduced so much confusion into the country, that first insubordination and then rebellion ensued. The Calcutta government put the affairs of the province into the hands of a commission; and the results, we are told, are, that the Mohammedan population has steadily settled down to agricultural pursuits; transit duties no longer exist; and, in commercial matters, Mysore has been put on the footing of a British possession.

Not long after the governor-general's return to Calcutta, the affairs of Coorg called for his lordship's attention. Coorg is a small district of Southern India, lying between Mysore, Canara, and Malabar; the first bounding it on the east and north, the second on the north and west, and the third on the south. Its inhabitants are the Nairs; and, though a barbarous, are a brave and an energetic race, whom Hyder and his son found it impossible to subdue. In 1791 they were received under the protec-

* See *ante*, p. 184.† See *ante*, p. 183.

‡ Thornton.

tion of the British government. In 1832, the sister of the reigning rajah (whose father had been a faithful friend of the British in the war with Tippoo) having been cruelly treated by her brother, fled with her husband into Mysore, and claimed the protection of the British resident there. She was reclaimed by the rajah; but the British, as a matter of course, refused to give her up to her relative; as the consequences of such a surrender of a sister to an angry brother, in India, are well known. The rajah continued his complaints, making, at the same time, military preparations; whilst the British authorities endeavoured to set matters right by negotiation. At length the rajah seized and detained two native messengers from the Indian government, who had been sent to Coorg under an impression that native diplomatists might have more success than European. He defended his act of violence on the ground, that his sister was withdrawn and withheld from his jurisdiction; and as he refused all redress, negotiation was relinquished, and a force of 6,000 men, under Colonel Lindsay, was dispatched to Coorg to avenge the outrage.* This is one account of the cause of difference, given by an author whose sources of information are unquestioned, and whose veracity and trustworthiness, as an historian, are equally beyond dispute. He also informs us, that the province, under the rajah, who was a young man, "was a prey to the most oppressive tyranny and misgovernment." Another account, which has within the last few years been circulated in England, gives a different version to the sister's flight. We are told, on this authority, that her husband was a murderer; that he fled from Coorg to escape justice; and that he circulated the vilest calumnies against his brother-in-law in Mysore, to induce the British to protect him.† This account admits the seizure of the messengers, and their detention because the extradition of the murderer was refused, as having led to the hostile demonstration against Coorg. We believe that Mr. Thornton gives the truest history of the quarrel; but whether even that cause justified the extreme measures taken by the Indian government, is a question on which opinions will differ. We think it did not.

The British forces entered Coorg in April, 1834, being preceded by a proclamation issued by the Indian government, and

circulated amongst the inhabitants, to the effect, that "the rajah—in consequence of cruelty and oppression to his subjects; the assumption of an attitude of hostility and menace towards the British government; the encouragement and aid afforded to its enemies; and the imprisonment of the British emissaries sent to open a friendly negotiation with him—was no longer to occupy the royal seat."‡ The hostile force entered the province in four divisions: one, under Colonel Lindsay, made its way from Mysore, and advanced to Merkara, the capital, without opposition; the stockades erected by the rajah on the road being all deserted. His troops had also evacuated the capital, where the British flag was hoisted, no resistance being offered. A terrible proof of the rajah's ferocity was met with at the palace. Preparations had been made for burning the building; and the bodies of seventeen persons,—three of them relatives of the rajah—were found in a pit in an adjoining jungle. Not a male of the royal house, but the rajah, survived; and his minister was found hanging on a tree.—The second column, under Colonel Foulis, marched from Malabar by the Horgullum Pass; and, after a short resistance, in which the garrison lost about 250 men and four chiefs, took the town of Verajunderpet, sixteen miles to the south of Merkara.—A third column, under Colonel Jackson, entered the province more to the north than the route pursued by the first column; and in passing a deep rocky ravine, the sides of which were covered with the rajah's troops, a fire so heavy and well-directed was opened upon the British, that, after suffering severe loss, they were compelled to retire, leaving the wounded and baggage behind.—The fourth column, under Colonel Waugh, also entered Coorg to the north, and marched on Merkara. It was opposed on the route; and though it defeated the enemy, it suffered severely on the passage.—His capital occupied, and several thousand soldiers having established themselves in his country, the rajah found he could not resist; and on the 13th of May, he surrendered unconditionally. Coorg was incorporated with the territory of the East India Company, and the ex-rajah, who received a pension of 60,000 rupees per annum, came to England, where he long resided; his daughter being brought up in the Christian religion, under the

* Thornton.

† *Traet on Indian Reform*, No. 7.

‡ Thornton.

patronage of Queen Victoria, who stood godmother to the young Indian princess.

We shall just allude to one or two other prominent events which occurred during the administration of Lord W. Bentinck. On the 10th of May, 1829, he issued a proclamation, abolishing the practice of Hindoo women sacrificing themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands; known by the name of *suttee*. In 1831 he effected the destruction of the murderous tribe of Thugs, and also the plundering race of Dacoits.* Somewhat later, he established the rule, that the conversion of a Hindoo to Christianity should not involve his forfeiture of civil rights amongst his own people. There were, from 1828 to 1835, several differences with native states, which were all settled without any hostile demonstration being required, except in the case of Maun Sing, rajah of Joudpore, who assumed such an attitude of defiance when required to abide by a treaty into which he had entered, that a force of 10,000 men was, in October, 1834, ordered to assemble at Nusseerabad, to coerce him. The appearance of this force induced him to yield to the demands of the British, and no acts of active hostility were resorted to. Troops were also employed in breaking up the gangs of Chooars—robbers, who herded in the hill country behind the Circars; and in dispersing the Shekhawattees, another predatory tribe,

who infested the almost desert territory west of Rajpootana. Both operations were successfully executed. In 1833, a change was introduced into the Indian government, by which the influence of the Board of Control was extended; and the property of the company was conveyed, in trust, to the crown. A legislative commission was appointed, and powers to legislate, to a certain extent, were given to the governor-general, who became the supreme head of the government; the governors of Bombay and Madras being merely his lieutenants.—During Lord W. Bentinck's administration, the Ganges was first navigated by steam-vessels; and the first voyage, by a steamer, between Suez and Bombay (the prelude to the overland route), was made.

In September, 1834, his lordship, on account of ill-health, resigned his high office; and he received thanks and addresses for his administration from the people of Calcutta, who erected his statue, in bronze, in their town-hall. He also received the thanks of the East India Company. In March, 1835, he left Calcutta for England†—resigning the government into the hands of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who exercised the authority of governor-general till the arrival of Lord Auckland. No events occurred whilst Sir Charles presided at Calcutta, which call for notice in this volume.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AUCKLAND; HIS ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER; DIFFERENCES WITH THE RAJAH OF THE GOONDS; THE AFFGHAN WAR; ITS CAUSES; DOST MAHOMED; MISSION OF CAPTAIN BURNES; RUSSIAN INTRIGUES; SIEGE OF HERAT; GALLANTRY OF LIEUTENANT POTTINGER; RETURN OF CAPTAIN BURNES FROM CABOOL; THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESOLVES TO RESTORE SHAH SOOJAH; TREATY WITH THE SHAH AND RUNJEET SING; THE ARMY OF THE INDUS; MANIFESTO OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; INTERVIEW BETWEEN LORD AUCKLAND AND RUNJEET SING; COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN; THE BOLAN PASS; DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE TROOPS; THEIR ARRIVAL AT CANDAHAR; THE KHYBER PASS; ARRIVAL OF COLONEL WADE AT CABOOL; FEELING OF THE AFFGHANS; ADVANCE ON GHUZNEE; DEFEAT AND MASSACRE OF THE MOHAMMEDANS; CAPTURE OF GHUZNEE; THE BRITISH ENTER CABOOL; SHAH SOOJAH RE-ESTABLISHED ON HIS THRONE; REWARDS TO THE BRITISH OFFICERS; RETURN OF A PART OF THE TROOPS; EVENTS IN INDIA; OCCUPATION OF ADEN.

WHEN Lord William Bentinck quitted India, Sir Robert Peel was at the head of

the British government. With the full approbation of the court of directors, Sir Robert nominated Lord Heytesbury—who, as Sir William A'Court, had gained great credit as ambassador at St. Petersburg and other European courts—to succeed him.

* See *ante*, p. 7.

† His lordship sat in parliament for Glasgow, after his return to England, and died at Paris, in 1839.

The right honourable baronet, however, defeated in the House of Commons in the choice of a speaker and on the Irish church question, resigned before his lordship sailed, and was succeeded by Lord Melbourne and the whigs. The appointment of Lord Heytesbury was immediately cancelled, against the wishes of the directors of the East India Company, and the important office of governor-general of India conferred on Lord Auckland. His lordship was the son of the Hon. William Eden, the first Lord Auckland, and was bred to the study of the law. He was called to the bar in 1809; and after the whigs came into office, subsequently to the passing of the Reform Bill, was appointed president of the Board of Trade, and master of the mint, which offices he held till July, 1834; when he was nominated first lord of the admiralty—an office which he only held till November in that year, the whig ministry being dismissed by William IV., after the death of Earl Spencer. He was a nobleman of mediocre talent; and, as regarded India, he “had everything to learn. But he was a man of methodical habits of business, apt in the acquisition of knowledge, with no overweening confidence in himself, and no arrogant contempt for others. His ambition was all of the most laudable kind. It was an ambition to do good.”* The directors always entertain their governors-general at a grand banquet before they leave England for the East. At that given to Lord Auckland, his lordship avowed, that his policy would be pacific and economical; saying, “he looked with exultation to the new prospects opening out before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures—of promoting education and knowledge—of improving the administration of justice in India—and of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to millions in that country.” When he used this emphatic language, “it was felt,” says Mr. Kaye, “by all who knew him, that the words were uttered with a grave sincerity, and expressed the genuine aspirations of the man.” And there is no doubt that it was his firm intention to act up to their purport; and “to pass his allotted span of government in measures of external peace and domestic improvement. Yet, under his administration, arose the most terrible war in which our Indian empire had ever

* Kaye.

† Alison.

been engaged. Under his sway was sustained a disaster as great as the destruction of the legions of Varus! So much is man the creature of circumstances, and so little is the most strongly-marked individual disposition, or that of collective bodies of men, able to control the current of events, in which both, in public life, often find themselves irrevocably involved.”†

Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta, with his sister, towards the close of 1835; and he was almost immediately involved in differences with the ruler of the Goonds, a race inhabiting Gondwana, or Gunsoor—an undefined tract of southern India, comprising the British districts of Saugor and Nerbudda, and the states of Singrowli, Chota-Nagpore, and Sirgooja. With the rajah himself there was little difficulty. An army was sent against him, which found the rugged mountain-chain that fenced the frontiers of Gondwana, not very easy to penetrate: but having once entered the country, the principal forts were speedily occupied; and the rajah and his son submitted to the English. “Several subordinate chieftains, however, continued to resist, confiding in the strength of their fastnesses and jungles. Two campaigns were spent in this desultory warfare; the troops suffered severely from sickness in this unhealthy country, and several casualties were sustained in desperate skirmishes. At length the Goonds were subdued, and their chief fortresses demolished.”†

We now come to the most disastrous episode in Indian history previous to the mutiny and revolt of 1857—the war with Afghanistan. The causes of that war were complicated. A full development of them belongs rather to the political, than the military, history of India; and we can only allude to them here very briefly.

We have stated that Soojah-ool-Moolk was supplanted at Cabool by Dost Mahomed, who was a younger branch of the Barukzye, or Barakzai tribe—long the rivals of the Dooranee, or royal tribe, from which the Afghan monarchs were descended. Evincing many traits of cruelty in his early youth, Dost Mahomed appears, after he gained the ascendancy at Cabool, really to have had the good of his people at heart; and is even said, “by those who knew him well, to have been kindly and humane.”—“Simple in his habits, and remarkably affable in his manners, he was

† Taylor and Mackenna's *History of British India*.

accessible to the meanest of his subjects. Ever ready to listen to their complaints and redress their grievances, he seldom rode abroad without being accosted in the public streets or highways by citizen or by peasant, who laid before him a history of his grievances and his sufferings, and asked for assistance or redress. And he never passed the petitioner; never rode on; but would rest on his horse, listen patiently to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects, and give directions to his attendants to take the necessary steps to render justice to the injured, or to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. Such was his love of equity, indeed, that people asked, 'Is Dost Mahomed dead, that there is no justice?'*"

This chief—the Sirdar, as he was called—was very anxious to be on the most friendly terms with the English. Shortly after the arrival of Lord Auckland at Calcutta, he wrote to his lordship, to congratulate him on his assumption of office; assuring him that "the field of his hopes, which had been chilled by the cold blast of wintry times, had, by the happy tidings of his lordship's arrival, become the envy of the garden of paradise." Several months elapsed before Lord Auckland replied to this letter; but when he did, he warmly reciprocated the friendly language of the sirdar, and informed him, that he should shortly send an agent to Cabool, to arrange commercial matters, for the mutual advantage of both countries. This agent was Captain Alexander Burnes; and whilst Dost Mahomed received and treated him with the greatest confidence and kindness, he was distant and reserved to M. Vickovich, a Russian agent, whom he would have refused to receive altogether, had the English envoy wished him to do so. The ostensible object of M. Vickovich's mission was also commercial; but it is alleged, that he, as well as Count Simonich (the Russian minister at Teheran), was sent to the East to form a connection between Persia and Afghanistan, inimical to British interests; and the perseverance with which Russia had pursued her policy of acquisition in the East, so clearly pointed out by Sir John M'Neill (at that time the British ambassador to the court of Persia),† certainly gave great countenance to the belief, that the czar coveted the rich territories of the East India Company, and was resolved, if

possible, to get them into his possession. At this time Runjeet Sing—who had previously taken Cashmere, Mooltan, Leia, and Upper Scinde, and reduced all the Affghan tribes to the south of the first-named province—had seized Peshawur in the Punjab, which had formed part of the sovereignty of Dost Mahomed; and this somewhat complicated the relations of the British government with the latter, owing to its alliance with the rajah of Lahore. Dost Mahomed wished for aid to recover his dominions; but Captain Burnes could offer him none; and engagements into which that agent entered with the chiefs of Candahar, to detach them from Persia, were repudiated by his superiors. In the meantime, the young shah of Persia—on the ground that Kamran, the ruler of Herat (the only member of the Dooranee family who then held any authority in Affghanistan), had seized some Persians, and sold them as slaves—had laid siege to that city; and, to detach the chiefs of Candahar from England, a treaty was effected with them, under which they were to hold Herat and its territory, acknowledging the shah as their suzerain.

Of these facts there is no doubt; but of the motives and intentions of the principal parties concerned, there are various representations. As we have stated, some writers describe Russia as the moving agent, acting on her usual policy, of pushing "forward the lesser states in its alliance, or under its influence, to precede its disciplined battalions in the career of conquest, and pioneer the way for its eagles in their march."‡ Others say, that the chiefs of Candahar were striving to play off Russia and Persia against England, and England against those two powers, to allow them the opportunity of advancing their own interests. Some writers represent Dost Mahomed as the willing tool of Russia; whilst others assert, that a very small subsidy, and trifling concessions, would have made him the firm friend of England. This was evidently, at that time, the opinion of Captain Burnes, who expressed his firm belief in the sirdar's declarations, that he preferred the sympathy and friendly offices of the British, to all the offers, however alluring they might seem, from Persia or from the emperor of Russia.

The position of Herat renders its occupation by any other than a friendly power, ar

* Kaye.

† *Progress of Russia.*

‡ Alison.

event, the occurrence of which is much to be deprecated. Since the period of which we are writing, the British government has made its independence a primary object in their policy; and in the siege by the Persians, its safety is mainly owing to the gallantry of a British officer (Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger), who happened at that time to be at Herat. He belonged to the Bombay artillery, and had been dispatched by his uncle, Colonel Pottinger, the British resident in Scinde, to make a journey through Afghanistan, for the purpose of enabling him to draw up a report upon that country. He had travelled by Shikarpoor and Dehra, to Peshawur and Cabool, in the disguise of a Cutch horse-dealer; and there he adopted the dress of an Indian synd. He has given us a journal of the siege of Herat, from which we learn that the Persian army, 30,000 strong (amongst which were many Russian officers, and one corps was entirely composed of that nation, and called "the deserters"), commenced the siege in October, 1837; and carried it on with pertinacity till September, 1838. When the shah—for the Persian monarch himself headed the army—set down before this place, it contained 45,000 inhabitants; and was strongly fortified on each side by a wet ditch, and a solid outer wall with five gates, each defended by a small outwork. It was divided into four quarters, by two streets, which, at right angles, crossed each other in the centre. There were, also, mosques and caravansaries, public baths, and public reservoirs; but the interior, like that of most Eastern cities, was disfigured by the dirt and desolation which everywhere prevailed. It stands in a rich plain, lying at the foot of the Moorghaub mountains, and is "surrounded by a fair expanse of country, where alternating corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens, vary the richness and beauty of the scene, and the bright waters of small running streams lighten the pleasant landscape."* It is the central mart for the products of India, China, Tartary, Afghanistan, and Persia; and was long the capital of the extensive empire ruled by the descendants of Timour. Its ruler, Kamran, was quite unequal to the task of conducting its defence; but Lieutenant Pottinger supplied his place; and it was owing to his indomitable gallantry, perseverance, and example, that the Persians were repeatedly repulsed in their

assaults; the last of which took place on the 24th of June, 1838, when the Persians lost 1,700 men, and the Affghans about half that number. The gallantry and perseverance of the defenders may be imagined, from what Lieutenant Pottinger tells us. "Scarcely a shop," he says, "escaped destruction. The shutters, seats, shelves, nay, even the very beams and door-posts, had been torn down for firewood; most of the houses were burnt or unroofed; scarcely any business was going on; and here and there were gathered knots of pale and anxious citizens, whispering their sufferings." But notwithstanding their losses and privations, there was no thought of surrender. "With open breaches, a starving soldiery, and a disaffected populace, they determined to hold out to the last."†

But the Persians must have succeeded, if Lord Auckland had not at last interfered. Sir John M'Neill had repaired to the camp of the shah, and endeavoured to effect an accommodation by diplomatic means, but failed; the Russian ambassador, it is said, having counteracted his well-meant efforts. The strong representations he made to the governor-general, however, induced his lordship to send an expedition to the Gulf of Persia, consisting only of the *Semiramis* and *Hugh Lindsay* steamers, with a battalion of marines, and detachments from several native corps. The steamers arrived off the island of Karrack on the 19th of June, a few days before the final assault at Herat. The marines and troops were landed the same day, and established themselves on the island without resistance. A few days after the repulse of the 24th of June, the intelligence of this movement on the part of the British, reached the Persian camp; and the unwelcome announcement was soon succeeded by the arrival of Colonel Stoddart, with a message from Sir John M'Neill (who had returned to Teheran), to the effect, that if the Persians did not retire from before Herat, hostilities would be commenced by England. The shah at once resolved to raise the siege. "We will not go to war," he said. "Were it not for the friendship of the English, we would not return from before Herat. Had we known that our coming here would have risked the loss of their friendship, we would not have come at all." Preparations were soon made for a retreat; the guns were first removed, then the baggage-waggons were collected,

* Captain Conolly.

† Lieutenant Pottinger.

and the tents struck; and, on the 9th of September, the shah mounted his horse "Ameerj," and set his face homewards.*

The result of this movement was, the safety of Herat; the overthrow of Russian, and the re-establishment of English, influence at the court of Teheran; and the disappointment of the hopes—if they were really entertained—of the czar, to carry his authority, through the aid of Persia, into British India. It is a doubtful question, whether such hopes and intentions were ever indulged in by Nicholas. Certainly, when Lord Durham (at that time the ambassador from England at the Russian capital), in pursuance of instructions from home, demanded from Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, explanations as to the alleged intrigues of Count Simonich at Teheran, and M. Vickovich at Cabool, the count most positively assured his lordship, that the Russian ambassador to the court of Persia, had been instructed to deter the shah from undertaking the expedition to Herat, not to encourage him in it; and that the mission of M. Vickovich to Cabool was merely a commercial one; adding, "if he had treated of anything but commerce, he had exceeded his instructions." Further, when the latter agent, full of triumphant feelings at what he supposed his success in Affghanistan, returned to St. Petersburg, and reported his arrival to the chancellor, the latter refused to see him, saying, "that 'he knew no Captain Vickovich, except an adventurer of that name, who, it was reported, had been lately engaged in some unauthorised intrigues at Cabool and Candahar.' Vickovich understood at once the dire portent of this message. He knew the character of his government. He was aware of the recent expostulations of Great Britain, and he saw clearly that he was to be sacrificed. He went back to his hotel, wrote a few bitter, reproachful lines, burnt all his other papers, and blew out his brains."† Whether he acted with the authority of the czar or not, is one of those state secrets which will now, probably, never be developed. Many imagine that both agents implicitly carried out their instructions; and that they were only disavowed when it was ascertained that the designs had failed, and that to acknowledge them would be to embroil Russia with Great Britain, without any corresponding advantage to the former in prospect.

* Kaye.

† *Ibid.*

It would have been well, if the British government, both at home and in India, had quietly waited the course of events, contenting themselves with defending their own frontiers, and protecting their own territories from aggression, if any were offered. But at London and Calcutta, reports were rife of the intrigues of Russia, and of the hostile designs of Persia; and Sir J. McNeill was anxiously impressing upon the ministers at home, and the governor-general in India, the necessity of interposing some friendly country between Persia and the British dominions in the East. There is no doubt now, that an alliance might have been formed with Dost Mahomed, who would, for a trifling consideration, have become our fast friend. Captain Burnes, while he was instructed to require the sirdar not to connect himself with any other power, was not, however, in reality, authorised to make him any offer on the part of England; while he was plied, on the other hand, with the most flattering proposals, on the part of Russia, by M. Vickovich. Captain Burnes' mission to Cabool, therefore, ended in nothing; and he left that city on the 26th of April, 1838, where Vickovich had risen greatly in favour, having engaged to furnish money to the Barukzye chiefs, and promised all that Dost Mahomed required; including the application of Russian influence to Runjeet Sing, for the restoration of Peshawar, respecting which province Lord Auckland had positively refused to interfere. At that time, Lord Auckland, with Mr. Macnaghten, chief secretary to the government; Mr. Henry Torrens, his colleague; and Mr. John Colvin, private secretary to the governor-general, and his confidential adviser, were residing at Simla. There the various rumours and reports from the west were considered; and there, most unhappily, under the belief that Dost Mahomed had sold himself to Russia and to Persia, and was become their tool, it was resolved to enter into an alliance with Runjeet Sing, for the restoration of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk to the throne of Cabool. There are various statements as to the quarter in which this policy really originated. Everybody was surprised that Lord Auckland, with his pacific tendencies and quiet disposition, should engage in it; and it would appear that the proposal to re-establish the imbecile shah in a position to which he had no legitimate right, came from Mr. Mac-

naghten, who submitted it to the governor-general, when "pressed by his lordship's anxiety and uncertainties." At first his lordship said: "such a thing was not to be thought of." But "some fortnight or three weeks afterwards, letters arrived from her majesty's ministers in England, suggesting various schemes of diversion in the East, as respected the aggressive views of Persia, in connection with a great European power—one analogous to that suggested by Mr. Macnaghten."* Then Lord Auckland and his advisers framed the scheme which was subsequently acted upon, with the exception of the employment of a large British force in Afghanistan: that disastrous proceeding originated with Sir John Cam Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton), who did not hesitate to avow, from his seat in parliament, that *he* was the author of the Afghan expedition.

To obtain the concurrence of Runjeet Sing in the views embraced by the governor-general—views from which Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief, and the Hon. Messrs. Prinsep and Bird (two members of the council), dissented—Mr. Macnaghten, Captain Osborne (Lord Auckland's nephew and military secretary), Captain George Macgregor, R.A. (one of his aides-de-camp), and Dr. Drummond, were sent on a mission to Runjeet Sing. They found him at Adeena-nuggur; and there and at Lahore, after some delay, what is termed a "treaty of friendship and alliance between Maharajah Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, with the approbation of, and in concert with, the British government," was agreed to and signed on the 26th of June. This document comprised eighteen articles. Their purport was the recognition of a former treaty between the maharajah and the shah; the abandonment, by the latter, of all claim to the Afghan provinces then held by Runjeet Sing; the prohibition of the passage of the Indus, except under his passport; the interchange of mutual presents between the maharajah and the shah; provisions for the mutual assistance of either party by the troops of the others; a stipulation that the shah should pay the maharajah annually two lacs of rupees, on condition of his aiding him to recover his throne, and while he kept 5,000 men, cavalry and infantry, for his support; an agreement by Shah Soojah not to "attack or

molest his nephew, the ruler of Herat, in the possession of the territory now subject to his government;" and another, not "to enter into any negotiations with any foreign state, without the knowledge and consent of the British and Sikh government, and to oppose any power having the design to invade the British and Sikh territories by force of arms, to the utmost of his ability." This treaty was signed at Lahore, before it was communicated to Shah Soojah, whom the commissioner visited at Loodiana, where his consent to the conditions, and his signature, were obtained. The shah, however, expressed a great wish to recover his dominions mainly by the strength of his own army. "He wished to obtain the assistance of British officers in raising and disciplining his troops, but he hoped 'that the immediate operations for regaining his throne might be conducted' by those troops. Such renance on his own army would raise, he said, his character in the estimation of the people, 'while the fact of his being upheld by foreign force alone, would not fail to detract, in a great measure, from his dignity and consequence.'"† He, however, expressed to the commissioners his gratitude for the past protection afforded him by the British, and for the assistance now promised him to regain his dominions. After taking leave of the shah, those gentlemen, before leaving Loodiana, visited Zemaun Shah,‡ who, though blind and powerless, evinced both joy and exultation; and "seemed filled with delight at the prospect of being permitted to revisit the land of his ancestors."§

While the negotiations were going on at Lahore and Loodiana, Lord Auckland remained at Simla, where he was joined by the commissioners; Captain Burnes, who had met them at Lahore, and Captain Wade, who was also well acquainted with the history and politics of Afghanistan, being added to the number of his advisers; as was Sir Henry Fane, who had then pitched his tent at Simla. There were long and anxious consultations between these parties; and at last it was resolved, that a large force, to be called "The Army of the Indus," should be embodied; and that it should accompany Shah Soojah to Cabool. In these discussions, Captain Burnes and Captain Wade maintained the propriety of entering into an alliance with Dost Ma-

* Letter from Mr. Henry Torrens to the *Friend of India*.

† Kaye.

‡ See *ante*, p. 18.

§ Mr. Macnaghten to the government.

homed, rather than attempting to re-establish Shah Soojah; the former, however, declaring his opinion, as he had previously done to Mr. Macnaghten in writing, that "the British government had only to send Shah Soojah to Peshawur with an agent, two of its own regiments as an honorary escort, and an avowal to the Affghans that it had taken up his cause, to ensure his being fixed for ever on the throne." He grounded this opinion mainly upon the hatred entertained by the Affghans for Persia; and Dost Mahomed having become, though from dire necessity, an ally of the court of Teheran, had converted many a doubting friend into a bitter enemy.

Bengal and Bombay each contributed its quota to the army of the Indus. That of Bengal was composed of a brigade of artillery, a brigade of cavalry, and five brigades of infantry. The artillery (two troops of horse, and three companies of foot) were commanded by Colonel Graham Her majesty's 16th lancers, and the 2nd and 3rd native light horse, formed the cavalry brigade, commanded by Colonel Arnold. The infantry was formed into two divisions; the first, of three brigades, was under Major-general Sir Willoughby Cotton; the second, of two brigades, under Major-general Duncan. The brigades were severally composed of the following regiments:—The first (Brigadier-general Sale), her majesty's 13th light infantry, and the 16th and 48th native regiments; the second (Major-general Nott), the 2nd, 31st, 42nd, and 43rd native infantry; the third (Brigadier-general Dennis), her majesty's 3rd buffs; and the 3rd and 27th native infantry; the fourth (Brigadier-general Roberts), the 35th and 37th native infantry; the fifth (Brigadier-general Worsley), the 5th, 28th, and 53rd native infantry. There was also an engineer department, under Captain George Thompson; with two companies of sappers and miners (natives), with European non-commissioned officers. This army was accompanied by a siege-train of four 18-pounders, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, and two howitzers; the whole was under the command of Sir Henry Fane. —The Bombay quota comprised a cavalry brigade, under Major-general Thackwell, composed of her majesty's 4th light dragoons, and the 4th Bombay light cavalry; a brigade of infantry, commanded by Major-general Wiltshire, and comprising her majesty's 2nd and 17th, and the 1st, 5th,

19th, and 23rd native regiments; and an artillery brigade under Colonel Stevenson. The Poonah horse accompanied this army; also an engineer department, detachment of sappers and miners, and a siege-train of two 18 and four 9-pounders. The whole was under the command of Sir John Keane, the commander-in-chief of the Bombay army. When the Bengal army was assembled at the foot of the Himalaya range, 1,000 miles from Calcutta, it comprised 28,350 men, with nearly 100,000 camp-followers, and 30,000 beasts of burden, independent of the horses belonging to the cavalry and to the staff. The principal members of that staff were Major P. Craigie, deputy adjutant-general; Major W. Gunden, deputy quartermaster-general; Major J. D. Parsons, deputy commissary-general; Major Hough, deputy advocate-general; and Major T. Byrne, assistant adjutant-general of the queen's troops. —There was a complete native force also organised, of 4,000 irregulars, under the command of Prince Timour, eldest son of the shah, which was officered by Englishmen, and paid from the company's treasury. About 6,000 Sikhs were collected under the generals of Runjeet Sing, who stationed an army of observation, 15,000 strong, in Peshawur. This army, however, really took little share in the subsequent transactions.

Previous to the movement of the army, the governor-general issued a manifesto from Simla, dated the 1st of October, 1838, of which, though its length precludes its insertion in our pages in its entire form, yet, as it sets forth the motives which influenced his lordship and his advisers in the adoption of the course finally determined upon, it would be unfair not to give a concise summary. It commences with declaring, that the treaties concluded a few years previously with the Ameers of Scinde, the nawab of Bahawalpore, and the maharajah, Runjeet Sing, "had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce." Captain Burnes' mission to Dost Mahomed was purely of a commercial nature, its object being to give full effect to those treaties. Whilst the captain was on his way to Cabool, information was received by the governor-general, that the troops of

Dost Mahomed had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of the ancient ally of the British, Runjeet Sing; and as it was to be apprehended that the flames of war would be kindled in the very regions in which it was the endeavour of the British government to extend commerce, Captain Burnes was instructed to inform Dost Mahomed, that if he was inclined to come to just and reasonable terms with the maharajah, the governor-general would exert his good offices to bring about a proper understanding between the parties. The maharajah, "with the characteristic confidence which he had uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation," at once agreed on his part to suspend hostilities. "It subsequently came to the knowledge of the governor-general, that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Affghanistan, for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of her majesty's mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain." That Dost Mahomed, "chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance," made unreasonable pretensions as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, which the governor-general could not, "consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Sing," consent to submit to his highness; and that the Dost then "avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India;" openly threatening, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid he could command. That ultimately he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Affghanistan, unfriendly and injurious as he knew they were to British India; and "by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabool without having effected any of the objects of his mission." This conduct made it evident, that as long as Cabool remained under the government of Dost Mahomed, the tranquillity of the neighbourhood could not be ensured, nor the interests of the

British empire preserved inviolate. Adverting to the siege of Herat, the failure of which was not known at Simla when this manifesto was drawn up, the governor-general characterised it as "a most unjust and cruel aggression." A hope was expressed that the gallantry and fortitude displayed by the besieged, so "worthy of the justice of their cause," would enable them to continue their defence till succours reached them from British India; and it was added, that owing to the refusal of all his just demands, and a constant course of disrespect pursued towards him, the British envoy had been compelled to leave Teheran, and suspend diplomatic relations with the shah. Under these circumstances, it had been officially communicated to the shah, that the British government considered the advance of the Persian force into Hindostan an act of hostility towards itself. As the chiefs of Candahar, brothers to Dost Mahomed, had avowed their adherence to Persian policy, the governor-general felt "the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards the British territories." With this view, his attention was naturally drawn "to the position and claims of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk," who "when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were, at that time, judged necessary by the British government;" whilst "the Barukzye chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill-fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to that government," or to aid it "in its just and necessary measures of national defence." Still, while they took steps injurious to British interests and security, the authority of these chiefs was acknowledged and respected; but a different policy was now "more than justified" by their conduct; as "the welfare of our possessions in the East, required, that we should have, on our western frontier, an ally who was interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandisement." Every consideration of policy and justice, therefore, warranted the British government in espousing the cause of the shah, "whose popularity throughout Affghanistan had been proved to the governor-general by the

strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." It had been deemed proper to make the maharajah, Runjeet Sing, a party to the contemplated operations; and the conclusion of the tripartite treaty between the British government, the maharajah, and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, had been the consequence of this determination. The result would be, that a guaranteed independence, upon favourable conditions, would be tendered to the Ameers of Scinde; that the integrity of Herat, under its present ruler, would be respected; the general security and freedom of commerce would be promoted; the name and just influence of the British government would gain their proper footing; tranquillity would be established upon the most important frontier of India; and a lasting barrier raised against intrigue and encroachment. This document concluded as follows:—

"His majesty, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes, that the shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The governor-general has been led to these measures, by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices, that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged most suitable for the general advantage of their country."

The reasons alleged in this document (which was drawn up by Lord Auckland himself) might be satisfactory, and no doubt were so, to Lord Auckland and his immediate advisers; who, we must suppose, would not have embarked upon a course involving so many important interests, and the result of which was so doubtful, without being fully convinced of its justice and propriety. To us, however, who are aware of many facts which were, at the time, unknown to the governor-general, it appears

a mass of manifest sophistry and unfounded assertion. It was not satisfactory either to many eminent authorities at the time. The Duke of Wellington, Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Edmonstone, Mr. Tucker, Sir Henry Willock, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, all dissented from the conclusions come to by the governor-general; and the Marquis Wellesley wrote to the president of the Board of Control, strongly denouncing the war, and predicting that "our difficulties would begin where our military successes ended." The press of the day was almost unanimous in condemning the manifesto, which was generally pronounced to be, "if not a collection of absolute falsehoods, a most disingenuous distortion of the truth."

After the manifesto was issued, and before the army commenced its march, the following appointments were announced:—Mr. W. B. Macnaghten, secretary to government, to be envoy and minister, on the part of the government of India, to the court of the shah, Soojah-ool-Moolk. Captain A. Burnes, of the Bombay establishment, to be employed, under Mr. Macnaghten's directions, as envoy to Kelat, or other states. Lieutenant E. d'Arcy Todd, Bengal artillery, to be political assistant and military secretary to the envoy. Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, Bombay artillery; Lieutenant R. Leech, Bombay engineers, and Mr. P. R. Lord, of the Bombay medical establishment, to be political assistants to the envoy. Lieutenant E. B. Conolly, 6th Bengal cavalry, to command the escort of the envoy, and to be his military assistant; and Mr. G. J. Berwick, of the Bengal medical establishment, to be surgeon to the embassy. These arrangements were scarcely made, and the army on its march to the westward, when intelligence was received in the camp of the raising of the siege of Herat, and of the departure of the Persian army for its own country. Nevertheless, Lord Auckland persisted in ordering the expedition to go on. In "General Orders," dated "Camp de Buddee, 8th November," his lordship said, that—

"Whilst he regarded the relinquishment by the Shah of Persia, of his hostile designs upon Herat, as a just cause of congratulation to the government of British India, he would continue to prosecute, with vigour, the measures which had been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power, in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression on the north-western frontier."

In this order the governor-general complimented Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger for the fortitude, ability, and courage he had manifested during the siege of Herat, by which he had honourably sustained the reputation and interests of his country; and instead of being political assistant to Mr. Macnaghten, he was nominated political agent at Herat, subject to the orders of the envoy and minister at Cabool.

There appears to have been an infatuation in the governor-general, in thus persisting in a course which, as Mr. Kaye observes, "if of doubtful honesty and doubtful expediency, when the Persian army was before Herat—when the Affghan garrison was on the eve of surrender—when the chiefs of Cabool and Candahar were prostrating themselves at the feet of Mahomed Shah"—became, "by the retrogression of the besieging force, removed from the category of questionable acts;" and was rendered "at once a folly and a crime." But persist he did; and towards the latter part of November, the army assembled at Ferozepore, where Lord Auckland arrived on the 27th, it having been arranged that the campaign should be inaugurated by a grand meeting between his lordship and the maharajah, Runjeet Sing. Two officers—Captain Havelock (the gallant Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow) and Colonel Fane—have given us accounts of the ceremony observed when the two great men met. The first interview took place in the camp of the governor-general, which was pitched about four miles from the river Gharra, on the 28th of November;* and the next day the governor-general visited the maharajah at the camp of the latter, when Runjeet Sing, then an imbecile, one-eyed old man, wore the "Koh-i-Noor," which he had obtained, almost by force, some years before, from Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk. On two successive days there were military manœuvres by both armies; 10,000 British troops, or one of the days, going through a bloodless battle, to show the Sikh ruler how, through the effects of European discipline, fields were lost and won. On the fifth day, Runjeet Sing returned to Lahore, followed by Lord Auckland, who paid him a complimentary visit, having previously announced, in a "general order," that "circumstances in the country west of the Indus had so greatly changed since the assembling of the army for service, that the governor-general had deemed that it was not neces-

sary to send forward the whole force; but that a part only would be equal to effecting the future objects in view." Sir Henry Fane decided, that the regiments to form the expedition should be selected by lot; and the 3rd Buffs, the 2nd, 27th, 5th, 20th, and 53rd native regiments, with the irregular cavalry, under Colonel Skinner, were those on whom the lot fell to remain on the east side of the Indus. The artillery, likewise, was greatly reduced. The entire Bengal army was included in one division, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton; and Sir Henry Fane resigning the command-in-chief, it was taken by Sir John Keane, when the Bombay and Bengal armies were united.

The Bengal army, which assembled at Ferozepore on the 2nd of December, thus reduced from its original proportions, amounted to about 8,500 men of all arms. A native corps, raised for Shah Soojah, about 6,000 strong, under the command of Major-general Simpson, passed through Ferozepore, and on that day commenced its march for the frontier; and it was arranged that the British should start on their forward movement on the 10th. The route marked out was far from a direct one. The line of march ran in a south-westerly direction, through the territories of Bahawalpore, and thence crossed, near Subzulkote, the frontiers of Scinde, striking down to the banks of the Indus, and crossing the river at Bukkur. It then took a north-westerly course, passing through Shikarpore, Bhag, and Dadur, to the mouth of the Bolan Pass; thence, through the pass to Quettah, and from that place, through the Kojuck, to Candahar. As the historian of the war remarks—"A glance at any map of the countries on the two sides of the Indus, will satisfy the reader at once, that this was a strangely devious route from Ferozepore to Candahar. The army was about to traverse two sides of a triangle, instead of shaping its course along the third." The route was rendered necessary, from some disputes between the shah and the Ameers of Scinde about money matters; the presence of the army being necessary to enforce the claim. As Shah Soojah, therefore, resolved to take that route, it was necessary for the British who escorted him to do so likewise. This claim of the shah was a most unjust one, as the money had been paid, and the Ameers produced "two releases, written in Korans, and signed and sealed by his majesty." This

* Captain Havelock: Colonel Fane says the 29th.

act alone of the shah's ought to have led the British to abandon his cause. The Ameers thought they would do so. "They were sure," they said, that "the governor-general did not intend to make them pay again for what they had already bought, and obtained, in the most binding way, a receipt in full."* They were mistaken; the claim was enforced, and the Ameers were compelled to submit.

On the 21st of November, the Bombay army, under Sir John Keane, embarked for the Indus; and on the 28th of December, arrived at Tatta—a town of Scinde, about three miles from the right bank of that river. There it halted, whilst negotiations were opened with the Ameers of Western Scinde, who resided at Hyderabad; and to those princes Captain Outram and Lieutenant Eastwith were sent, on the 13th of January, 1839, to demand the free navigation of the Indus, which was prohibited to armed boats and men, by the treaty concluded between the Ameers and Captain Pottinger;† the permission to station a British force at Tatta, and the payment of 170,000 rupees—part of an arrear claimed unjustly, as the release in the Koran shows, by Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk. The Ameers very naturally refused to comply with these terms; and the envoys, on their return, stated, that there were numerous bands of armed Beloochees at Hyderabad, and that the fortifications of that city had been greatly strengthened. It was resolved (as the instructions from the Simla council left no alternative) to compel the Ameers to assent to the proposed conditions; but the envoys strongly recommended that no attack should be made on the capital city of Scinde till the Bengal army had joined. Sir John Keane, however, on the 2nd of February, took post on the opposite side of the river, and awaited some reinforcements, which were on their way, under Brigadier Valiant, and of which the 40th European regiment formed a portion. They arrived in the *Wellesley*, 74, Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, who was instructed, the Ameers still proving hostile, to take possession of Kurrachee—a seaport of Scinde, near its north-west extremity, and possessing a good harbour, the only one in Scinde for vessels drawing more than ten feet of water, which is protected from the sea and bad weather by the point of Munorah; a bluff, rocky headland, projecting

to the south-eastward from the mainland. A fort was built on this point in 1797, which was supposed to be so situated, that a broadside from a ship of war placed opposite to it could have no effect; as "its guns would require to be so greatly elevated to avoid striking the brow of the hill, that most of the shot must pass over and fall into the sea at the opposite side; while, at the same time, the vessel must approach the headland so close, that musketry, protected by the rocks, could clear the decks."‡ The British admiral first summoned this fort to surrender. The Beloochee who commanded peremptorily refused; saying that he would die first. A second summons received a similar answer; and the *Wellesley's* broadside was opened upon it. An hour's fire from the ship refuted the notion of the security of the fort: in that time a breach was effected; most of the garrison fled; the British landed, took possession, and hoisted the union-jack upon its walls. The fall of Kurrachee decided the fate of Hyderabad: the Beloochees immediately broke up, and retired into the interior; and the Ameers agreed to the proposed terms. The Bombay army having left a reserve force of 3,000 men at Kurrachee, then marched along the banks of the Indus, till it effected a junction with the Bengal army at Shikarpore.

That army, after it left Ferozepore, had moved down by the banks of the river, being greatly incommoded by the number of camp-followers, and the large establishments, and unnecessary baggage, which the officers had persisted in taking, contrary to the advice of Sir Henry Pane. These incumbrances not only delayed the march, but increased the difficulty of finding fodder and provender; a difficulty not felt so much in the early days of the march, when the route lay through the territories of Bahwul Khan, by a good road, constructed purposely to facilitate the advance of troops, under the direction of the English engineers and commissariat; the latter having also provided, at different resting-places, stores of grain, fodder, and firewood: those days "were the halcyon days of the movement."§ On the 29th of December, the head-quarters reached the capital of Bahwul Khan's country; and on the 14th of January, 1839, entered the Scinde territory near Subzulkote, about fourteen miles from the left bank of the Indus. On

* Colonel H. Pottinger. † See *ante*, p. 249.

‡ Thornton.

§ Captain Havelock.

the previous day, Lieutenant-colonel Sir Alexander Burnes—he had just obtained his military rank, and the order of K.C.B. for his previous services in Afghanistan—had joined the army, from a mission to the Ameers of Khyrpore, who had agreed to concede Bukkur to the British as long as they might find it expedient to occupy it. This is a fortress situated upon an islet on the Indus, between the towns of Roree on the eastern, and Sukkur on the western bank,—The eastern channel, which divides it from Roree, is 400 yards wide, and 30 feet deep in the middle; the western channel is 95 yards wide, and 15 feet deep; a current runs in the former at the rate of four miles an hour. Bridges of boats were thrown across these two channels, on which the army, with its baggage and battering train, passed over; and on the 20th of February, having been previously joined by the head-quarters, arrived at Shikarpore, twenty miles west of the river. Here the two divisions of the army joined, and the force of Shah Soojah was also in the neighbourhood. Mr. Macnaghten, the envoy to Shah Soojah, had a long conference with Sir Willoughby Cotton at Shikarpore; and there differences commenced between the civil and military authorities; and also jealousies between the latter as to the proper share of the beasts of burden, &c., which were to be appropriated to each division. There were not camels sufficient for all; the governor's instructions were positive, that Shah Soojah's contingent, raw levies as they were, must be sent on first and entire, if possible; more camels were, therefore, sent after them than it was thought they were entitled to; and the officers of the Bengal army, who had always claimed and exercised a superiority over those of the other presidencies, thought they ought to be attended to before the wants of the Bombay division were supplied. However, these differences did not ultimately impede the military movements; and on the 10th of March, the Bengal column, which was in advance, reached the Bolan Pass, having accomplished the distance from Shikarpore in sixteen painful marches. "Water and forage were so scarce, that the cattle suffered terribly by the way. The camels fell dead by scores on the desert; and further on, the Beloochee robbers carried them off with appalling dexterity. When the column reached a cultivated tract of country, the green

crops were used as forage for the horses. The *ryots* were liberally paid on the spot; but the agents of the Beloochee chiefs often plundered the unhappy cultivators of the money that had been paid to them, even in front of the British camp."*

The Bolan Pass, in Beloochistan, lies on the great route from Northern Scinde, by Shikarpore and Dadur, to Candahar and Ghuznee. "It is not so much a pass over a lofty range, as a continuous succession of ravines and gorges, commencing near Dadur, and first winding among the subordinate ridges stretching eastward from the Hala chain of mountains, the brow of which it finally cross-cuts; and thus gives access from the vast plain of Hindostan to the elevated and uneven tract extending from the Hindoo-Koosh to the vicinity of the Hindoo ocean."† The elevation of the entrance on the eastern side is about 800 feet above the level of the sea; and the route ascends, so that the outlet on the western extremity is 5,793 feet above that level. There is no descent; the route opening on the Dasht-i-Bedowlut, a plain as high as the top of the pass. The total length of this route is fifty-five miles. The army entered it on the 16th of March, and left it on the 21st. The artillery was conveyed through without any serious difficulty; but the troops suffered considerably, and the cattle still more. The sharp flints on the road lamed the cattle, and many were killed and thrown into the torrent which traverses the pass; whilst if any lagged behind, they were seized by the marauders, who closely followed the advancing troops. The loss of camels occasioned the loss of baggage; and the road was strewn with valuables, comforts, and necessaries, for which there were no means of conveyance. At last the western outlet was reached; and the troops emerged upon the Dasht-i-Bedowlut. There "the clear, crisp climate braced the European frame; and over the wide plain, bounded by noble mountain-ranges, intersected by many sparkling streams, and dotted with orchards and vineyards, the eye ranged with delight; while the well-known carol of the lark, mounting up high in the fresh morning air, broke, with many home associations, charmingly on the English ear."‡ On the 16th of March the Bengal army reached Quettah, "a most miserable mud town, with a small castle on a mound, on which there

* Kaye.

† Thornton.

‡ Havelock.

was a small gun on a rickety carriage."* Here Sir Willoughby Cotton halted for further orders; and here the supplies and provisions began to fail the almost exhausted troops, and they had to be put on short rations. "From the 28th of March, the loaf of the European soldier was diminished in weight; the native troops received only half, instead of a full seer of *ottah* (that is, a pound of flour) *per diem*; and the camp-followers, who had hitherto found it difficult to exist on half a seer, were, of necessity, reduced to the famine allowance of a quarter of a seer."† Sir Willoughby Cotton did his utmost to relieve the necessities of the troops. He dispatched his adjutant-general to Sir John Keane, who was in the rear with the Bombay army, for orders; and sent Sir Alexander Burnes to Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Khelat, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure supplies, and to arrange with him at once for the acknowledgment of Shah Soojah, and to furnish facilities for the passage of the troops. The khan appeared to be friendly disposed towards the British; but complained of the damage they had done in their march through his country, for which he had received no redress. He was very reluctant to acknowledge Shah Soojah, and quite disapproved of the policy of the Indian government with respect to Affghanistan, predicting that it must inevitably fail. The envoy, however, succeeded in procuring his signature to a treaty, by which he acknowledged Shah Soojah's supremacy; and, the British government guaranteeing to pay him a lac and a-half of rupees annually, he agreed "to use his best endeavours to procure supplies, carriage, and guards, to protect provisions and stores going and coming from Shikarpore, by the route of Rozan, Dadur, the pass of Bolan, through Shawl to Kooshlack, and from one frontier to another." Mehrab Khan also placed men at Burnes' disposal to proceed to Nooshky and other places, for the purpose of procuring grain, the stock of which, however, was nearly exhausted in the country; and it was scarcely possible to abstract any for the army, "without aggravating the distress of the inhabitants, some of whom were feeding on herbs and grass, gathered in the jungle."‡

Whilst the Bengal army had been thus that of Bombay, with the shah's which was accompanied by

Narrative.

† Havelock.

Mr. Macnaghten, the envoy to his majesty, appears to have traversed the Bolan Pass without difficulty; and on the 4th of April, Sir Willoughby Cotton, with his staff, rode from Quettah to meet the commander-in-chief and inform him of his difficulties. On the 6th, Sir John Keane fixed his head-quarters at Quettah, and assumed the command of the united Bombay and Bengal armies. After ascertaining the particulars of Sir Willoughby Cotton's position, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies, he resolved to advance to Candahar without delay, at the head of the Bengal army. Brigadier-general W. Nott, and the head-quarters of the 2nd brigade, were left in garrison at Quettah, as it was desirable to protect the rear of the army, and it was thought supplies might be procured for them; though already the good faith of the khan of Khelat began to be doubted; and on the 6th of April, Mr. Macnaghten wrote to the governor-general, stating, that "the troops and followers were nearly in a state of mutiny for food;" adding, that the notion of waiting for such a person as Mehrab Khan, who had done his best to starve them, seemed utterly preposterous. To requite his suspected treachery, the envoy suggested, that the provinces of Shawl, Moostung, and Cutchee, should be annexed to the shah's dominions. It really appears, however, that the khan was a sufferer from the march of the British through his dominions, and that it was not in his power to assist them as they desired: if it were, however, his treachery soon became apparent; for a letter was intercepted, which he had written to his hill chiefs, to whom he said, "What is the use of treaties and arrangements? All child's play! There is no relief but in death! No cure but in the destruction of the English. Their heads, bodies, and goods must be sacrificed. Strengthen the pass! Call on all the tribes to harass and destroy!"

In the advance upon Candahar, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, with his native troops, took the lead, followed by the Bengal army, that of Bombay remaining in the rear. The Barukzye sirdars offered no resistance. English money was scattered amongst them; and they left the country open, retiring before the invaders. But the march to Caudahar, which is 150 miles from Quettah, was attended with

‡ Burnes to Macnaghten.

great hardships, and the troops had immense difficulties to surmount. They were harassed at every point by the hill tribes, who plundered the baggage, carrying off everything they could lay their hands upon. Our soldiers frequently pursued them; and if any were caught, they were immediately shot or hanged; no quarter being given: and thus, remarks one historian of this period, "our people prepared for their own destruction in the mountain-passes—for their bloody exodus from Affghanistan."* Horses and camels died on the march in immense numbers, and the troops suffered greatly from fatigue and want; many of them also perishing by the way. Still they persevered. The shah and his contingent kept in advance, and were the first to reach Candahar, the capital of Central Affghanistan, situated in a fertile plain, 3,484 feet above the level of the sea. It had been held by three brothers, of the rank of sirdars, for two years. They fled, on the approach of the shah and the British, to Ghiresk, a small fortress eighty miles distant; from whence (Brigadier Sale being subsequently sent in pursuit) they retreated to Persia. On the 25th of April, accompanied by the British envoy, his staff, and the principal officers of his contingent, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk entered the city, followed by a crowd of Affghans. His appearance caused great excitement. "The women clustered in the balconies of the harems, or gathered upon the roofs. The men thronged the public streets. The curiosity was intense;" and "as the royal *cortége* advanced, the people strewed flowers before the horses' feet. There were shouts, and the sound of music, and the noise of firing; and the faces of the crowd were cheerful and bright."† There were many exclamations of welcome "to the son of Timour Shah;" to whom the people said, they "looked for protection," and hoped his "enemies would be destroyed." The scene is described as very heart-stirring; and it certainly appeared to confirm all that had been said of the popularity of the shah, who, attended by the crowds of people by whom he had been received, "rode to the tomb of Ahmed Shah, and offered up thanksgivings and prayers. Then the procession returned again through the city, again to be greeted with joyful acclamations; and the eventful day, as the court chroniclers affirmed, 'passed off with-

* Macfarlane.

† Kaye.

out an accident.'"‡—This apparent popularity of the shah soon passed away.

Both columns of the British army united at Candahar; and on the 8th of May, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk was solemnly enthroned. There was a grand military display by the troops, who passed before the shah as he sat upon a *dais*, under a showy canopy. The ceremony took place on the plains just without the city; and the shah was surrounded by the chief military and political officers of the British government, which rendered the spectacle imposing and grand. But the enthusiasm with which the sovereign had been received a fortnight before had all vanished, and the people of Candahar viewed the whole affair with indifference. "Few of them quitted the city to be present in the plains; and it was remarked with justice, that the passage in the diplomatic programme, which presented a place behind the throne for 'the populace restrained by the shah's troops,' became rather a bitter satire on the display of the morning."§ Kaye ascribes this change of feeling to the presence of the British troops. He says, the Dooranee tribes, "as the grandson of Ahmed Shah, were prepared to welcome Shah Soojah." They came prepared to welcome him as the enemy of the Barukzye sirdars. But the ugly array of foreign bayonets in the background, effectually held in control all their feelings of national enthusiasm. They regarded the movement for the restoration of the Suddozye prince in the light of a foreign invasion; and chafed when they saw the English officers settling themselves in the palaces of their ancient princes."

After the ceremonies at Candahar, Sir John Keane addressed a "general order" to the troops, in which they were justly praised for their conduct on the march; for the fortitude with which they encountered and bore privations, and the zeal and perseverance with which they overcame difficulties. Some of the latter were enumerated. "The engineers," said the commander-in-chief, "had to make the roads, and occasionally in some steep mountain-passes over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science, and much severe labour; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertion and good

‡ Kaye.

§ Captain Havelock's *Narrative*.

spirit of the artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, 60th European and native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance, that each man was working for a favourite object of his own." Thus in India, as some years after in the Crimea, difficulties and privations only served to call forth all the best qualities of the British soldier.

Leaving the shah at Candahar, we will now turn to that division of the force raised in the Punjab to support his pretensions; which, nominally under Prince Timour, but really commanded by Colonel (late Captain) Wade, entered Affghanistan by the Khyber Pass. There was great difficulty in raising this Sikh contingent, and in keeping it together after it was raised. The difficulty was increased by the death, on the 27th of June, of Runjeet Sing—the only man in the Sikh empire who was true at heart to his allies; and at whose funeral pile all genuine co-operation expired.* He was succeeded by his son Kuruck Sing, who soon displayed a very different disposition from that of his father. The death of the maharajah was a source of great embarrassment to Colonel Wade; but he persevered; and, "the greater the inefficiency of the Sikh demonstration, the greater the praise that is due to the English officer, who triumphed over the difficulties thrown in his way by the infidelity of his allies."† This officer found himself at Peshawur, at the head of a force composed of Hindoos, Sikhs, and Affghans, of the slightest control over, or management of which, Prince Timour was found totally incapable. A small British detachment accompanied the natives; the artillery being commanded by Lieutenant Barr; the regular infantry by Captain Farmer; and the irregulars by Lieutenant Matheson, who after having accompanied the army of the Indus through Bahawalpore, joined Colonel Wade at Peshawur. This force, about the middle of July, had reached the entrance of the Khyber Pass—the principal route on the north, between Affghanistan and Hindostan. It commences "at Kadam, a remarkable collection of caves, about ten miles west of Peshawur, and extends about thirty miles, in a tortuous, but generally north-westerly course, to Duka, at the entrance of the plain of Jellalabad. It lies, for the most part, through slate rock, and along the bed

* Kaye.

† *Ibid.*

of a torrent liable to be filled with a sudden fall of rain; and then so violent as to sweep away everything in its course."‡ About five and a-half miles from the eastern entrance, on the right, is the town of Jaghir; and one and a-half mile further, on the left, on the summit of a peaked rock, stands the fort of Ali-Musjid, overhanging the road, "which is there merely the narrow bed of a rivulet, enclosed on each side by precipices, rising to the height of 600 or 700 feet; in some places to 1,000 or 1,200." The valley of Lalibeg Ghuree, six miles long and six and a quarter broad, is two miles from Ali-Musjid. With the exception of this valley, the pass can be commanded by *jingals*, or even by the mountain rifle. The road being stony, the movement of troops must necessarily be slow; and a hostile force is, therefore, nearly at the mercy of the mountain tribes, the chief of whom, the Khyberees, are described as "a predatory and ruthless race, well armed with long rifled matchlocks, mountain rifles (or *jezzails*), and *jingals*." The Afreedis are another tribe, encountered chiefly on the east, equally as uncivilised as the Khyberees.

When Colonel Wade entered the pass, Jaghir was filled with troops; there was a considerable garrison at Ali-Musjid, and breastworks were thrown up on the hills. The Afreedis at first made some show of resistance, and attacked the allies as they were passing the town on the 24th of July; but were repulsed by the British under Captain Farmer and Lieutenant Matheson. The little army arrived before Ali-Musjid on the 25th. This fort was immediately invested, and on the 26th such a brisk cannonade was opened upon it, that in the night it was evacuated by the garrison, and, in the morning of the 27th, the British took possession of it, in the name of the shah. Colonel Wade effected the remainder of the passage without much difficulty. On reaching the western entrance, he captured the fort of Lalpoorah, opposite Duka, whose chief, Sadut Khan, the head of the Momund tribe, had evinced a determined hostility to the Dooranee chiefs. He was replaced by Torabaz Khan, in whom the British found an active ally. The further progress of this part of the army to Cabool was scarcely impeded by opposition. Its advance had rendered a great service to Sir John Keane, as Dost Mahomed, who

‡ Thornton.

was at that city, had detached a part of his force, under his son, Akbar Khan, to defend the eastern side of his dominions. Akbar, however, advanced no further than Duka, when he was recalled by his father, who began to find that he had committed a great error in dividing his force, as his whole strength would not have been more than sufficient to avert the advance of the British, even if, with that force united, he could have succeeded in doing so. Akbar Khan left Duka just as Colonel Wade emerged from the pass; and the latter pushed on to Cabool.

We must now return to Sir John Keane. That commander soon found that a decidedly hostile feeling was rife amongst the Affghans; and our authorities at Calcutta and elsewhere, received repeated intimations, that the invasion of Afghanistan by the British was regarded in anything but a favourable light by the various native states, their neighbours and allies. The dissatisfaction was also manifested in the British provinces themselves, especially among the Mohammedans; who believed, or professed to believe, that the "Feringlees" were crossing the mountains, in order to exterminate the race of true believers. But, they predicted, the exterminators would be themselves exterminated; as the followers of the prophet, in immense numbers, would issue forth in their wrath, and sweep away all unbelievers from the territory they had so long profaned. We are told by the historian, that their feelings and expectations were so general and so little disguised, that they formed the subject of discussion even in the bazaars of the Indian capitals, and that a considerable decline in the value of public securities was the consequence.

The army remained at Candahar till the 1st of July, enjoying an interval of comparative rest, but still suffering under a paucity of provisions and other comforts. The delay turned to their advantage, as it induced Dost Mahomed to believe, that, instead of advancing to Cabool, they intended to move on Herat; and this led him to detach Akbar Khan to oppose the progress of Prince Timour and Colonel Wade. The commander-in-chief had no intention, however, of proceeding any further westward. The vizier of the Barukzye tribe at Herat, Yar Mahomed, having sent to congratulate Shah Soojah upon his arrival at Candahar, the British envoy to the shah resolved to send

a commissioner to negotiate a friendly treaty with Sultan Kamran; though he had behaved with the greatest ingratitude to Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, who were both insulted and ill-treated, and obliged to leave Herat. Major Todd, James Abbot, and Richmond Shakespear, all of the Bengal artillery; and Lieutenant Saunders, of the engineers, were sent on this mission. Soon after their departure the army recommenced its march; the destination being Cabool, and the route lying by the far-famed fortress of Ghuznee, where Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, commanded a strong garrison; and Afzul Khan was in the neighbourhood, at the head of a numerous body of horse. Dost Mahomed himself occupied a position twenty miles in advance of Cabool, where he was zealously endeavouring to make such dispositions as would best enable him to maintain his authority; and one cause of their failure was, his mistaking the plans of his enemies, whilst the disunion of the members of his family really rendered the most efficient aid to Shah Soojah, and greatly promoted his temporary success.

Ghuznee is 230 miles from Candahar; the line of country between the two places being an open level plain, or nearly so, and opposing few impediments to the advance of an army. There was no intervening hostile force, and the distance was accomplished in twenty days. On the 2nd of July the army encamped before the fortress; its wide-spread baggage, we are told, "covering an area of sixteen square miles." The city of Ghuznee stands at the western extremity of a hill range, which slopes upwards, and commands the north-east angle of the Bala-Hissar; its site being a scarped rock, 280 feet above the adjacent plain on the west. It is inclosed with walls thirty-five feet high, flanked with numerous towers; the whole being inclosed with "a *faussebraye*, and a wet ditch. In the north-east part of the town is the citadel, with a palace, magazine, and granary. As a city, Ghuznee will not bear comparison with Cabool or Candahar; and a previous visit to the bazaars of either would spoil any one for its darkened narrow streets, and small charloo. However, it possesses snug houses, and capital stabling, sufficient for a cavalry brigade, within its walls; and, in the citadel particularly, the squares and residences of its former governors were, in many instances, spacious, and even princely in their style

and decorations."* On approaching, it had a formidable appearance, "with its fortifications rising up, as it were, on the side of a hill, which seemed to form the background to it."

An incident occurred on the 22nd of July, which, not improbably, has been supposed to have sown the germ of that fearful spirit of revenge, subsequently so fatal to the British troops. A number of reckless, daring Mohammedans, known by the name of *Ghazees*, whose fanaticism leads them to think that life is well sacrificed in the prophet's cause, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Ghuznee. A party of these fanatics made a demonstration on the camp, and were met by Captain Outram, with 150 infantry and matchlock-men, and a body of the shah's horse, led by "Peter Nicholson, who took no undistinguished part in the after events of the war." They were completely routed, their holy standard and thirty-eight prisoners being taken. The latter were carried before Shah Soojah, whom they bitterly reviled for leaguings with unbelievers; one of them drawing a dagger, and plunging it into the breast of an attendant of the sovereign, who was standing near him. The shah gave orders for all of them to be instantly beheaded, and they were put to death in his presence; the executioners, not satisfying themselves with the simple process of decapitating the victims, they were hacked and maimed indiscriminately with long swords and knives, till all perished! Mr. Kaye significantly remarks, on this horrible massacre—"It is enough simply to recite the circumstances of a deed so terrible as this. It was an ominous and an unhappy commencement."

Sir John Keane and Sir Willoughby Cotton lost no time in reconnoitring the fortress. "The works were evidently much stronger than they had been led to anticipate, and such as the army could not venture to attack in a regular manner with the means at their disposal. They had no battering train; and to attack Ghuznee in form, a much larger train would be required than the army ever possessed. The great height of the parapet above the plain, and the wet ditch, were insurmountable obstacles to an attack merely by mining or escalading."† The khan, who commanded, to throw still

greater impediments in the way of an assault, had—as the British commander learned from a Barukzye deserter of rank, Abdool Reshid Khan—built up all the gateways, except that to the north, called the Cabool gate; and, after the *reconnaissance*, the general, acting on the advice of Captain Thompson, R.E., resolved to blow this gate up with powder-bags. The requisite orders were given to the officers on the evening of the 22nd; and before daylight all the troops destined to take part in the attack were in position. Their movements had been favoured by the weather, which, stormy, with loud gusts of wind constantly blowing, prevented any sounds from the camp reaching the garrison. At daybreak the explosion party, under the direction of Captain Thompson, and consisting of Captain Peat, Bombay engineers, Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, Bengal engineers, and eighteen men of the sappers, repaired to the north gate, the attention of the enemy being diverted from that point by a heavy fire opened by the British batteries in another direction, and which was replied to by the garrison. The storming party was commanded by Brigadier Sale. It consisted of her majesty's 2nd, Major Carruthers; 13th, Major Frazer; 17th, Lieutenant-colonel Croker; and the Bengal European regiment, Lieutenant-colonel Orchard. It was divided into two columns, the light companies of each regiment forming the advance, under Colonel Dennie, of the 13th; and the remaining companies the second column, at the head of which was Brigadier Sale. The quantity of powder employed in the explosion of the gate was 300 lbs. Placed in bags, they were piled up at the Cabool gate, a hose was affixed, and whilst the guns were roaring in another direction, and blue lights were dancing round the walls, lit by the besieged, the match was applied by Lieutenant Durand, "who was obliged to scrape the hose with his finger-nails, finding the powder failed to ignite on the first application of the portfire."‡ The effect was instantaneous. "A column of black smoke arose; and Captain Peat was struck to the ground, but not materially injured. Then down with a crash came heavy masses of masonry, and shivered beams in awful ruin and confusion. Then the bugle sounded the advance; and Dennie, at the head of his stormers, pushed forward through the smoke and dust of the aperture."§ The result we will give in Colonel Dennie's own words:—

* Lieutenant Rattray.

† Captain Thompson's *Memoranda of the Engineering Operations before Ghuznee.*

‡ Havelock.

§ Kaye.

"The most trying and critical part of the affair," says the gallant colonel, "was when I found myself in the dark vault of the gateway. The blue lights the enemy had thrown down became, by the time we had ascended the mound or camp, extinguished, and we were involved in total darkness. As friend could not be distinguished from foe, and firing, while mixed up with those ruffians, would have been destruction to us, I forbade it with all my energies; and nothing was done but by the *feel*. The clashing of the sabre and musket, and sensible sounds of the blows and stabs; the cries and groans of those suffering and trampled upon—to one in cold blood, would have been very horrid. But sense, with me, was occupied in trying to find the gate. Neither to the front, nor to the left, nor even long to the right, could I perceive one ray of light; but at last, groping and feeling the wall, I discovered to the right hand, high up, a gleam of sky and stars, and found a dense mass of Affghans still closed up the outlet, and obscured the sight so desired. Then it was that I ordered a volley from the leading section, and the effect was complete. Down fell the obstacles before us; and a crushing fire was kept up incessantly, by ordering 'loaded men to the front,' as fast as the leading sections gave their volley, brought up, and fired, while those in turn were covered and reloaded. We had no time to practise street-firing; but instinct or impulse supplied its place. When fairly inside, I increased my front, got all in their places that were on their legs, gave the three cheers, ordered (as the signal of our having won the gate), and pushed on at the charge into the body of the place, driving before us a mighty crowd, who showed us the road by the way they took."*

The cheers were so clear and loud, that they were heard through the camp. The main column then advanced; and a desperate struggle took place, in which Brigadier Sale was severely wounded in a personal conflict with an Affghan, and narrowly escaped with life. There was fierce fighting in the streets. The Affghans there disputed every inch of ground; and fought hand-to-hand with pistol, dagger, and sabre, retreating at the time, and many falling at every step, but selling their lives dearly. The principal families collected in the cita-

del; and the 17th and 18th made for that post, where a prolonged resistance was expected. To their great surprise none was offered; the garrison had abandoned their guns, and fled in all directions; and all that the British had to do was to force the gates, and hoist their colours on the walls. The colours of the 18th were the first planted there by Lieutenant Frere, nephew of the Hon. John Hookham Frere. Some Affghans, however, more daring and resolute than their comrades, shut themselves up in houses, and fired upon the men employed in clearing the streets, obstinately refusing quarter. Sir Willoughby Cotton and the reserve, which followed the storming party into the town, were employed in clearing the houses of these brave but fanatical warriors. The fighting lasted for some time, and hundreds of the besieged fell dead. As soon as resistance ceased, mercy reigned triumphant. The disabled were taken care of; the females were honourably treated; and though Hyder Khan's zenana was in the citadel, not a woman was outraged by the captors.† They were conducted to a private house by Captain John Conolly, and placed under the charge of the Moonsee Mohun Lal, who accompanied the camp, and who had the responsible charge of them for some time, during which they were supplied with everything necessary.‡ Hyder Khan had hid himself with a view of effecting his escape; but he was discovered in the course of the morning, and placed under the care of Sir Alexander Burnes. Of the garrison, originally 3,500 strong, 500 were killed within the walls; and many lost their lives by precipitating themselves from the ramparts, in the hope of escape. The loss of the British was very light—seventeen killed and about 170 wounded. Large quantities of provisions, many horses, and a considerable number of small arms, with 1,600 prisoners, were taken.

When the British colours floated from the ramparts, the commander-in-chief, the envoy (Mr. Macnaghten), and Shah Soojahool-Moolk, entered the town; and arrangements were made for its future government. During the day, Meer Afzul Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mahomed, at the head of 5,000 men, approached very near the British camp. He heard the firing, and as soon as he learned the fate of the fortress, retreated towards Cabool, not giving himself time to carry off his elephants and bag-

* *Private Letter*, published in Rafter's *Anglo-Indian Army*.

† Havelock.

‡ *Life of Dost Mahomed*.

gage; which augmented the booty of the British. He carried the intelligence of the unexpected fall of the fortress to his father, who, indignant at his cowardice, absolutely refused to receive him. But he himself was disheartened by the fall of a place which, if not impregnable, he thought capable of a prolonged defence: and after consulting his chiefs, he sent his brother, Jabbar Khan, to endeavour to open a negotiation with the victors. They had no objection to a pacific arrangement; but the terms they demanded of the Dost were, that he should resign the crown of Cabool, and retire into the company's territories. He would have acceded to the first condition; but refused to leave Afghanistan, claiming the office of Wuzeer, which had long been hereditary in his family. As neither party would depart from the conditions they first tendered, negotiation failed, and Dost Mahomed resolved to do battle to defend what he conceived to be his rights. But as he advanced to meet the foe (who were about ninety miles from Cabool, when at Ghuznee), his army gradually fell away from him, and nothing was left him but flight. Arrived at Urghundeh, he made a spirit-stirring appeal to his troops, but it was useless. Those by whom he was surrounded were either cowards or traitors; and according to General Harlan, a native of the United States, who was in his service, many of them were robbers as well, for they plundered the royal pavilion; the canvas, ropes, carpets, pillows, screens, &c., being seized, and divided amongst them.

On the 2nd of August, Dost Mahomed, with a few followers, left Urghundeh, in the direction of the Hindoo-Koosh. The British army had marched from Ghuznee on the 30th of July, and were informed of his flight on the 3rd. A party of ten British officers and 500 men, led by Captain Outram, were dispatched in pursuit; and would no doubt have come up with the Dost before he had crossed the frontier, had they not been purposely delayed by an Afghan chief, Hadjee Khan, who had deserted from Dost Mahomed to the shah, but was unwilling that his former master should be taken prisoner. He caused delay on the route, which gave Dost Mahomed time to get clear of the shah's territories, to which pursuit was restricted. As the treachery of Hadjee Khan was clearly proved, he was sent a state prisoner to Chunar. Whilst this chase of the fugitives was taking place, the British army pursued its route to Cabool.

At Urghundeh the guns of Dost Mahomed, all left in position, were found. There were twenty-two pieces of cannon, of various calibre, generally good, on field-carriages, "superior to those generally seen in the armies of Asiatic princes. These were parked in a circle. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundeh, at the foot of the hills." If the army of Dost Mahomed had been faithful, he might there have made a determined stand. "The route by which the British advanced was flanked by a deep, impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested; there their artillery had been parked, and would probably, from this point, have swept the whole plain, and searched the narrow defile by which his foe must have debouched. The front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and there he might have died with honour."* He was left for a better fate.

On the 6th of August, the army arrived before Cabool; and on the 7th, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk made his formal entry into the capital from which he had been banished for so many years. It was, says the historian, "truly a great occasion." The Bala-Hissar of Cabool reared its proud front before him. "The king, gorgeous in regal apparel, and resplendent with jewels, rode a white charger, whose equipments sparkled with Asiatic gold. It was a goodly sight to see the coronet, the girdle, and the bracelets, which scintillated upon the person of the rider, and turned the fugitive and the outcast into a pageant and a show." In diplomatic costume, Macnaghten and Burnes accompanied the shah. "The principal officers of the British army rode with them: and the Moonshee Mohun Lal, flaunting a majestic turban, and looking, in his spruceness, not at all as though his mission in Affghanistan was to do the dirty work of the British diplomats, made a very conspicuous figure in the gay cavalcade," as it advanced to the Bala-Hissar. But splendid as was the spectacle, when the shah re-entered his palace and was re-established on his throne, the principal thing was wanting—the enthusiasm of the people. All was dull and monotonous amongst the crowd; and the passage of the *cortège* is described as "more like a funeral procession, than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions." The shah himself, however, appeared to be

* Havelock.

insensible to all this. On entering "the palace, from which he had so long been absent, he broke out into a paroxysm of childish delight; visited the gardens and apartments with eager activity; commented on the signs of neglect which everywhere presented themselves to his eye; and received, with feelings of genial pleasure, the congratulations of the British officers, who soon left his majesty to himself, to enjoy the sweets of restored dominion."* It was nearly a month after the arrival of Shah Soojah, before his son and Colonel Wade reached Cabool. They were met outside the walls, on the 3rd of September, by Sir Willoughby Cotton, Sir A. Burnes, and a guard of honour; and "with befitting pomp, the procession made its way through the narrow streets of Cabool, to the Bala-Hissar. There were those who said, that the gaiety of the heir-apparent and his *cortège* fairly shone down the king's."†

Lord Auckland was desirous—Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk being restored to his throne—that the entire British force should return to India. It was soon found, however, that the position of the shah was so insecure, that it would not be safe to leave him entirely to the tender mercies of his subjects. It was arranged that a portion of the Bengal army, therefore, should remain, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, Sir William Nott, and Sir Robert Sale. The Bombay column commenced its homeward march on the 18th of September, under Brigadier-general Wiltshire, by the route of the Kojuck and the Bolan passes. The Bengal troops did not move till October. The first division of infantry, the 2nd cavalry, and No. 6 light field battery, remained in Affghanistan; the remainder of that army, under Sir John Keane, left Cabool on the 2nd of October, taking the route of the Khyber Pass. The troops found the cold very severe in the mountain-passes; and the roads were impeded by the remains of the numerous animals they had left on their advance. The tribes in the Khyber Pass had been attacking the garrison left in the fort of Ali-Musjid; but they offered no impediment to the progress of Sir John Keane; and the remains of the Bengal army reached its home in safety. So did that of Bombay; but on the route, General Wiltshire punished the treachery of Mehrab Khan by attacking Khelat. It was a very

* Kaye.

† *Ibid.*

gallant affair. The British arrived before the fort on the 12th of November. It was defended by a strong force of infantry drawn up on the heights, and guarded by a parapet wall. These heights were stormed by the 2nd and 17th European regiments, under Major Carruthers and Lieutenant-colonel Croker; and the 31st Bombay light cavalry, under Major Wilson. The operations were directed by Brigadier Baumgarten, and were attended with complete success. The infantry was supported by the artillery under Brigadier Stevenson; and as the troops moved forward under cover of its fire, the enemy fled before the assailants had scaled the heights. The fugitives rushed to the fort, followed by the British, who, however, did not come up till the gates were closed. By a well-directed fire from the heaviest guns, one of these gates was soon nearly demolished; and in rushed four companies of the 17th queen's regiment, under Major Pennyquick, which were in advance. There was a fierce struggle both in the fort and on some adjoining heights near the southern angle of the fortress, which the British occupied to prevent the escape of the garrison. It was not till Mehrab Khan and nearly 400 of the garrison were killed, that the rest surrendered; the British had 32 officers and men killed, and 107 wounded.—Thus closed the first Affghan campaign; and by a general order of January 2nd, 1840, the "Army of the Indus" was broken up; due mention being made of its energy, perseverance, good conduct, and gallant exploits.

The re-establishment of Shah Soojah at Cabool seemed to be the triumph of the policy of those who originated and planned the Affghan war. Candahar was occupied, and Ghuznee gloriously captured, and both were now held by British garrisons; as was Jellalabad, which Colonel Wade had captured on his route from the Khyber Pass to Cabool. A British army was encamped under the walls of Cabool; the Barukzye sirdars had fled to Persia; Dost Mahomed was a fugitive in Turkestan; and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk was restored to the authority of which he had been deprived. Thus all the objects of the Simla manifesto appeared to be accomplished; and the authors of, and the actors in, the transactions might be excused for expressing their joy in strains of exultation. Rewards and honours were showered upon most of those

who took a leading part in the campaign. Sir John Keane, who, thinking his work done, hastened back to England, was created Baron Keane of Ghuznee and Cappelquin; a pension of £2,000 per annum being settled upon him and his two successors in the title. Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Pottinger were made baronets; Colonel Wade was honoured with knighthood; Sir Willoughby Cotton, Brigadiers Nott and Sale, and several other officers, were made knights-commanders of the Bath; and the governor-general took two steps in the peerage, being raised from a baron to an earl. The shah also instituted an order of knighthood for the occasion, with the insignia of which several British officers were decorated.

Some of the events that transpired in India during the Affghan campaign require to be briefly alluded to. Early in 1839, the northern and eastern frontiers of India were threatened by the Nepaulese and Burmese. Measures of defence were taken; but the fall of Ghuznee occurring before any decided demonstration was made, the chiefs thought it better to remain quiet, and to cease their offensive demonstrations.—We have alluded to the rumours of a rise against the power of England, which were rife at the Indian capitals. The rajah of Sattara was charged by his brother, Appa Sahib, with entertaining hostile designs against the company, and with having been engaged in a correspondence with the Portuguese authorities at Goa, for the purpose of engaging them in an attempt to recover the Mahratta territories. He was also charged with corrupting and tampering with the company's sepoy, and with connecting himself with the rajah of Nagpoor, whose character was infamous, and who was notoriously inimical to British interests. Sir James R. Carnac, the governor of Bombay, was sent to Sattara to detach the rajah from his evil ways, under a promise of forgiveness if he would confess his guilt, and give a pledge to abstain from such proceedings in future. He denied the guilt, and refused the pledge; the consequence was, that he was deposed by the British troops; and his brother—who, there is every reason to believe was a false and treacherous knave—was made rajah in his place.—The nabob of Kurnool was also one of those charged with originating the Mohammedan conspiracy for the subversion of

British rule. He was making immense military preparations, for which no satisfactory reason could be given. As all explanation was refused, a military force was marched against him. "No difficulty was experienced in obtaining possession of the capital; but the nawab, with some hundred of his followers, withdrew from the place. Lieutenant-colonel Dyce, of the 34th Madras light infantry, followed them; and, after a sharp encounter, succeeded in securing the person of the nabob, as well as several other prisoners, and much property."* There were found in the fortress some well-constructed furnaces for the casting of cannon and shot on a large scale. As the nabob's complicity with external plots was considered proved, he was deposed, and his territory annexed to the British dominion. A pension of 10,000 rupees per annum was settled upon him, which lapsed upon the death of his son in 1848. The unfortunate rajah himself had been stabbed, some years before, by a fanatic Mohammedan, when attending a missionary church at Trichinopoly, where he resided.—The rajah of Joudpore was another chief who evinced signs of hostility, and a disposition to break the engagements into which he had entered. Colonel Sutherland was sent to Joudpore to demand reparation; as it was refused, a "body of troops was moved, to enforce that which negotiation had failed to achieve. Their approach alarmed the rajah, who forthwith displayed tokens of submission. The immediate consequences were, the establishment of a council of regency, with a British agent at its head, to carry on the government in conjunction with the rajah, and the reception of a British garrison within his fortress. A variety of useful reforms"† were the consequence of this arrangement.—Thus the administration of Lord Auckland appeared to be fortunate in all its undertakings, and British ascendancy to be fully established in Hindostan. His lordship undertook, in 1839, one foreign expedition. A force was sent, towards the close of the year, to reduce Aden, a fortress at the entrance of the Red Sea, in the province of Yemen, Arabia Felix. The sultan had, by treaty, surrendered it to the British; but his son held it in defiance of his father, and refused to give it up. A combined military and naval force, under Major Bailie, of the Bengal army, and

* Thornton.

† *Ibid.*

Captain Smith, R.N., was dispatched to bring the young rebel to reason; and, after short but vigorous conflict, the standard of Great Britain floated over the walls early in January, 1840. It has remained in our possession; and is an important position.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ARMY IN AFFGHANISTAN; STATE OF THINGS AT CABOOL; EXPEDITION AGAINST SYED HOSSEIN; RISING DIFFICULTIES OF THE BRITISH IN AFFGHANISTAN; RUSSIAN EXPEDITION TO KHIVA; INSURRECTION OF THE GHILZIES; DEFEAT OF LIEUTENANT WALLACE AND MAJOR CLIBBORN; KAHUN ABANDONED; RECAPTURE OF KHELAT; REAPPEARANCE OF DOST MAHOMED; HIS DEFEAT; HE SURRENDERS TO SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN; THE DISAFFECTION CONTINUES; DEFEAT OF THE INSURGENTS BY COLONEL WYMER; PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION IN EASTERN AFFGHANISTAN; ITS SUPPRESSION; PROGRESS OF SIR ROBERT SALE; HIS ARRIVAL AT JELLALABAD; AFFAIRS OF CABOOL; POSITION OF THE TROOPS; INSURRECTION AT CABOOL, AND MASSACRE OF SIR A. BURNES; MISMANAGEMENT OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES; CAPTURE OF THE COMMISSARIAT FORT; FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION; CAPTURE OF TWO FORTS HELD BY THE INSURGENTS; THEIR DEFEAT IN THE FIELD; REFUSAL OF GENERALS NOTT AND SALE TO GO TO CABOOL; DESTRUCTION OF THE GHOORKA REGIMENTS; ARRIVAL OF AKBAR KHAN; ASSASSINATION OF THE ENVOY; DISGRACEFUL TREATY WITH THE AFFGHANS; ITS RESULTS IN THE RETREAT FROM CABOOL; THE DREADFUL SUFFERINGS OF THE LADIES AND TROOPS; THE SLAUGHTER AND MASSACRE OF THE FUGITIVES; ARRIVAL OF THE SOLE SURVIVOR AT JELLALABAD.

We are now approaching what formed, till the mutiny and revolt of 1857, the most disastrous episode in the history of British India—those events connected with the army left in Affghanistan, to support Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk upon his throne. That army, during the winter of 1839-'40, spent its time pleasantly, particularly that portion of it which was stationed at Cabool. "The fine climate, which felt delightfully cool after the sultry gales of Hindostan, the keen bracing air, the fine forests, and finer scenery, the ice-cold water of the environs of Cabool, rendered the place at first an earthly paradise to men who had been toiling for months under a burning sun, in a long and fatiguing march from the plains of India."* There were amusements of all kinds; reviews were held on a scale of great magnificence; everything appeared in bright colours; and the officers, not in the least envying those who had returned home, sent for their wives and children to join them. Sir William Macnaghten also sent for Lady Macnaghten, to take up her residence with him in the Affghan capital. But the scene soon changed; the feeling of security and content was disturbed by the murmurings and insubordination of the Affghans; and even before 1839 closed, Shah Soojah found that there were those who would dispute his authority. Syed

Hossein, chief of Kooree, sent an insulting letter to the shah, charging him with apostasy, denying his authority, and avowing his own intention of joining the Russians, should they advance and afford him the opportunity. Hossein chiefly resided in a strong fort, called Bushoot, about fifty miles to the north-east of Jellalabad; and, as this insult could not be overlooked, Sir Willoughby Cotton sent Colonel Orchard, with a strong detachment, to attack him in his stronghold. The soldiers suffered much on the march, as the rain fell in torrents in the valleys; and the cold, on the hills they had to cross, was so intense, that their limbs became quite benumbed. They succeeded, however, in reaching the fort, and in dragging their cannon through the snow. It was on the 12th of June, 1840, when a battery was opened upon one of the gates, by which it was expected an entrance could be effected. The gate was speedily battered down; but when the British were on the point of rushing in, they discovered a second gate and a second wall, from which the Affghans were enabled to keep up a destructive fire upon the assailants. The latter retired; for their muskets had been so damaged by the rain, that they were useless. They would not, however, abandon the attempt to gain the fortress, and they collected bags of powder to blow up the second gate, *à la* Ghuznee. It was then

* Alison.

found, that the ammunition was so damp, it would not explode; and further proceedings were postponed till the next day. The refractory chief would not wait the result; he evacuated the fort during the night, and it was taken possession of on the 18th. The state of the weather and the roads precluded pursuit; and, notwithstanding Syed Hossein lost his fortress, his escape was the means of spreading disaffection and giving encouragement to the disaffected.

At this period there was a triple authority at Cabool: the shah, the envoy (Sir William Macnaghten), and the military commander-in-chief, Sir Willoughby Cotton. This division of power gave rise to differences of opinion and a divided responsibility, from which the greatest evils subsequently arose. There was another source from whence sprung some of those fierce passions which, in after times, were let loose upon the troops. The inmates of the zenanas were attractive to the Europeans, who were not unacceptable votaries at their shrine, and hence the jealousy of the higher classes of Affghans was excited, and their desire for vengeance raised. At the same time, the indignation of the poor was roused against the "Feringhees," by the increased and increasing price of the necessaries of life. The men and women talking among themselves, were overheard to say, "that the English had enriched the grain-sellers, the grass-sellers, and others who dealt in provisions for man and beast; whilst they reduced the chiefs to poverty, and killed the poor by starvation."* All these things worked together; and no doubt tended to produce the tragedy which eventually ensued.

As yet, however, no apprehensions were entertained at Cabool of any serious reaction; and the advance of a Russian army upon Khiva (the czar having declared war against the khan in December, 1839), confirmed Sir William Macnaghten, more than ever, in his belief of the soundness of that policy which proposed to raise a friendly state, as a barrier to the advance of a hostile force from Central India upon Hindostan. The result of that expedition, however, shows the difficulties which a hostile army has to encounter in advancing from the west; it proves that it was folly in a British envoy to endeavour to form friendly relations with such treacherous agents as Yar Mahomed, at Herat; and

* Kaye.

that the expenditure of men and money which was incurred in replacing the really imbecile Shah Soojah on his throne, was, as far as the security of the British dominions was concerned, quite uncalled-for and useless. Khiva is a country of Independent Turkestan, to the east of the Caspian Sea, being divided from Affghanistan by Bokhara and Balk. The people are rude and inhospitable, and were guilty of not only committing great atrocities on the frontier, but also of violating the Russian territory, and carrying off the inhabitants as slaves. It was to liberate the subjects of the czar, thus abducted contrary to all law, that the expedition was ostensibly undertaken. It was commanded by General Peroffsky, and consisted of 20,000 men, and ten thousand camels. They marched through the steppes of Kirghiz, which lie between the Caspian Sea and Lake Aral; but found such difficulties in the way—so many men, horses, and camels perished from the intensity of the cold—that when the army had proceeded but about half the distance, it returned to Orenburg. The slaves were subsequently liberated by the intervention of the British government. Sir William Macnaghten, however, during the greater part of 1840, knew nothing of the retrograde movements of the Russians; he had only heard of their advance; and that movement strengthened the opinions which he, no doubt, honestly entertained. The mistaken policy which sprung from those opinions, which prevailed alike at Calcutta and in London, cost him dear. In calling that policy mistaken, we by no means mean to say, that it is impossible to operate upon India from the west; or to blame any sound precautions that have been taken against the apprehended aggression of Russia. But those precautions, as it appears to us, should be taken with great moderation; and though we ought to cultivate friendly relations, if possible, with the states beyond our own boundaries, we certainly *know now*, whatever excuses may be made for the ignorance of the statesmen who involved us in the fatal transactions which took place in Affghanistan, that it is the greatest mistake—to give it the mildest term—a governor-general can commit, to interfere with the internal regulations of our neighbours.

Early in 1840, we had differences with the Sikhs, respecting the passage of reinforcements required for the army of Affghanistan, through the Punjab. Kurruck

Sing, who succeeded Runjeet, became so imbecile, as to be unable to execute his functions; and his son, Nac Nihal Sing, became the real ruler. He was averse to the passage of our troops through his territory at all; and contended that the treaty, under the conditions of which the right of passage was claimed, was a mere temporary arrangement. Symptoms of disaffection were also manifest amongst the Sikh contingent; whilst repeated demands of money were made by the Sikh authorities. These, and other demonstrations from this quarter, caused Sir William Macnaghten to declare, that "we should be in a very awkward predicament, unless measures were adopted for *macadamizing the road through the Punjab*."*—Whilst these disputes, for the present confined to words, were going on in the East, an insurrection of the Ghilzies took place in Western Afghanistan. This tribe occupies the mountainous territory that runs between Cabool and Candahar; they were always hostile to the Dooranee rule; and now, refusing to acknowledge the shah, they were in open rebellion, and cut off all communication between the two places. Defeated, on the 16th of May, by Captain Anderson, of the Bengal artillery—who with one regiment of infantry, four guns, and 300 cavalry, encountered and dispersed about 2,000 of the insurgents—they rallied again; besieged Quettah, invested Kahun, and threatened Khelat (so recently won by General Wiltshire), of which they subsequently gained possession, being led by Nazir Khan, the son of Mehrab Khan, its late ruler. A second expedition was sent against them under Colonel Wallace; and the result was more successful. Having effected a junction with Captain Anderson, the united force attacked, captured, and blew up several of their strongholds, and procured from the chiefs a reluctant acknowledgment of Shah Soojah's supremacy.—But the British were not uniformly successful. They had placed a garrison in Kahun, a fort in the hilly country west of Cabool, in the vicinity of the Murrees, who, like the Ghilzies, were a rude, lawless, predatory tribe. Early in May, Lieutenant Walpole Clarke, a gallant young officer, left the fort to procure supplies, taking with him a small party of infantry. On his return, with 500 camels, he was attacked on

the 17th in the defiles by the Murrees, whilst halting for rest and refreshment in the Nafsook Pass. The number of the assailants greatly exceeded that of the British, who, with their brave commander, were nearly all slain. Captain Brown commanded at Kahun, with the 50th Bengal native infantry. Subsequently to the failure of Lieutenant Clarke, the fort was invested by the Ghilzies; and as it was apprehended provisions would be wanted, Major Clibborn was dispatched, on the 12th of August, from Sukkur, with ample supplies, conveyed by 500 rank and file, 200 irregular horse, three guns, and twenty pioneers, for the purpose of conveying provisions to the garrison. This detachment, on the 29th, encamped at the mouth of the Nafsook Pass, and commenced the ascent to the fort the next morning. The march was continued, under the pressure of intense heat, on the 30th and 31st. On the latter day, finding that the outlets of the pass were closely invested by the Ghilzies and Murrees, it was resolved to force a passage through them. The attempt failed. The enemy was in overwhelming force; and they had greatly increased the natural difficulties of the ascent; the road being broken up, and, in many places, breastworks, covered with thorn-bushes, had been thrown across it. The most gallant efforts were made by the British; the flank companies of the 1st and 2nd grenadiers, headed by Captain Raitt, of the former, leading the advanced party, supported by the remaining companies of the 1st, and followed by fifty volunteers of the Poonah horse, under Lieutenant Lock. These troops pressed forward under a heavy fire, the guns of the convoy enfilading the pass in front. All obstacles were surmounted—the pass was gained—when a mass of men, from the crest of the mountain, rushed upon the gallant little band, which stood its ground stoutly, amidst tremendous discharges of musketry and showers of stones; and finally repulsed the savage enemy, who "yelled and howled like beasts of the forest."† The loss of the British was great; Captain Raitt being amongst the slain. This victory, so gallantly won, was unproductive of good. The men were completely exhausted by fatigue and thirst: a party sent in search of water, was betrayed by its guide, and cut off by the Beloochees; the horses being taken or killed, and very few of the men escaping: food was much wanted, but the cries for

* Macnaghten to the governor-general, April 10th and 15th, 1840.

† Major Clibborn's despatch.

water that arose from the men were most distressing. It was impossible to proceed; and a retrograde movement became inevitable. The enemy, though repulsed, were still collected in thousands between the army and the fort. As the horses and beasts of burden were all killed or carried off, there were no means of conveyance for the provisions; all, therefore, had to be abandoned, and the detachment retreated to Poolajee. On its way it was attacked by the mountaineers, when the small remains of baggage, which had been taken from the pass, were carried off; and it reached the town in one forced march, during which the men had neither food nor water. The loss of the detachment was 179 killed and 92 wounded. The provisions, stores, guns, and beasts of burden, were all lost; nothing was preserved but the arms of the men and the colours. No blame was attributable either to officers or privates, who effected all that it was possible for men in their position to do; and preserved their honour, though they lost all else.* Shortly after, on the 28th of September, Captain Brown evacuated Kahun, by an agreement with the Beloochees, the terms of which they faithfully observed. Their triumph, however, was only short-lived. On the 3rd of November, General Nott reoccupied Khelat; and a party of the insurgents, under Nazir Khan, son of the late chief of Khelat, were defeated the same day by Major Boscawen. In a few days Nazir Khan was again at the head of a numerous army. He was met, on the 1st of December, by Lieutenant-colonel Marshall, who had with him about 900 men of the 2nd Bombay grenadiers, and the 21st and 25th native regiments, sixty irregular horse, and two guns. A fierce action ensued, the mountaineers fighting gallantly, though Nazir Khan fled as soon as the battle began. They were completely beaten and dispersed, leaving 500 dead on the field. Of the British, Lieutenant-colonel Marshall said, in a field order issued the day after the engagement—"That he never wished to lead braver men into the field, for braver men could not be found."†

Dost Mahomed appeared again in the field in the course of 1840. He had ultimately taken shelter in Bokhara; and the khan (the same who murdered Colonel

Stoddart) being disappointed in hending him to his wishes, had thrown him into prison. He made his escape; and re-entering Affghanistan, was soon joined by troops of the insurgent Affghans; and his force assumed such an imposing attitude, that Rajgah and Syghan, two points beyond the Hindoo-Koosh, which had been occupied by Ghoorka regiments in the service of the company, were abandoned. An Affghan regiment, raised to support Shah Soojah, openly went over to the Dost; who, it was reported throughout the length and breadth of Affghanistan, "was advancing with an innumerable army across the Hindoo-Koosh, to exterminate the Feringhee dogs, who were devouring the land of the true believers."‡ The report caused a great panic at Cabool, where the people began to shut up their shops and conceal their effects; and, for the protection of the shah, a company of British soldiers was stationed in the Bala-Hissar. The time for the ejection of the unbelievers had not, however, arrived.

Dost Mahomed, who was accompanied by his son, Akbar Khan, had collected a numerous army, the principal portion being Uzbeg Tartars, a brave but undisciplined race. He first met his enemies in the Bamian Pass—a valley leading from Affghanistan into Independent Turkestan, between the Hindoo-Koosh and Paropamisan mountains. It is most important, as being the only known pass across the Himalaya chain practicable for artillery. It contains numerous caves, and gigantic statues cut in the rock; and is covered with the ruins of the city Ghulghuleh, destroyed by the Monghols, under Zenghis Khan, about the year 1221. In this pass, Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, with two companies of sepoy, two of Ghoorkas, two guns, and 400 Affghan horse, met the Dost, whose force exceeded that of the British by at least five to one. The Uzbegs at first fought well; but the two guns with Lieutenant Mackenzie were admirably served, and the fire from them was so effectual, that the undisciplined horde could not long stand it. They broke and fled, and were pursued by the Affghan horse, who cut down great numbers. The Dost and his son owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses; and the result of the victory was, that Colonel Dennie, who had the command of the division which occupied the pass, and had remained with the re-

* Thornton.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Sir W. Macnaghten to Major Rawlinson, Sept. 3rd, 4th, and 12th, 1840.

serve, concluded a treaty with native chief, called the Wullee of Khooloom, who had been an old ally of Dost Mahomed's, and had befriended him in his flight from Bokhara. By the terms of this treaty, all the country south of Syghan was ceded to Shah Soojah; and the Wullee agreed to abandon the cause of the Dost, and to refuse him all future support.

In this battle, which was fought on the 18th of September, Dost Mahomed lost his tents, baggage, kettle-drums, standards, and a piece of artillery, the only one he possessed. But he soon rallied again, and reappeared in Kohistan, further to the north. Sir Robert Sale was sent against him; and, on the 29th of September, the hostile parties again met, at a fortified post called Tootumdurrah. The road here was defended by earthworks; but it was speedily forced, and the Affghans broken, beaten, and put to flight. Sir Robert Sale then advanced to another fortified post called Joolgah, which was assaulted on the 13th of October by the 13th, led by Colonel Tronson. In this instance, stone walls were found too strong for British valour and perseverance, and the troops were withdrawn. The next day the garrison marched out, and the works were totally destroyed by the British. Still the Dost rallied forces round his standard; and refusing an engagement which Sir Robert Sale offered him, at the distance from Cabool of about fifty miles, he soon after—officers and soldiers of Shah Soojah having deserted the standard of their sovereign and joined his—moved direct upon the capital. He was followed by Sir Robert Sale; and the two parties came in sight of each other at Purwandurrah, a valley not many miles from Cabool, where the Affghans occupied the hills on one side, and the British those on the other. It is stated, that the Dost did not wish to give battle at this time, and was preparing to withdraw his troops up the hills, when the 2nd Bengal native cavalry, sent purposely to cut off his retreat, made their appearance, led by Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, and accompanied by Dr. Percival Lord, a distinguished man of science and a diplomatist, who, being personally known to Dost Mahomed, had volunteered to go with the troops, hoping, that if an opening for peaceful communications were afforded, he might be able to turn it to advantage. On seeing these troops advance on the road he

had intended to take, Dost Mahomed put himself at the head of about 200 horsemen, crying, "Follow me, or I am a lost man!" They did follow him, and he made directly for the British. The commanding officers dashed forward to receive the charge, nothing doubting but that they were followed by their men, who, however, were seized with a sudden panic, and discharging their carbines, they hesitated for a moment, then turned their horses and fled. The officers cut their way through the Affghans, severely wounded; but Dr. Lord was killed, as were the adjutant, Lieutenant Crispin, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, who vainly endeavoured to bring the men into action. The Affghans pursued the flying foe at the top of their speed, cut down all the recreants they came up with, and, brandishing their swords, rode nearly up to the British line, no one venturing to attack them. Sir Robert Sale, however, quickly pushed forward his infantry, and succeeded in dislodging the enemy from all his strong positions: unfortunately, having no cavalry, he was unable to keep up the pursuit. The regiment of cavalry which so disgraced itself on this occasion, was struck out of the list of the Bengal army; all the officers and privates being dismissed the service, and rendered incapable of re-entering it, or of serving the government in any other way.

Dost Mahomed had now had enough of fighting. He appears to have believed that the British could not be successfully opposed in Afghanistan; though Sir Alexander Burnes, who was with Sir Robert Sale, appears to have looked upon the battle of Purwan as, in reality, a defeat; for he wrote to Sir W. Macnaghten, telling him that they must retire to Cabool, where he advised the envoy to concentrate all the available troops.* The consequence of the belief imbibed by the Dost was, that after the battle of Purwan, he rode to Cabool, where he arrived on the 3rd of November, having been twenty-four hours in the saddle. He immediately presented himself to Sir W. Macnaghten, and surrendered as prisoner, delivering up his sword; and when it was returned to him, he gave it back, saying, that he had no further use for it, and requesting the envoy to keep it. He was treated liberally at Cabool; and being first removed to Peshawur, he was, on the 12th of November—having been

* Sir A. Burnes to Sir W. Macnaghten, Nov. 4th, 1840.

joined by his wives and family—sent to Loodiana, where for some time he resided in the house which had been the residence of Shah Soojah.* After he had arrived in India, the envoy at Cabool wrote as follows to Lord Auckland:—

“I trust that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared with that of Shah Soojah; and I have seen it argued, that he should not be treated more handsomely than his majesty was; but surely the cases are not parallel. The shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim.”

Sir William Macnaghten could not have written a more emphatic condemnation of his own policy. Lord Auckland appears to have agreed with him; as he settled upon the Dost the very liberal annual pension of two lacs of rupees.†

The surrender and expatriation of Dost Mahomed did not restore tranquillity to Afghanistan. The year 1840 closed, and 1841 opened, with insurrection rife in the neighbourhood of Candahar, where Sir William Nott continued to command the military force; Major Rawlinson, afterwards Sir Henry Rawlinson, the well-known and celebrated Assyrian traveller and antiquarian, was the political agent. Early in January, the insurgents were so daring, that 1,500 of them appeared in the neighbourhood of Candahar; and, when broken and dispersed by a detachment of British troops under Captain Farrington, they rallied in another direction.—The Kojucks (a tribe inhabiting the Kojuck Pass), and another tribe in the Nazeem valley, were also in arms. Detachments were sent against both; the first under Lieutenant Wilson, of the 3rd Bombay cavalry; the second under Brigadier-general Shelton. An attack was made on Sebee, the principal place in the Kojuck country, but it was very strongly fortified; the besiegers had no proper siege-train, and the attack failed; Colonel Wilson being mortally wounded; and Lieutenant Creed, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Falconer, of the 2nd grenadiers, killed. The force sent to the Nazeem valley was more successful. It comprised the 44th European regiment, the 27th Bengal native infantry, a troop of horse artillery, a detachment of sappers and miners, and a body of the shah's forces of the various arms. On entering the valley, it was found to be studded with small forts, said

to have been eighty-four in number. They were attacked, and carried in succession; two valuable officers only being killed—Lieutenant Pigou (who was, unfortunately, blown away by the premature explosion of a bag of powder applied to a gate of one of the forts), and Captain Douglas, assistant adjutant-general. Both in the Kojuck country and the Nazeem valley, the insurgents were led by Dooranee chiefs, many of whom had a strong antipathy to the government of Shah Soojah. The most active of these chiefs was named Aktur Khan.

The Ghilzies, also, renewed their offensive movements early in 1841. It is alleged, that the continued enmity of this tribe to the British, and to the shah, because he was supported by a British force, arose from the seizure of the families of some of their chief people in 1839, who had fled for safety to the Sikh frontier, and had, at the instigation, as it is said, of the British envoy, been thrown into captivity. It is also asserted, that they had to complain of oppressive conduct on the part of British subordinate agents; of the open extortion of Prince Timour's retainers; and that an annual allowance, promised them for keeping open the Khoord Cabool Pass, had been withheld. In 1841, they were further annoyed by the rebuilding a fortress, Khelat-i-Ghilzie, lying between Candahar and Cabool, to which they gave the utmost opposition. They had a small fort, about two miles from Khelat-i-Ghilzie, full of armed men. Lieutenant Lynch, an officer of the Bombay army, had the political charge of this district; and, as he was riding past this fort, some of the garrison came out, and shaking their swords at him, defied him to attack them. The defiance was accepted; the fort was attacked, and captured after a brave resistance; and the animosity and angry feeling of the Ghilzies were increased. All the authorities disapproved of Lynch's conduct; they thought he ought not to have been so hasty; and he was removed from his office, by which great injustice appears to have been done him. As the British were in Afghanistan as the friends and supporters of the shah, it was necessary that their authority should be respected; and much of the misery and suffering that afterwards befel them would have been prevented, if the civil and military chiefs had acted with more promptitude and decision. The removal of the

* Sale; Kaye; Thornton.

† Kaye.

political agent did not soften the bitterness of the Ghilzies, nor silence their turbulence; it rather increased both, and rendered it necessary to send Lieutenant-colonel Wymer to protect the country about Khelat-1-Ghilzie from their incursions. On the 29th of May, the Ghilzies moved down from the hills to meet our troops. They were 5,000 strong, and they came up with Lieutenant-colonel Wymer about nightfall, at a place called Assiai-Ilmea. Gool Mahomed, a chief of high caste, was at their head; and they made an attack on the British with a fierceness which, as their numbers were so superior, threatened the annihilation of Wymer's band. His artillery, however, played upon them so effectively, that they were arrested in their progress; when they were divided into three columns, and, sword-in-hand, charged both his flanks and his centre with equal coolness and determination. The steady fire from his guns and musketry repeatedly drove the swordsmen back; but for five hours they kept up the fight, and did not give way till the field was covered with their dying and dead.

This victory quieted the Ghilzies for a time in that direction; but the Dooranee chiefs, in eastern Afghanistan, still continued to give trouble. Aktur Khan, about the end of June, appeared in arms before Ghiresk; and Captain Woodburn was sent against him, with two detachments of *Janbaz*, or Afghan horse, under Captains Hart and Golding; some of the shah's horse artillery, under Captain Cooper; and his own corps, the 5th infantry. He came up with the enemy on the 30th of July, posted, in six divisions, on the opposite side of the Helmund river. Each division was headed by a *moollah*, or priest; each had a standard, with the inscription—"We have been trusting in God; may he guide and guard us!" and each consisted of 1,000 men. They crossed the river, and attacked the British, but were beaten off by the fire of the infantry and artillery. Had the *Janbaz* done their duty, they might have been all nearly cut off; but they were perfectly inactive, and Woodburn found that they could not be relied upon; he therefore pushed on to Ghiresk, and wrote for reinforcements. Another body of Ghilzies was routed in the beginning of August, by some regular and irregular horse under Lieutenant Bazett and Captain Walker; and later in the month, Colonel

Chambers, with 1,500 men, dispersed a considerable Ghilzie force, most of them being cut down or made prisoners; and a body of 5,000 was dispersed near Khishwura, by Captain John Griffin. These "victories" effected the at least temporary dispersion of the insurgents; and, on the 20th of August, Sir William Macnaghten described the country as being "perfectly quiet from Dan to Beersheba."* He seems to have had some apprehensions, however, of Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, who was then at Khoolum: and in the same letter in which he spoke of the restored quiet, he said, that Akbar had refused all the offers he had made him; adding, "This fellow will be after some mischief, should the opportunity present itself."

Sir William Macnaghten's vision of restored tranquillity was premature. Writing to Major Rawlinson, he said—"One down, t'other come on, is the principle with these vagabonds:" and even at the time he affirmed the perfect quietude of the country, the eastern Ghilzies, who lost some of their emoluments by retrenchments enforced at Cabool, occupied the Khoord-Cabool Pass, and all the other passes between Jellalabad and the capital, entirely cutting off the communication between the two. As several attacks had been made on small bodies of troops in the neighbourhood of the pass in September, in the beginning of October, Sir Robert Sale, with her majesty's 13th and the 35th and 37th Bengal native infantry, a part of the 5th Bengal native cavalry, and a small park of artillery, was ordered to clear it; which he did, though not without being seriously wounded by the enemy, who, driven from a breastwork, kept up, for some time, a well-directed fire from the rocky heights upon our troops. After Sir Robert received his wound, the command devolved upon Colonel Dennie, who drove the enemy from cliff to cliff; those on the very highest only escaping. It was thought useless to pursue them there, as the object of clearing the pass had been for the time completely obtained. Colonel Monteith, with the 35th, encamped in the pass; and having been attacked in the night, Sir Robert Sale, with an additional force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, joined him, and cleared the country to Fazeen, chasing the Ghilzies from all the

* MS. letter to Mr. Robertson; quoted by Mr. Kaye.

heights, and from every point from whence they could annoy the British and their allies. The chiefs of the former then wished to negotiate, and they made very friendly professions, promising not to impede the march of the troops: their professions, however, it was soon ascertained, were not to be relied upon. The detachment arrived at Jugduluk, a village in the defiles between Cabool and Jellalabad, on the 29th of October. Here they found, that the tremendous heights which overhung the only practicable road, were occupied by mountaineers, who kept up a constant fire upon the British. Sir Robert Sale threw out flanking parties, and the light troops climbed the hill-sides, dislodging the enemy as they advanced; whilst Captain Wilkinson, at the head of a single company of infantry, pushed through the defile; and, as the main outlet was found unguarded, the entire detachment followed him. Fighting their way, the British reached Gundamuck, twenty-five miles west of Jellalabad, where cantonments were formed; and the position was held till the 11th of November. Repeated attacks were made upon the cantonment, and beaten off; but the *Janbaz*, or Affghan horse, which were with the brigade, went over to the enemy. Then Sir Robert Sale, hearing that Jellalabad was threatened by the enemy, resolved to push on to that town. The brigade commenced its march early in the morning. Colonel Dennie commanded the rear-guard, which was attacked and harassed by a body of 2,000 or 3,000 Ghilzies, round whom the entire population of the country appear to have rallied, for the purpose of cutting off the British. They were repeatedly beaten off. On the 12th, Colonel Dennie, being still followed by the Ghilzies and the populace, and having to cross a wide plain, placed his cavalry in ambush; and, on reaching the plain, he ordered his infantry to face the pursuers and fire, and then to retreat. The *ruse* succeeded. The enemy, as the British wheeled round, apparently in a panic, looked first astonished, and then, with a wild shout, dashed off in pursuit. They soon reached the plain; when the cavalry charged, and fearful was the slaughter. "Their right arms were wearied with the blows which they struck; and the quantity of dead that might be seen scattered over the face of the valley, proved that they had not struck at random"*

* *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan.*

The next day the brigade took possession of Jellalabad. Abdool Rahman, who governed the district in the name of Shah Soojah, made over his authority to the British general; but the inhabitants left the town as the troops entered; and the next day it "was surrounded by yelling crowds, who threatened death to the infidels, if they did not at once march out."† Of course, no attention was paid to the rabble; but it became a serious question how the place was to be defended, and whether the town itself should be occupied, or only the Bala-Hissar, or citadel. Before either could be effectively fortified, it was necessary that the neighbourhood should be cleared of the turbulent rebels who infested it in large numbers. On the 16th of November, Colonel Monteith, at the head of 1,100 men of the three arms, left Jellalabad to attack a large body of these ruffians, estimated at 3,000 in number, and well-armed, though undisciplined. The affair commenced by the artillery opening a brisk discharge from their guns; the attack was taken up by the infantry, who poured in volley after volley of musketry; and a splendid charge of the cavalry completed the victory. "The enemy were beaten at all points. The wretched *Janbaz*, who had gone over to the insurgents at Gundamuck, had met the men of the 5th cavalry in fair fight, and were hewn down remorselessly by them. In a little time the panic was complete. The British horsemen, following up our successes, flung themselves upon the flying Affghans on the plain, and slaughtered them as they fled. Then the bugle sounded the recall. Monteith brought his men together flushed with success, and the whole returned in joyous spirits to the city. The Affghans were checked at the onset of their career of insolence and intimidation, and for many a day kept themselves quietly in their homes."‡ Cheerfully and most actively did the troops then apply themselves to the work of the fortifications, and Jellalabad was soon put in an efficient state of defence. Once again the British had to leave the walls to drive off the Affghans, who gained courage by degrees; and at last became so troublesome, that the workmen could not perform their duty in safety. Colonel Dennie, on the 1st of December, made a sally upon them, and a disgraceful flight was the result; and thus the Sale brigade remained at Jellalabad.

† Kaye.

‡ *Ibid.*

whilst the most dismal scenes were enacting at Cabool.

In the summer of 1841, General Elphinstone succeeded Sir Willoughby Cotton in the chief command at Cabool. Why he was selected for "the place" no one could tell; certainly he was not "the right man" for it. He is described as "a man of high connections, aristocratic influence, and most agreeable manners;" and also as having been a good officer; but he was old, and appears to have been ignorant of Indian manners and the mode of Indian warfare, as well as to have been entirely destitute of that firmness and decision of character which, at all times essential in a military commander, were especially necessary for the general-in-chief at Cabool. The troops at that post consisted of the 44th queen's foot, the 5th and 54th Bengal native infantry, part of the 5th Bengal native cavalry, small parks of foot and horse artillery, two regiments of the shah's infantry, a train of mountain guns, and some Hindostanee and Affghan horse. The number of fighting-men was about 5,000; and they had with them about three times the number of camp-followers. All the troops might have been securely posted either in the city or the Bala-Hissar—an extremely strong citadel, so situated as to command every part of the city, and which a British garrison could have held against the entire force of the insurgents and the disaffected, had it all been concentrated on the plain before Cabool. But—why or wherefore it would be impossible to say—instead of occupying the city or the citadel, the British troops were placed in cantonments without the city walls. These cantonments "were situated on a piece of low ground, open to the Kohistan-road. They were extensive and ill-defended; being nearly a mile in extent, and surrounded by ramparts so little formidable, that a small pony, says Lieutenant Rattray, was backed, by an officer, to scramble down the ditch and over the wall. Near the cantonments was the Mission compound, occupying an extensive space, and surrounded by a number of houses and buildings belonging to the officers and retainers of the Mission. There was there, also, a weak attempt at defence; but the walls were beyond measure contemptible; and the whole expanse of building, the intrenched camp, and Mission compound together, were so planted, as to be swept on every side by hills, and

forts, and villages, and whatever else, in such a country, could bristle with armed men. No such works were ever known—so wretched in themselves, and so doubly wretched by position. If," says the historian, "the object of those who constructed them had been to place our troops at the mercy of an enemy, they could not have been devised more cunningly in furtherance of such an end."*

This position was taken up when difficulties were gathering around the British in all directions. The mission to Herat had failed: Yar Mahomed, after receiving subsidy upon subsidy, through Macnaghten, had openly gone over to the Persians; Colonel Todd and his officers had been grossly insulted; and all were obliged to depart, and wend their way back to Affghanistan. In that country the worst spirit prevailed.—We have noticed the insurrections of the mountain tribes; insurrections which, it was thought, were not effectually discouraged by Shah Soojah himself, who did not like the thralldom in which he was held by the British, nor the displacement of some of his officers by the general and the envoy. But there was something worse than all this; there was a feeling of hatred—intense hatred—engendered and growing up amongst the people, springing from the vices of the British, alike military and civilians. The strangers made themselves quite at home in Cabool; building and furnishing houses; laying out gardens; surrounding themselves with European luxuries; and practising, too many of them, European licentiousness. We have mentioned the violation of the zenanas: "for two long years was this shame burning itself into the hearts of the Caboolese; and there were some men of note and influence among them, who knew themselves to be thus wronged. Complaints were made; but they were made in vain."† "I told the envoy," said Shah Soojah, "what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Affghan women being taken to Burnes' moonshee (Mohun Lal), and of their drinking wine at his house; and of women being taken to the chaonee, and of my having witnessed it."‡ In short, "the scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be

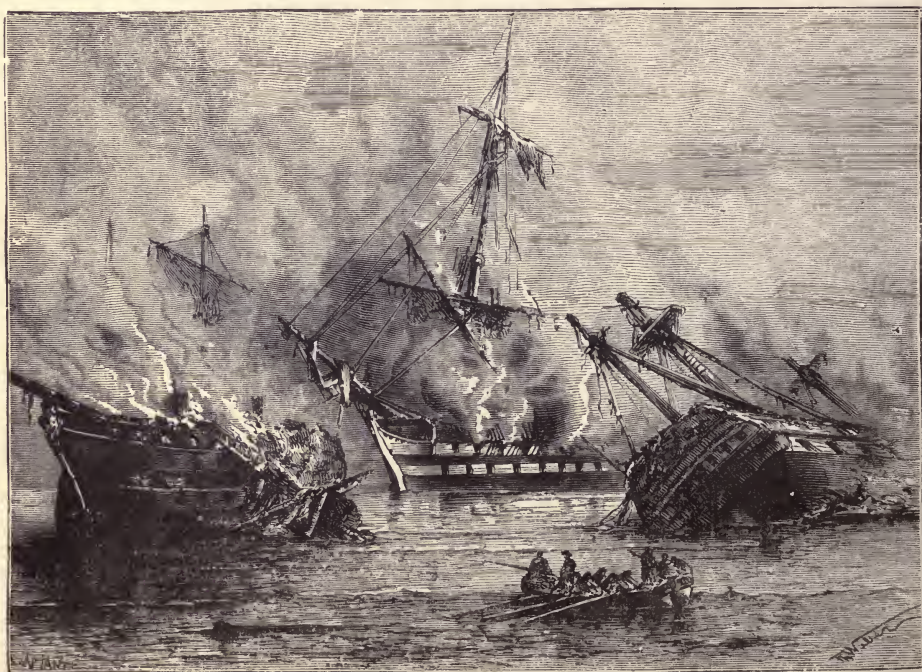
* Kaye.

† *Ibid.*
‡ Letter from the Shah to Lord Auckland, Jan. 17th, 1842.





CAPTAIN EDWARD PELLEW, R.N.



BURNING OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT TOULON.

obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands.* This flame was silently gathering strength, when, through the months of September and October, Sir W. Macnaghten, notwithstanding the hostile demonstrations we have recorded, contended that "the whole country was as quiet as one of our Indian chiefships, and more so." He had, in October, prepared himself to quit his office at Cabool, and repair to Bombay, to take upon himself the government of that presidency; being perfectly persuaded that he had accomplished his mission in Affghanistan; and that though the shah could not maintain himself without British support, yet that one British regiment at Candahar, and another at Cabool, would be sufficient to keep the entire country in order. Sir Alexander Burnes had been warned as to the utter unsoundness of these views; Mohun Lal asserted that *he* gave him intelligence of the existence of a hostile conspiracy in the city. But he did not credit it; and amongst the English all appears to have been confidence, with very few exceptions. Among these was Captain Colin Mackenzie, an officer of the Madras army, who told the envoy, that Akbar Khan, the ablest of the sons of Dost Mahomed, had arrived at Bameean, "and that he surely meditated mischief." Lieutenant John Conolly, an officer of Macnaghten's staff, also told him, "that a rising in the city was meditated; and that the shopkeepers knew so well what was coming, that they refused to sell goods to our people, lest they should be murdered for favouring the Feringhees."†

There was indeed a conspiracy, and on the 1st of November it came to a head. The principal rebels met on that night, and relying on the "inflammable disposition of the people of Cabool, they first gave out, that it was the order of his majesty to put all infidels to death; and this, of course, gained them a great accession of strength. His majesty behaved throughout with the most marked fidelity, judgment, and prudence. But forged orders," were issued, as from him, for the destruction of the British, "by the well-known process of washing out the contents of a genuinely sealed paper,

and substituting their own wicked inventions."‡ The meeting on the night of the 1st of November was held at the house of Sydat Khan, one of the shah's principal officers; and Abdoollah Khan, another officer, was present. There the plans were finally arranged; and the next morning the city was in commotion. Twice that morning was Burnes warned especially of his danger: but he would not quit his post. He wrote to the envoy, who was in the cantonments, for support; and the mob surrounding his house, he repaired to a gallery at the upper part of it, accompanied by his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, a friend. He attempted to address the infuriated mob, said, at that time, not to have been more than 300 in number; but they would not hear him; and he, his brother, and friend, with every person, young and old, male and female, found on the premises, were murdered.§ Lieutenant Broadfoot was shot in the gallery, having first shot six of the rioters; Sir Alexander Burnes and his brother, in attempting to escape, were cut to pieces by Affghan knives! The house that adjoined Burnes's was that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the shah's forces. Both mansions were pillaged, and then burned; and though Shah Soojah sent the followers he had immediately about him, with two cannon, commanded by one of his sons, to restore order, there was "no sign" made for some time from the British cantonments, where 5,000 British soldiers were encamped. The Affghans took a wrong route—got entangled, with their guns, in the narrow, intricate streets; and finally retired to the Bala-Hissar, having lost, according to some accounts, 300 of their number. More would have been killed, and, probably, the guns lost, had not Brigadier Shelton, with a body of artillery and infantry, arrived at the citadel just in time to cover the retreat of the king's troops.

This was all that was attempted on the 2nd of November! General Elphinstone, once a brave officer, seemed utterly lost, and unable to decide upon anything. At half-past seven in the morning, Sir William Macnaghten had gone to him, and told him that the city was in a state of insurrection; "but that he did not think much of it, and that it would shortly subside."|| At that

* Kaye.

† *Ibid.*

‡ MS. letter from Sir W. Macnaghten to Lord Auckland; quoted by Mr. Kaye.

§ Lieutenant Eyre's *Military Operations at Cabool*.|| Major-general Elphinstone's *Report*.

time, "300 men would have been sufficient to quell the disturbance; 3,000 would not have been adequate in the afternoon."* When it was resolved to send Brigadier Shelton into the city, he received orders and counter-orders; and his earnest recommendation of "prompt and decisive measures" was disregarded. Instead of adopting such measures, "we must see," said General Elphinstone, "what the morning brings, and then think what can be done." The next morning, the 37th native infantry, under Major Griffiths, arrived from the Khoord-Cabool Pass. Nothing was done, however, till the afternoon; when a paltry detachment, under Major Swayne, consisting of only three companies, one of the 44th European regiment, and two of the 5th native infantry, with two guns, was sent into the city, the inhabitants of which had by that time risen *en masse*, and were joined by thousands from the surrounding country. The few troops sent could effect nothing, and they returned to the cantonment. On the 4th, Sir William Macnaghten, who, *at last*, thought the affair assumed a serious aspect, wrote to Captain M'Gregor, who accompanied Sir Robert Sale's brigade as a political agent, requiring him to order that brigade to return to Cabool; and he also wrote to Candahar, to arrest the march of troops which had been ordered to India, that they might proceed *instantly* to Cabool. That day the commissariat fort fell into the insurgents' hands. It stood outside the Bala-Hissar and the cantonments, with another fort, called Mohammed Shereef's, between it and the latter. But for Macnaghten, General Elphinstone would have occupied the Shereef's fort on the 3rd with British troops. As this was not done, the enemy took possession of it; and so annoyed the little garrison of the commissariat fort (only eighty sepoy, under Ensign Warren), that, all the messages of the commander soliciting relief being disregarded, they abandoned the fort in the night, leaving all the provisions, &c., for the use of the rebels and conspirators. It appears that orders had been given, during the day, to send a force to relieve Ensign Warren; but they were countermanded, over and over again, owing to the want of decision in General Elphinstone. At length the representations from Captain Warren, enforced by Captain Boyd and other officers, became so urgent, that Captain Boyd was

ordered to march with a detachment for that purpose, at 2 A.M. on the 5th; but it was then too late! A large quantity of wheat also fell into the hands of the insurgents the same night. It had, by the envoy's orders, been removed from the Bala-Hissar to some camel-sheds, outside the city walls; and a small number of men were posted there, under Captain Mackenzie. This post was attacked on the 2nd, and gallantly defended through that day, the 3rd, and 4th. Captain Mackenzie also applied repeatedly for reinforcements, but none came; and, at last, having consumed all his ammunition, he and his brave little band cut their way through the assailants; but all the grain was lost: and thus the British troops were left without two days' food in their possession; and but for the exertions of Captains Boyd and Johnson, the two commissariat officers, absolute starvation would have been the result.

No wonder that these events produced a terrible depression in the troops, and that the hope of retaining possession of the capital was considered desperate. As the British became dispirited, the exultation and insolence of the enemy increased. The intelligence of the capture of the commissariat forts brought numbers of the people from the surrounding country, to share in the triumph over the "dogs of Feringhees," and to carry off the booty which had been obtained from them. Each man took away what he could carry; and to this, says Captain Johnson in his *Journal* (the commissariat fort being within sight of the cantonments), "we were all eye-witnesses." The troops, we are told, "were grievously indignant at the imbecility of their leaders, who had suffered them to be so ignominiously stripped of the means of subsistence; and clamoured to be led out against the enemy, who were parading their spoils under the very walls of the cantonment."† General Elphinstone, however, remained inactive; and it was with the greatest difficulty that, on the 6th, Lieutenant Eyre induced him to send out a detachment to capture the Shereef's fort. Major Griffiths, with fifty men of her majesty's 44th, and 200 native infantry of the 9th and 37th, with some artillery, were sent on that service, which they effected with the utmost gallantry. A breach was soon made in the walls, and the fort was carried by assault;

* Captain Johnson's *Journal*.

† Kaye.

the storming party being led by Ensign Raban, of the 44th, who was shot through the heart, while waving the British flag in triumph, as he gained the summit of the breach.

The same day, General Elphinstone wrote to Sir W. Macnaghten, hinting at the scarcity of ammunition, and suggesting that the effect of negotiation should be tried. The envoy himself was pursuing that policy he had so long practised—buying off the chiefs—a policy very detrimental to our finances, and producing no beneficial results. On the 9th, affairs became more complicated. General Elphinstone, on the ground of ill-health, summoned Brigadier-general Shelton from the Bala-Hissar, to assist him in the command; and an immediate rupture ensued between that officer and the envoy; the former, thinking it was impossible to winter at Cabool, recommended an instant retreat to Jellalabad; whilst Sir William insisted that the position ought, at all events, to be retained. This difference between the military and the political authorities, was the cause of many impediments and hindrances arising in the public service, when the utmost energy and promptitude were necessary. Brigadier Shelton, from whom much was expected by both officers and men, found himself controlled at every point by his superior, General Elphinstone; who, although he had sent for him avowedly because he felt incompetent to direct affairs in the crisis that had arisen, would not suffer his next in rank to act independently. "I was put in orders," writes the brigadier, "to command cantonments, and consequently, in course of my inspections, gave such orders and instructions as appeared to me necessary. This, however, Elphinstone soon corrected, by reminding me that he commanded, not I." General Elphinstone, on the other hand, averred, that "he did not receive from Shelton the cordial co-operation and advice he had a right to expect. On the contrary," wrote the general, "his manner is most contumacious; from the day of his arrival, he never gave me information or advice; but invariably found fault with all that was done, and canvassed and condemned all orders before officers, frequently preventing, and delaying carrying them into effect. This and many other instances of want of assistance I can corroborate by the evidence of several officers still living. Had I been so

fortunate as to have had Sir Robert Sale, than whom I never met any officer more disposed to do everything for the public service —"* It is painful to read these accounts of the differences between the authorities. Whoever was in fault, the fact is, that the absence of unanimity, and the want of an able and energetic and determined *will* to direct, were the cause of all the terrible disasters that ensued.

On the day after Shelton's arrival at the cantonments, the enemy mustered in great numbers on the opposite heights, sending up shouts of defiance, and firing *feux de joie*, as if in contempt. At the same time, from several forts outside the walls they seriously annoyed the cantonments. It was resolved to attack one of these, called the Ricka-bashee fort, which was situated within musket-shot of the north-east angle of the cantonment. Her majesty's 44th and the 37th native regiment, with some artillery, were ordered to the assault, on the earnest representations, we are told, of the envoy; and Captain Bellew, of the latter, undertook to blow open the main gate. From accident or error, he missed it, and destroyed a side wicket, through which only two or three men could advance at once. The consequence was, that before a footing could be obtained there, many were killed, amongst whom were Captains Westmacott and Macrae. A small body of British troops at length collected within-side, and the enemy immediately evacuated the fort at the opposite gate. This part of the storming force was led by Colonel Mackrell, of the 44th, and Lieutenant Bird, of the shah's 6th infantry. It was now thought that all was over, and that the fort was carried. A body of Affghan cavalry, however, came suddenly up, and the Europeans and sepoys in front of the gate caught a panic, and retreated. Brigadier Shelton was at hand, and with great difficulty rallied the fugitives. They again gave way before the Affghan horse; and had not the heavy guns from the cantonments been brought to bear upon the latter, the result would have been defeat. As it was, the British lost many gallant men; for the garrison returned into the fort, and nearly exterminated the small party who had made good their entrance. Brigadier Shelton having dispersed the

* These extracts are from MS. letters of the officers, then held by the East India Company. They are quoted by Mr. Kaye.

cavalry, soon succeeded in again establishing a British force in the fort, killing or capturing the garrison. Colonel Mackrell was found mortally wounded; and Lieutenant Bird, with two sepoys, was rescued from a stable, the door of which they had barricaded, and in front lay thirty of the enemy, whom the three had killed.* The loss of the British was about 200 in killed and wounded. The consequence of the capture of this fort was, that several smaller ones were abandoned; and a quantity of grain fell into the hands of the British, only to be lost again, for the want of proper care.

This success, properly followed up, might have been attended with the most decisively favourable effects. It was succeeded, however, by inaction; and the Affghans, encouraged by the supineness and quiet prevailing everywhere around them, rallied again, and were so impudent and troublesome on the 12th, that, "with great difficulty," the envoy persuaded General Elphinstone, on the 13th, to send out a force to dislodge them. They occupied a mountainous range, called the Beh-meru hills, where they planted two cannon, and opened a fire upon the cantonment, which was seriously annoying. The troops sent against them consisted of two squadrons of the 5th light cavalry, under Colonel Chambers; one squadron of Shah Soojah's irregular horse, under Lieutenant Le Geyt; one troop of Skinner's horse, under Lieutenant Walker; the body-guard; six companies of her majesty's 44th, under Major Scott; six companies of the 37th native infantry, under Major Griffiths; four companies of the shah's 6th infantry, under Captain Hopkins; a troop of Anderson's horse; one gun from the horse artillery train, and one mountain-train gun, under Lieutenant Eyre; the whole escorted by a company of the shah's 6th regiment, under Captain Marshall. Brigadier Shelton took the command; and, at the outset, things did not look favourable. One of the guns stuck fast in a canal, and that the most serviceable; and the infantry closed with the enemy when only a single round of grape had been fired from the other. The Affghan cavalry charged them with great impetuosity; broke the ranks, so that friend became mixed with foe; and for some time great confusion was the result. The British, after a short interval, retired down the

slope, re-formed, and advanced to the attack a second time, under cover of the guns, which Lieutenant Eyre was by that time working with great effect. Anderson's horse then charged the Affghans, and drove them from the heights. The infantry soon followed; and their guns being abandoned, fell into the hands of the British: one was taken into cantonments; the other was spiked and left on the hill. It might have been carried off if the soldiers had done their duty. The imbecility and inactivity of the generals seemed, however, to have chilled the courage of their men. "Major Scott, of her majesty's 44th, repeatedly called on his men to descend with him, to drag the 6-pounder away; but strange to say, his frequent appeals to their soldierly feelings were made in vain. With a few gallant exceptions they remained immovable; nor could the sepoys be induced to lead the way where their European brethren so obstinately held back."† The enemy were certainly driven from their ground in this affair; one of their guns being taken, and the other rendered useless. It was, therefore, rightly deemed a success, and it was the last. "Henceforward," writes Lieutenant Eyre, "it became my weary task to relate a catalogue of errors, disasters, and difficulties, which, following close upon each other, disgusted our officers, disheartened our soldiers, and finally sunk us all into irretrievable ruin; as though Heaven itself, by a combination of evil circumstances, for its own inscrutable purposes, had planned our downfall."‡

Up to this time, the arrival of General Nott from Candahar, and of Sir Robert Sale's brigade from Jellalabad, had been anxiously looked for by General Elphinstone and Sir W. Macnaghten, the latter of whom had repeatedly written to urge those commanders to hasten to Cabool without delay. Sir W. Nott did forward troops from Candahar; but after advancing a few marches, they found their draught-cattle perishing; and, fearing that they could not reach the cantonment, they returned. General Sale and Captain M'Gregor, at Jellalabad, took upon themselves the responsibility of refusing to obey the orders received from Cabool and the following are Sir Robert's reasons for adopting this resolution. His brigade, from the repeated encounters it had had with the enemy, and the long and fatiguing marches

* Lieutenant Eyre's *Journal*; Thornton.

† Lieutenant Eyre's *Journal*.

‡ *Ibid*.

it had made, was nearly disabled. All his camp equipage had been destroyed; he had at least 300 sick and wounded in his charge; there was not a single depôt of provisions on the route; and the means of conveyance with the brigade were not sufficient to carry on one day's rations. "I have, at the same time," he wrote—

"Positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us, in the defiles between this city and Cabool; while my ammunition is insufficient for more than two such contests as I should assuredly have to sustain for six days at least. With my present means I could not force the passes of either Jugduluck or Khoord-Cabool; and even if the *debris* of my brigade did reach Cabool, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, a regard for the honour and interests of our government, compels me to adhere to my plan, already formed, of putting this place into a state of defence; and of holding it, if possible, until the Cabool force falls back upon me, or succour arrives from Peshawur or India."*

The conduct of Sir Robert Sale in coming to this decision, has been much canvassed and commented upon. There is no doubt that, if the Sale brigade *could* have reached Cabool, and the spirit of its commander been infused into General Elphinstone, that the troops there might have been preserved, and the fearful massacre which took place prevented. But if the same vacillating counsels had prevailed, the only result of the junction would have been, that both brigades would have been sacrificed. We think, however, that Sir Robert Sale shows conclusively, that the junction could not have been effected: the brigade, exhausted and without resources, could never have accomplished the arduous march between Jellalabad and Cabool, beset, as it would have been, with enemies on every side.

The first marked event that followed the affair of the 13th of November, was the arrival at the cantonment of Major Eldred Pottinger, and Lieutenant Haughton, both wounded. The latter had been stationed in Kohistan with a Ghoorka regiment, which had fortified itself at Charekur, a town fifty or sixty miles north of Cabool; and Major Pottinger, as the political agent on the Turkestan frontier, had resided at the castle of Lughmanee, about two miles distant. Before the end of October, the Kohistanees and Nijrowees were in open

* Letter from Sir R. Sale to Captain Paton, Nov. 15th, 1841.

revolt; and, encouraged by the want of cavalry on the part of the British, Meer Musjedee, one of their leaders, with a strong force, took up a position at Akserai, to the south of Charekur, completely cutting off all communication between that place and Cabool. Pottinger wrote for aid to Cabool, which could not be sent; and he also endeavoured to draw assistance from neighbouring chiefs, whom he supposed to be friendly; but they only amused him with professions; and, at last, entirely threw off the character of friends—shooting Lieutenant Rattray, whom they had invited to a conference with Pottinger, the latter escaping with difficulty. The castle of Lughmanee was then surrounded; and, without the means of defence, Pottinger felt compelled to retire to Charekur, which he did in the night, abandoning the hostages given by the Kohistan chiefs for their fidelity, "two boxes of treasure, containing 10,000 rupees, and about sixty Affghan firelocks (confiscated from the deserters of the Kohistan corps), all the major's official records, Mr. Rattray's, Dr. Grant's, and his own personal property, and a large number of horses belonging to the officers and the horsemen who had not deserted."† It was in the night of the 4th of November that the castle was abandoned. Major Pottinger and his companions succeeded in reaching Charekur, and on the morning of the 5th that place was closely invested. Captain Codrington then commanded the Ghoorka regiment; Pottinger, throwing off his political character, took charge of the guns, and bravely were the barracks defended against the multitude of the enemy, who were so numerous, that Havildar Mootee Ram, a Ghoorka, who gave a detailed account of the campaign in Kohistan, says, "there were whole acres of gleaming swords moving towards us." The brave Captain Codrington was killed, to the great grief of the Ghoorkas, who maintained the defence till reduced to 200 fighting-men, with only thirty rounds of ammunition for each, whilst they were exposed to intolerable tortures from thirst. It was then resolved to evacuate the place, and cut their way through the dense masses of the enemy. It was on the evening of the 13th of November when they left the barracks, Major Pottinger leading the advance.

† MS. Records of Major Pottinger; quoted by Mr. Kaye.

Lieutenant Haughton, who was the adjutant of the Ghoorkas, was so seriously wounded that he could scarcely sit his horse; Dr. Grant and Ensign Rose, therefore, with the major, had the conduct of the retreat. "From all that can be gathered from the reports brought in, it appears that the devoted corps struggled on to Kardurrah, where it was cut to pièces. Ensign Rose fell, having first killed four of the enemy with his own hand; and Grant, though he contrived to escape from the murderous hands at Kardurrah, yet, just as he arrived in sight of the haven of his hopes, within three miles of the cantonments, was massacred by some wood-cutters."* Of all who left Charekur, Pottinger, Haughton, and one sepoy, alone reached the cantonments at Cabool.

There all was confusion—almost despair. The hope of receiving aid from Jellalabad was abandoned: the military authorities made repeated representations to the envoy of the "distressful state of the troops and cattle from want of provisions," and of the "hopelessness of further resistance;" and strongly urged an immediate capitulation; but Sir W. Macnaghten, writing to General Elphinstone on the 18th of November, says—"I would recommend that we hold on here as long as possible, and throughout the whole winter, if we can subsist the troops by any means, by making the Mohammedans and Christians live chiefly on flesh, and other contrivances. Here we have the essentials of wood and water in abundance; and I believe our position is impregnable." Had the British troops been concentrated in the Bala-Hissar, it is possible that the position might have been defended. The shah wished that this step should be taken; all the engineers were in favour of it; but whilst General Elphinstone had no opinion on the subject—as, indeed, at that period of his life, he scarcely had on any—Brigadier Shelton strongly opposed it; and the envoy yielding to his opinion, the troops remained in their cantonments, their position becoming worse and worse every day. A retreat was still urged, after the envoy had written the letter from which we have just quoted; and then he begged of a delay of eight or ten days. Whilst all was indecision, on the 22nd of November, Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, arrived at Cabool, and

* Lieutenant W. Willes' *Narrative*.

the command of the insurgent army was instantly placed in his hands.

The next day an attempt was made to drive the enemy from the Beh-meru hill, where the Affghans had planted themselves, for the purpose of intercepting the supplies which the British drew from the village of Beh-meru, at its foot. At the same time, to revenge themselves on the villagers for the assistance given to the British, the enemy destroyed and pillaged the houses, and established themselves in the village. On the 23rd, a detachment was sent out to drive away this insurgent force. It consisted of five companies of her majesty's 44th, under Captain Leighton; six companies of the 37th native infantry, under Captain Kershaw; six companies of the 5th native infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Oliver; with regular and irregular cavalry, under Captain Bott and Lieutenant Walker; 100 of Anderson's horse; one horse artillery gun, under Sergeant Marshall; and 100 sappers, under Lieutenant Laing, of the 27th native infantry. Brigadier Shelton commanded. If there had been more artillery with this detachment, and if General Elphinstone had permitted the village as well as the hill to be occupied, it would have succeeded, in all probability, in driving off the enemy. As it was, the brigadier drew up his force upon the hill before daybreak, and when morning dawned, horsemen and footmen were seen, in thousands, crossing the plain to give battle to the Feringhees. They covered the plain, and occupied a hill opposite to that on which the British were posted. Lieutenant Eyre worked the single gun admirably, as long as it was serviceable and his ammunition lasted. The Affghans had only matchlocks; and as the artillerymen poured in round after round of grape, they fell in numbers, reeled, and were prepared to give way. But the gun became useless, from the vents being so much heated by incessant firing; and then the Affghans had the advantage. Their matchlocks carried much further than the English muskets; and they poured in destructive volleys upon Brigadier Shelton's force, being themselves out of the range of the latter's fire. Whilst one part of the enemy thus kept up a constant fire from the matchlocks, another body, whose movements were concealed from the brigadier by the nature of the ground, crawled up the gorge, and gaining the summit of the hill on which the British

were situated, dashed upon our infantry, who, by this sudden and unexpected attack, were completely panic-struck, and are said "to have turned and fled along the ridge like sheep." In vain the brigadier tried to rally his men, and called upon them to charge the Affghans; in vain, when the Affghans mounted a standard upon the hill, about thirty yards from the British ranks, the officers offered a reward, equal to a year's pay, to the man who would seize it; in vain the officers themselves opposed the armed host, throwing large stones at them as they advanced—Captain Macintosh and Lieutenant Laing being killed; whilst Captains Mackenzie, Troup, and Leighton narrowly escaped: the infantry would not obey the call, nor follow the example thus set them. The cavalry also refused to charge; and when the artillerymen, who alone sustained the character of Englishmen on that miserable day, fell round their gun, and the Affghans seized the weapon, the troops generally began to retreat. Then Brigadier Shelton ordered the halt to be sounded; and the men, till that moment so stubbornly disobedient, not only halted, but re-formed, and faced the enemy; and the body of Anderson's horse were seen preparing for a charge. Then the Affghans—disheartened at the moment by the loss of one of their leaders, Abdoollah Khan, who was desperately wounded—took fright; they abandoned the guns and fled, the greatest disorder appearing to prevail. Their retreat was observed from the cantonments, and Macnaghten urged General Elphinstone to send out a body of troops in pursuit, which would have ensured the victory; "but the general said it was a wild scheme, and weakly negatived the worthy proposal."* He did, however, send out fresh supplies of ammunition, with another limber and horse to bring off the gun. By this time the Affghans had overcome their panic, and rallied on the plain; and horse and foot charged upon the British, who had been picked off by the matchlocks in considerable numbers. The gun was seized in spite of the desperate efforts of the artillerymen to carry it off; and soon the British became again one mass of confusion; and infantry and cavalry, Europeans and natives, rushed *en masse* to the

cantonment. The day, which had appeared to be recovered, was again lost; and it is a wonder that all our men were not cut off. As the rout continued, the guns from the cantonments could not open upon the enemy, they were so mixed up with the retreating force; and if the Affghans had not been called off by their leaders—one of whom, Osman Khan, was "heard by our sepoy to order his men not to fire on those who ran, but to spare them"†—few would have entered the cantonments.‡

This defeat "concluded all exterior operations;"§ and it is difficult to describe the state of the interior of the cantonments in too gloomy colours. It was found impossible to preserve discipline amongst the men, who were worn out with fatigue, and exposed to the attacks of both cold and hunger. The indecision of the general still had its paralysing effect; and when, on the 24th of November, the Affghans began to destroy the military bridge which he had erected over the Cabool river, Elphinstone took no pains to prevent it. On that day he again took the opinion of the envoy as to the feasibility of moving the troops into the Bala-Hissar; and the letter he wrote on that occasion is a proof of his incapacity to command; for the movement was a purely military one, of the propriety and prospects of which he, and not the envoy, ought to have been the judge. Sir William Macnaghten's reply was, that in his opinion, "the movement would be attended with the greatest difficulty; and he did not see what advantage could result therefrom." The same day, the envoy informed General Elphinstone, that an offer had been made him by the insurgents—who had proclaimed Mohammed Zemaun Khan (a cousin of the Dost) king—to negotiate; and he asked, whether he thought he could maintain his position? The reply was in the negative; and Macnaghten resolved to listen to the pacific overtures that had been made to him.

The negotiations were opened on the 24th of November, when Mahomed Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, and Meerza Ahmed Ali, a Kuzzilbash, met Captains Lawrence and Trevor at the bridge of Cabool. The two officers escorted the Affghans to the Bala-Hissar, where Sir William Macnaghten awaited them. The conference lasted two hours; the demands of the Affghans being, that the English should surrender at discretion

* Kaye.

† Lady Sale.

‡ Lieutenant Eyre; Major Hough; Lady Sale; Thornton.

§ Brigadier Shelton.

This, of course, could not be submitted to; and, as the Affghans would hear of no others, the attempts to end the distressing state of affairs by peaceable means failed. On the negotiators taking their leave, Mahomed Khan exclaimed—"We shall meet, then, on the field of battle." "At all events, we shall meet at the day of judgment, was the reply of Sir William Macnaghten; and the conference broke up. It was soon renewed, however, at the instance of Akbar Khan; but, before matters were brought to any conclusion, the deaths from wounds of two chiefs most hostile to the British, caused the aspect of affairs, in the opinion of the envoy, to become so promising, that, on the 29th of November, he wrote to the general in good spirits, saying, "If we had only provisions—which, with due exertions, ought to be obtained—we should be able to defy the whole of Affghanistan for any period." General Elphinstone was of a contrary opinion. "Retreat," he said, "without terms, is almost impossible; few would reach Jellalabad. The only alternative is to renew the negotiation. With provisions we might hold out; but, without them, I do not see what can be done, or how we are to avert starvation."* At that time the cattle were starving, and had been for some time; "not a blade of grass, nor a particle of *bhoorah*, nor grain, being procurable. The barley in store was served out as provisions to the camp-followers, who got half-a-pound for their daily food. The cattle subsisted on the twigs, branches, and bark of trees; scarcely an animal was fit to carry a load."† Some delay ensued in the progress of the negotiations; during which, on the 5th of December, the Affghans broke down a second bridge over the Cabool river, which afforded the only means of retreat; and occupied, on the 6th, Mohammed Shereef's fort, abandoned by the garrison on their approach. On the 8th, the provisions, on the most reduced rations, were only sufficient to last four days.—About that time, the envoy, writing to Captain M'Gregor, said, "Our troops are behaving like a set of despicable cowards; and there is no spirit or enterprise left among us." Had those troops been differently commanded, they would not have been subject to this reproach. Macnaghten still wished to

avoid capitulating as long as possible, as they were "anxiously looking out for reinforcements from Candahar." At last—"the whole country," wrote the unfortunate diplomatist, "as far as we could learn, having risen in rebellion; our communications on all sides being cut off; almost every public officer, whether paid by ourselves or his majesty, having declared for the new governor; by far the greater number even of his majesty's servants having deserted him," and "the military authorities having informed him that nothing could be done with the troops"—he reluctantly agreed to a treaty, of eighteen articles, in substance as follows:—

The troops at Cabool, Jellalabad, Ghuznee, Candahar, or elsewhere within the limits of Affghanistan, to depart as soon as possible for India, the "Sirdars engaging that they should be unmolested on their journey, be treated with honour, and receive all possible assistance in carriage and provisions." The stores and property of every kind, belonging to Dost Mahomed, to be restored. Shah Soojah to remain in Affghanistan, a suitable provision being made for his residence, or to accompany the British troops on their return to India; all attention and respect being paid to him and his family, the latter of whom were to remain in Affghanistan, to return as soon as Dost Mahomed and his family, now in India, reached Peshawur. Peace was to exist between Affghanistan and the English, "the Affghans undertaking not to contract any alliance with any other power without the consent of the English, for whose assistance they would look in the hour of need." Arrangements to be afterwards made, if necessary, for the appointment of a British resident at Cabool. No one was to be molested on account of the part he had taken in recent events. Four British officers were to remain as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty; and Akbar Khan, Osman Khan, and such other chiefs of influence as chose, were to accompany the troops to Peshawur. Articles proposed, and accepted on the 11th, provided for the formal abdication of Shah Soojah.

When the meeting broke up at which these terms were agreed to—terms which, we believe, the imbecility and the incapacity of the military chiefs, the differences of opinion that prevailed amongst them, and the frequent clashing between the authority of the envoy and the general, alone made it necessary for the British to accede to—Captain Trevor accompanied the khans to their camp, "as a hostage for the sincerity of the envoy;" and the troops in the city were to withdraw to the cantonments in three days. The treaty was signed on the 10th of December; on the 13th, accordingly, the Bala-Hissar was evacuated by the British, Shah Soojah and his native troops only being left. Akbar Khan

* Macnaghten's and Elphinstone's MS. correspondence.

† Captain Johnson's *Journal*.

had agreed to accompany them to the cantonments; and he did so; but it was late at night before they reached them. They had scarcely left the Bala-Hissar before the gates were closed, and the king's troops commenced firing from the walls, alike upon friend and foe. Various reasons are alleged for this conduct on the part of the shah. It is said, that no sooner were the British troops out of the citadel, than Akbar Khan's endeavoured to get in, with treacherous views towards Shah Soojah; whilst the envoy, in some of the last sentences he ever penned, tells us, that Shah Soojah himself wished to treat with the Barukzyes, and that a guard of the latter was to be placed in the upper citadel. When the time came, however, the shah's resolution failed him, and he ordered the gates to be closed, thus putting a stop to the proposed conferences. His soldiers fired on the advancing guard; and it so offended the Barukzyes, that they determined not to grant his majesty the terms guaranteed in the treaty of the 10th of December. The confusion occasioned by the firing of the shah's troops, and the presence of a large force of the Ghilzie banditti (in the presence of whom, Akbar affirmed, it would be unsafe for the British to move, till he had communicated with their chiefs), kept the troops from the Bala-Hissar exposed to the inclemency of a cold frosty night, without shelter or food; and it was ten o'clock before they reached the cantonments, "thoroughly exhausted with hunger and fatigue."* Their rear-guard had been attacked by the Affghans; but Akbar Khan had himself rode amongst them, threatening to cut down all who opposed the progress of the detachment.

From that day, to the 23rd of December, the British and Affghans were in a state of professed alliance, but real hostility. The latter proceeded very slowly to send in their supplies of provisions for the troops and fodder for the cattle; whilst the former abandoned all the posts and outposts, keeping themselves in the cantonments, and looking with apathetic indifference upon the numerous hostile bodies which were gathering round them, and who did not hesitate to assume the attitude of insolent defiance. The envoy, unfortunately for his character and reputation for good faith—and, as we think, most injuriously for the interests and safety of the British army—

* Lieutenant Melville's *Narrative*.

was playing a double game. Whilst he had concluded a treaty with the Barukzye chiefs, and was apparently on terms of amity with them, he was urging the moonshee, Mohun Lal, to "tell the Ghilzies and Khan Shereen" (a chief of the Kuzzilbashas), that if they would "declare for his majesty and the British, and send in a hundred *kurwars* of grain to cantonments, he should be glad to give them a bond for five lacs of rupees; and if Naib Sheriff (a friendly chief) was satisfied that they would do so, he (the naib) should advance them as much money as he could."

"In conversing," he added, "with anybody, you may say distinctly, that I am ready to stand by my engagement with the Barukzyes, and other chiefs associated with them [the treaty of the 10th December]; but that, if any portion of the Affghans wish our troops to remain in the country, I shall think myself at liberty to break the engagement I have made to go away, which engagement was made, believing it to be in accordance with the wishes of the Affghan nation. If the Ghilzies and the Kuzzilbashas wish us to stay, let them declare so openly in the course of to-morrow, and we will side with them. The best proof of their wishing us to stay is, to send us a large quantity of grain this night—100 or 200 *kurwars*. If they do this, and make their salaam to the shah early to-morrow, giving his majesty to understand that we are along with them, I will write to the Barukzyes, and tell them my engagement is at an end; but if they are not prepared to go all lengths with us, nothing should be said about the matter, because the agreement I have made is very good for us."†

The envoy wrote three times in one day to the moonshee in this strain; and at the same time he was holding conferences with Akbar Khan and a few chiefs of the Barukzyes, the object of which was a fresh agreement with them, unknown to two of the most considerable of the tribe, who, he told General Elphinstone, were "not in the plot." This new agreement was, on the 22nd of December, apparently so far advanced, that on that day he wrote to the moonshee to inform the Ghilzies that they were not to send in any grain, as it would do more harm than good to the British cause, and induce the Barukzyes to believe that he was intriguing to break the agreement—as, indeed, if language had any meaning, he was. The terms of the new agreement with Akbar were, that Shah Soojah should remain in the country as king, with Akbar Khan for his vizier; that the British were to remain in the cantonments, but ultimately to leave Affghanistan, only with the appearance of doing so

† Letter to Mohun Lal, Dec. 20.

of their own free will; and that Akbar Khan should receive from the British government a bonus of thirty lacs of rupees, and a yearly annuity of four lacs!! This agreement was to be concluded at a meeting held with the Affghan chief on the 23rd of December, at a spot 600 yards from the cantonments, and between Mohammed Shereef's fort and the bridge. In vain did General Elphinstone and others advise the envoy not to meet the sirdar, warning him of treachery. He went. The Affghan and his colleagues were accompanied by troops, who quickly encircled the party; the meeting being held in the open air, with horse-cloths spread on the ground for the parties to recline on. A beautiful Arabian horse was taken as a present to Akbar; and three officers of his staff (Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie, and Trevor), who had returned to the cantonments, accompanied the envoy. Proceedings had scarcely commenced, before the companions of Macnaghten were seized from behind, forcibly mounted on horses (each ridden by an Affghan chief), and carried off through the Affghans, who kept striking at them as they passed. Trevor unfortunately slipped from his seat, and was instantly cut to pieces; Lawrence and Mackenzie reached the Shereef's fort in safety, having been protected by the chiefs, who appear to have risked their own lives to preserve those of their prisoners. At the same time that the attendants of the envoy were seized, he himself was grappled with, and soon killed by Akbar Khan with a pistol, which had been a gift from the unfortunate functionary. After he fell, his body was hacked to pieces on the ground.—It is impossible to justify this conduct of the Affghan; but, up to that time, he had faithfully kept all the engagements he had entered into with the British; and is it not possible, that what we must, with the most sincere sympathy with a man in his circumstances, call the "double-dealing" of Macnaghten, had reached his ears, and caused the change in his conduct? It is also probable, from the way in which Lawrence and Mackenzie were treated, that it was not intended to kill, but only to seize the envoy; and that he was shot by the sirdar to preserve his own life.

But if Macnaghten did err in his dealings with the Affghans—who had, as a body, been guilty of every treachery towards his countrymen, though Akbar Khan had

set them a different and a better example—what are we to think of the conduct of the military and their chiefs, who did not make a single effort to avenge his death? The generals (who appear not to have been parties to, though they were bound by, the treaty of the 10th of December) now agreed to negotiate afresh, employing Major Eldred Pottinger as their diplomatic agent. All the terms of the former agreement were assented to; but others were added which rendered this second treaty much more disgraceful. The new conditions were, that all the coin in the public treasury should be given up to the Affghan chiefs; and also all the spare arms, and the guns, except six, and three mountain-train guns; that the number of hostages should be increased from four to six; and that five lacs of rupees (nearly £50,000) should be paid over to them. Very reluctantly did Pottinger assent to these stipulations. He would have fought his way through or perished. A condition still more disgraceful was at first demanded: that General Sale, his wife, and daughter, and all the other gentlemen of rank who were married, with their wives and families, should be given up, and remain as hostages for the safe return of Dost Mahomed and his family from Loodiana. This the British would not agree to; and at that time it was not insisted upon. Offers were made from head-quarters, we are told, to induce the married men to remain; but they refused, "some declaring that they would shoot their wives first."* The officers who did remain as hostages, were Captains Walsh and Drummond; Lieutenants Conolly, Airey, Warburton, and Webb.

When this treaty was signed, there were 4,500 fighting-men in cantonments, 700 of whom were Europeans, many women, and about 12,000 camp-followers. That officers at the head of nearly 5,000 men should accept of such terms as we have described, seems "strange—passing strange;" and that they should, for five or six days after agreeing to them, permit their men to be subjected to every insult from the barbarous savages who flocked around them, is even still more strange. But so it was: and when, on the 6th of January, 1842—in the midst of an Affghan winter, with deep snow covering the ground, and the cold so bitter as to penetrate and defy defences of the warmest clothing—the retreat was com-

* Lieutenant Eyre.

menced, the necessary precautions were omitted. There was great delay in making the movement; for even then, the indecision of General Elphinstone prevailed; and how the Cabool river should be crossed, whether on foot (as it might have been), or by a bridge of gun-carriages, was not decided upon till some hours had elapsed. The army started without an Affghan escort—which was promised, but, at the last moment, not forthcoming when wanted; and though Mohammed Zemaun Shah endeavoured to protect the retreating force all in his power, he could not effect much. The delay in the early part of the day enabled the Ghilzies, Kuzzilbashes, and other marauders, to come up, who attacked the rear-guard, delayed by the quantity of baggage. That guard “was obliged to retreat with severe loss, abandoning two guns and much baggage, notwithstanding it did not reach the bivouac at Begramee till two the next morning.”* Long before this bivouac was reached, the cantonments, the Mission-house, the general’s quarters, and all the public buildings of the English, had been burnt and destroyed. That “night was one of suffering and horror. The snow lay deep on the ground. There was no order, no method, in anything that was done. The different regiments encamped anywhere. Soldiers and camp-followers were huddled together in one inextricable mass of suffering humanity. Horses, camels, and baggage-ponies were mixed up confusedly with them. Nothing had been done to render more endurable the rigour of the northern winter. The weary wretches lay down to sleep: some never rose again; others awoke to find themselves crippled by the biting frost.”†

The route lay through the narrow defiles and rugged passes of Khoord-Cabool, Tazcen, and Jugdulluck, to Jellalabad. No route could be more difficult; and from the first there was no discipline or order. The first night was a specimen of what took place subsequently; only that whilst every day numbers died, or were killed by the enemy, the sufferings of the survivors were greatly increased. On the second day, it was evident that the authority of the officers was nearly gone. Every man did as he thought best; regiments dwindled away to a few individuals; and the confusion was increased by the enemy pressing on the

rear, seizing the mountain-train guns, and cutting up many of the unhappy fugitives. In the course of the day, a messenger appeared from Mohammed Zemaun Shah, urging General Elphinstone to halt till he could send supplies of provisions and fire-wood, and disperse the fanatic insurgents who were following in his rear. Major Pottinger advised the halt; Brigadier Shelton opposed it; General Elphinstone took the advice of the former; and thus, said the brigadier, “was another day entirely lost, and the enemy collecting in numbers.” Akbar Khan came up with the army that day, heading a body of 600 horsemen. He demanded hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad; and Pottinger, Captain Lawrence, and Captain Colin Mackenzie were delivered up to him, the two former volunteering for the purpose. Two days later—two dreadful days, in which hundreds had perished from the inclemency of the weather, fatigue, and the sword; Akbar Khan *apparently* endeavouring to protect them, but being unable—that chief proposed to have the married men, their wives and children, and other females, delivered up to him; desirous, he said, “to remove the ladies and children, after the horrors they had already witnessed, from the further danger of the camp.” “As from the very commencement of the negotiations the sirdar had shown the greatest desire to have the married people as hostages,” General Elphinstone (Akbar Khan’s request being enforced by Major Pottinger) agreed that that request should be complied with, hoping that “this mark of trust might elicit a corresponding feeling in him.”‡ The party who thus left the fugitives, were the widowed Lady Macnaghten; Lady Sale; Mrs. Sturt (daughter of Lady Sale) and one child, whose husband and father, Lieutenant Sturt, died the very day (the 9th of January) that his wife left the camp, from a wound received from an attack of the Ghilzies when the British were entering the Khoord-Cabool Pass; Mrs. Trevor (the widow of Captain Trevor) and seven children; Captain Boyd, wife and child; Captain Anderson, wife and child; Lieutenant Waller, wife and child, Lieutenant Eyre, wife and child; Mr. Ryley, wife and child; Sergeant Wade and family. It was the wish of General Elphinstone that all the wounded men should also have been left; but there was not time to make that wish known; Captain Troup and Lieute-

* Major Pottinger’s Report. † Kaye.

‡ General Elphinstone’s Statement.

nant Mein, therefore, who were both quite incapable of service only were left. Akbar Khan kept his word as to placing the married people and their children in a place of safety. They were miserably lodged, at first, in three dirty, unfurnished sheds; but were subsequently removed to Buddeebad, near Tazeen, a strong fort belonging to the sirdar's father-in-law, situated in a narrow valley, surrounded by precipitous hills of considerable height, and defended by a wide ditch. He permitted them to carry all their heavy and costly baggage with them, and in many ways promoted their comforts. After a time, he allowed them to correspond with their friends in Jellalabad, and to receive newspapers and books. He also, in person, expressed his great regret to Lady Macnaghten for the death of her husband; craved her forgiveness; and said, he would willingly give his right hand to undo what he had done.

On the 10th of January the march was resumed, and continued on the 11th. On both days, numbers of the soldiers and many more of the camp-followers perished; fatigue carrying off some, and the constant attacks of the enemies, others. Akbar Khan was remonstrated with, but said he could do nothing. On the 10th the rear-guard was commanded by Brigadier Shelton; and this little band showed a spark of their ancient fire. "Nobly and heroically these fine fellows stood by me," said the Brigadier Shelton. They were a mere handful, but they repulsed every attack, and, for a time, preserved their few companions. There was fighting nearly all the way to Jugdulluck; and, in four days, it is calculated, that from fatigue, cold, and the slaughter of the enemy, no fewer than 12,000 men had perished. Then General Elphinstone consented, with Brigadier Shelton and Commissariat Captain Johnson, to go to Akbar Khan's camp and have an interview with the sirdar. He had several times demanded that the whole force should be disarmed. At this interview he renewed his demand, which was again refused, and he retained the three officers as further hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. The unhappy general did not live long to mourn over the fate of his army. Brigadier Anquetil succeeded to the command, and the march was continued—men dying at every step, and the enemy assailing them on every side. On the night of the 12th the pass of Jugdulluck was forced,

but with terrible slaughter; the brigadier, Colonel Chambers, Major Thain, and thirteen other officers, falling at Gundamuck. On the morning of the 13th, only twenty British officers, fifty men of the 44th, and about a dozen sepoys and artillerymen, remained, out of the 17,000 fighting-men and camp-followers who had left Cabool. They were attacked by the Ghilzies, and defended themselves desperately, endeavouring to make for Jellalabad as they fought. Reduced to thirty, the Ghilzies again rushed upon them and slaughtered nearly all. Captain Souter and a few privates were taken prisoners; some officers, who attempted to ride to Jellalabad, were shot at Futteabad, where they stopped for food; and Dr. Brydon was the sole individual who entered Jellalabad. Colonel Dennie had predicted such a result; and when Brydon, breathless and faint, entered the town, his voice "sounded like the response of an oracle, when he said, 'Did I not say so—here comes the messenger!'"*

As might be expected, both at Calcutta and in England, the British people heard of these events with great feelings of indignation. They attributed them entirely to the incapacity and indecision evinced in high quarters, both civil and military; and they were not far wrong. There was as much indecision at Calcutta as at Cabool; and what was effected by Sir William Nott and Sir Robert Sale at Candahar and Jellalabad, shows what could have been done at Cabool had such men commanded there. The commander-in-chief at Calcutta endeavoured to mitigate the sense of national degradation which was not unnaturally felt; but he could not say much in defence of those on whom responsibility really rested. The envoy was the chief person blamed. The general said, in an "order of the day," issued after the result of the evacuation of Cabool was known—

"I admit that a blind confidence in the persons around the late envoy—a total want of forethought and foresight on his part—unaccountable indecision at first, followed by cessions which, day by day, rendered our force more helpless—inactivity, perhaps, on some occasions—have led to these reverses; but we must not overlook the effect of climate, the difficulty of communication, the distance from our frontier, and the fanatical zeal of the Affghans."

Those who have accompanied us thus far will be ready to admit, we think, that the military commanders were quite as much to blame as the envoy; and we think there

* *Sale's Brigade in Affghanistan.*

were two persons more to blame than either the civil or military authorities at Cabool—viz., the governor-general, Lord Auckland; and the president of the Board of Control, Sir John Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton), who originated the policy,

and planned and ordered the expedition, which occasioned the loss of so many lives, dimmed the *prestige* of the British name, aimed the first blow at the root of British authority, and added £10,000,000 to the debt of the Indian empire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SIR WILLIAM NOTT AT CANDAHAR; LIEUTENANT SALE AT JELLALABAD; DEFEAT OF THE AFFGHANS NEAR CANDAHAR; JELLALABAD SURROUNDED; ITS DEFENCES; TERRIBLE EARTHQUAKE; MARCH OF GENERAL POLLOCK TO THE RELIEF OF JELLALABAD; CLOSE OF LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION; ARRIVAL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH; RECAPTURE OF GHUZNEE BY THE AFFGHANS; FIRMNESS AND HEROISM OF SIR WILLIAM NOTT; BRIGADIER ENGLAND'S ADVENTURES; ASSASSINATION OF SHAH SOOJAH; LORD ELLENBOROUGH FAVOURABLE TO A RECALL OF THE TROOPS; DEFEAT OF THE AFFGHANS AT JELLALABAD; GENERAL POLLOCK FORCES THE KHYBER PASS; HIS ARRIVAL AT JELLALABAD; CIVIL WAR AT CABOOL; GENERAL NOTT RECAPTURES AND DESTROYS GHUZNEE; GENERAL POLLOCK ADVANCES ON THAT CITY; HE DEFEATS THE ENEMY AT JUGDULLUCK AND TAZEEN; THE BRITISH AT CABOOL; RECOVERY OF THE PRISONERS; ESCAPE OF AKBAR KHAN; EXPEDITION OF GENERAL M'CASKILL; THE ARMY RETURNS TO INDIA; ITS PROGRESS; LIBERATION OF DOST MAHOMED; THE TROOPS RECEIVED WITH TRIUMPH AT FEROPZEPOR; THE GATES OF SOMNAUTH; LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S PROCLAMATION.

It would be impossible to describe the effect which the news of the fall of Cabool, and the fate of the British army and their followers, produced at Candahar and Jellalabad. The commanders at those places had neither the indecision nor the want of energy which had been so lamentably exhibited by the authorities at Cabool. Sir William Nott at the one, and Sir Robert Sale at the other, refused to comply with the terms of the treaty entered into between the Afghan chiefs and General Elphinstone. They held, that that general had no right to order them to evacuate their positions: such orders, they maintained, could only come from the supreme government; and, instead of surrendering those posts, they employed themselves in strengthening their defences, and rendering them more capable of resisting any attack. At the same time, Ghuznee was held by Colonel Palmer and some artillery. —Sir William Nott was not permitted to remain inactive.

While the Ghilzies, Kuzzilbashes, and other tribes, were gathering round Cabool, a considerable number of the rebels collected at Dalla, in Southern Afghanistan, where they were joined by a party of Afghan cavalry, who had revolted at Candahar, killed their commander, and succeeded in escaping Captain Leeson's horse, who

went in pursuit—not, however, till about forty of them had been cut in pieces. Safter Jung, a son of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, left Candahar towards the latter end of December, 1841, and joined the insurgents at Dalla. Early the next month he moved on Candahar, at their head, resolved to attack the English, and, if possible, compel them to evacuate that city, which was only defended by a mud wall and a ditch. General Nott would not wait for their coming to him; but he marched out, on the 11th of January, with 1,000 cavalry and five and a-half regiments of infantry, and some artillery, to meet the enemy, whom he encountered, about 5,000 in number, on the 12th, in a very strong position, which they had intrenched so as to render it really formidable. The British, however, were well commanded; they did not hesitate one moment to assail their enemies, under a well-directed fire from their guns. In twenty minutes the Affghans were driven from their intrenchments, and dispersed in every direction. They reassembled, and advancing nearer to Candahar, plundered the villages in the vicinity; but fled instantly on the appearance of Colonel Wymer, at the head of a small British force. Another party burnt one of the gates of the town, and were driven off by a sally of the garrison.

Equal determination and valour were displayed at Jellalabad. Upon the refusal by Sir R. Sale to evacuate the place, the Afghan army, commanded by Akbar Khan, and comprising between 6,000 and 7,000 infantry, with about 2,500 cavalry, collected round the town, and on the 22nd of January, they are described as "completely surrounding" it. Shortly before, twenty-five horsemen had entered the town, each carrying 1,000 rupees in his saddle-bags: in sorties made by the garrison, several hundred head of cattle had been driven into the town; and there were, in the stores, provisions for three or four months. The defences, however, were far from strong. It had been, after the consolidation of the Dooranee empire, the winter residence of the kings of Cabool; but its fortifications, when Sir Robert Sale arrived there, had fallen into complete decay. His first care was to strengthen them, and defend his position in every possible way. The existing works consisted of a mud *enceinte*, extending for about 2,000 yards; with curtains and round towers, both very weak; a narrow rampart, the parapet of which was nearly useless; and a wide ditch. Working parties were employed to strengthen these defences, and they filled up the trenches, ran up additional parapets, "sand-bags and the saddles of the baggage animals being used in their construction;" cleared out and deepened the ditch, and planted ten pieces of cannon, with one or two mortars, on the bastions. "Every tree, likewise, which stood in the line of fire was cut down; every wall, and house, and inequality in the ground, levelled;" and several towers, which the troops could not occupy, were beaten down, so as to render them untenable by the enemy.* After the arrival of Dr. Brydon, and hearing his melancholy narrative, the troops worked more heartily at the defences; and before the Afghans invested the place, all the works were so improved as to present an appearance of great strength, and give promise of a lengthened resistance. But on the 14th of February, nearly all that had been effected with so much labour and perseverance was destroyed. "Colonel Monteith, who happened to be field-officer for that day, had ascended one of the bastions, and was sweeping the horizon with his telescope, when all at once the earth began to tremble, and there was

* *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan.*† *Ibid.*

a noise, not so much like thunder, as of a thousand laden waggons, rolling and jolting over an ill-paved street." The parties in the trenches took the alarm, and rushed out; and Colonel Monteith left the bastion, but received some bruises in doing so. "Scarcely had the men reached the glacis, ere the whole of the plain began to heave like billows on the surface of the ocean, and walls and houses, splitting asunder, came tumbling down upon the space which had an instant before been crowded with workmen."† It was the visitation of a terrible earthquake, which, in an hour, destroyed the work of months. Providentially the loss of life was small; the stores, whether of ammunition or provisions, received no injury; and on the morning of the 20th, the garrison, which had lain all night on their arms, were hard at work, clearing away the rubbish and repairing the damage. The same day, General Sale dispatched a messenger to Jellalabad, to solicit assistance.

Lord Auckland, in the meantime, had, as soon as the intelligence reached him of the change in the aspect of affairs at Cabool, dispatched Major-general Pollock to take the command of a body of troops stationed at Peshawur, and to march to the relief of General Elphinstone. Previous to his arrival, Brigadier Wild essayed, in January, to enter the Khyber Pass, and retake the fort of Ali Musjid, which had been occupied by the insurgent mountaineers. He succeeded in carrying the fort after a severe engagement, and having sustained considerable loss; but his means of defence were inadequate; and, being surrounded by treachery, he was compelled to abandon it. General Pollock arrived at Peshawur in February, where he found the troops so inadequate to the services required, and had so many difficulties to surmount, that it was the close of March before he could leave that station. His instructions from Lord Auckland were, to advance to Jellalabad, secure Sir R. Sale's brigade there, and give every relief to parties from Cabool; and then, rather than run extreme risks, to arrange for the withdrawal of his force, and the assemblage of all the troops at or near Peshawur, as Jellalabad was not a place which the government wished to retain at all hazards. The governor-general, indeed, after he knew of the fall of Cabool, showed himself as timid as he had been before presumptuous; for he was ready to recall all the British troops from Afghanistan; to

trust to negotiation to obtain the liberation of the prisoners; and thus give the most decisive triumph to our enemies, and the severest blow to our authority it had ever received.

The accession of the conservatives to power, under Sir Robert Peel, on the 30th of August, 1841, led to the return of the Earl of Auckland,* who was succeeded as governor-general by Lord Ellenborough, son of the first lord, the eminent judge. His lordship had held the office of lord privy seal from 1828 to June, 1829; and that of president of the Board of Control during the first brief administration of Sir Robert Peel, in 1834-'5; he was reappointed to that office in September, 1841, and vacated it in October, to take the higher office, which it was resolved to withdraw from the hands of Lord Auckland. The new governor-general arrived at Calcutta on the 28th of February, 1842; and his predecessor departed for England on the 12th of March. The noble earl left behind him a minute on the financial state of India, from which it appeared, that the war had already inflicted a burthen of no less than *eight millions* on the Indian treasury.

The state of affairs in Affghanistan was by no means promising when Lord Ellenborough assumed the direction of affairs. On the 6th of March, Colonel Palmer, who had up to that time maintained himself at Ghuznee, was obliged to give up that important post to the enemy. He had scarcely 1,000 men under his command; and, being unable to defend the town, had retired to the citadel, which he held till, from the severity of the weather, the sepoy were rendered unfit for duty, their feet and hands being severely injured by the frost. Under these circumstances, further resistance was out of the question. He agreed, by a capitulation with the Affghan chiefs, to evacuate the place. On the 6th of March he marched out with his troops; but the little band had scarcely cleared the works, ere it was attacked by the Ghazees, or "champions of religion"—the most savage and barbarous fanatics of all the Affghan tribes. A massacre ensued, resembling those with the intelligence of

which England was again startled, when the mutiny of 1857 broke out. Women and children were butchered without remorse; and the sepoy fell before the fire of the Ghazees, or from the wounds inflicted upon them with their knives. On one spot, we are told, that "an English officer, his wife, their servants, and thirty sepoy were massacred." Few escaped; those who were not killed were made prisoners. Colonel Palmer and his nine surviving officers were among the latter. The colonel was cruelly tortured; then he and his officers were thrown into a small filthy dungeon, which almost revived the horrors of the Black Hole at Calcutta.

Even the fall of Ghuznee did not dishearten Sir William Nott, who, though not supported, but discountenanced by Lord Auckland, and, at first, not appreciated by Lord Ellenborough, firmly maintained his ground. He felt, that if the troops left Affghanistan under the then existing circumstances, it would be in disgrace; and, whilst they would "incur the laughter of the whole world, all India would be up in arms. I was obliged," he wrote—

"To save their honour and their lives in spite of themselves. My sepoy always acted nobly, and I could have done anything with them." * * * "But when, among my own countrymen, all was panic and infatuation, from Lord Auckland down to the drum-boy, what could have been expected but disaster and disgrace. When I endeavoured to uphold the honour of my country, and to save it from disgrace, I was told—mark this: it is on official record—I was told: 'Your conduct has been injudicious, and shows that you are unfit for any command!'"†

"Unfit" as Lord Auckland and his advisers pronounced him, Sir William Nott, in conjunction with Sir Robert Sale, restored the honour of the British name, revived the *prestige* of the British arms, and proved himself a worthy successor of Clive and Coote, Wellesley and Lake.

Before Lord Auckland had laid down the reins of government, he had sent Brigadier England, with 4,000 men, to convey treasure, provisions, and medicines to Candahar by the Bolan Pass, by the way of Quettah. He arrived at that town on the 10th of March, and remained there till the 26th, expecting reinforcements from Scinde. They did not arrive; and on that day he moved forward, and advanced to Hy-Kulzie, a large walled village thirty-five miles north of Shawl, on the route to Candahar, where

* On the accession of Lord John Russell and the liberals to power, in 1846, the earl was appointed first lord of the admiralty, which office he held till his death, in 1849.

† *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1846.

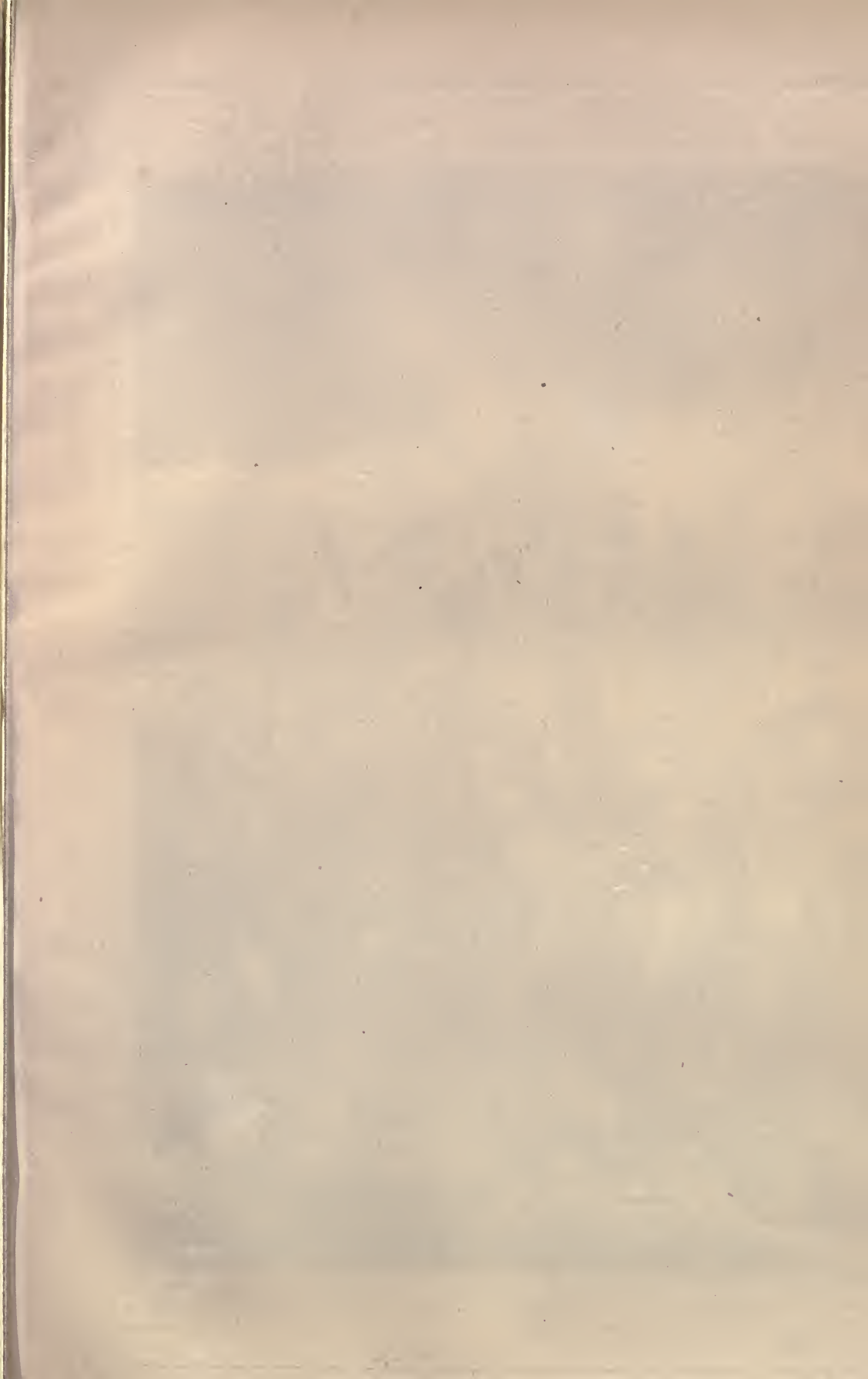
a large body of Affghans was found strongly posted, under the command of Mohammed Sadik. They professed friendship:—and, deceived by their apparently amicable proceedings, the brigadier expected nothing less than opposition. The friendship was a feint: when his advanced guard was separated by some distance from the main body, it was attacked; nearly a hundred men were killed and wounded, and the brigadier found that he had fallen into an ambuscade—the intentions of the Affghans being hostile in the extreme. As Mohammed Sadik had under his command a numerous infantry corps, and several hundred excellent horsemen with him, England thought it best to retreat; and accordingly he fell back on Quettah, where he intrenched himself, resolving to wait till General Nott should send a force, properly supplied with artillery, to clear the pass.

During these events, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk remained at Cabool, where he was acknowledged as sovereign by some of the insurgent chiefs, who swore fidelity on the Koran. While he remained in the Bala-Hissar he was safe: but he was induced to leave that stronghold, and place himself under the protection of Soojah-ad-Dowlah, who was a friend of Akbar Khan. For a short time all went well; but, under the pretence that the shah had, some time before, endeavoured to procure the assassination of Akbar, his death was determined upon. A review was held of the troops at Cabool, to which the shah went in state. Fifty men were placed in ambush to observe his movements; and, at a signal from Soojah-ad-Dowlah, they rose and fired on the unfortunate king. Two balls struck him, one perforating his skull; and he fell dead. Thus, after many vicissitudes of fortune, perished Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk. His youngest son, Futtey Jung, was proclaimed king of Cabool in his stead.

The intelligence of the fall of Ghuznee, and the retreat of Brigadier England, reached Calcutta about the same time, and caused orders to be sent out to Generals Nott and Sale to evacuate Candahar and Jellalabad. At this period, Lord Ellenborough was quite of opinion, that there were no means of saving the remains of the British army in Affghanistan, but by withdrawing them entirely from the country which had been the scene of so many misfortunes. As to the prisoners—Lady Sale and the other ladies, their husbands and chil-

dren—who were in Akbar Khan's possession, his lordship was anxious to redeem them; for which purpose he wished to see a *de facto* government established at Cabool, with whom he might negotiate. He was decidedly of opinion, that money would not procure their liberation, but that it might be effected through exchange. In order to be nearer the scene of action, that he might more readily receive information and communicate orders, in March he removed to the north-western provinces, where the commander-in-chief was also residing.

Akbar Khan still remained in the vicinity of Jellalabad, where the fortifications had been repaired so speedily and so effectually after the earthquake, that the Affghan chief could not believe the work was effected by the hand of man, but attributed it to English witchcraft. He, however, continued to invest the place; and as his advances approached nearer and nearer, the besieged made frequent *sorties*, in all of which they were successful; driving the enemy away from the particular points they assailed, and occasioning the sirdar great loss in killed and wounded. On the 6th of April, Sir Robert Sale resolved that a more decisive attack should be made the next day upon the enemy's position. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 7th, the British force left Jellalabad in three columns. The right, commanded by Captain Havelock, consisted of one company of the 13th European regiment, one of the 35th native infantry, and a detachment of sappers; the left was composed of the remainder of the 35th, under Lieutenant-colonel Monteith; and the remaining companies of the 13th, under Colonel Dennie, formed the centre. The artillery were ordered to support the advance, and the small cavalry force hovered on the flanks. The entire strength of the British was under 1,500; that of the enemy was upwards of 10,000, about one-fifth being cavalry. There were two or three forts between the town and the Affghan camp; and the arrangement was, to pass by these, drive the enemy from the camp, and then return and attack the forts, should the garrisons not have retired. As the centre was passing one of these forts, it was so seriously annoyed by the fire from its walls, that Sir Robert Sale diverged from his original plan, and ordered this column to attack the fort by a breach which appeared practicable. The attack was most gallantly made, Colonel Dennie leading. The men





BATTLE OF ZURICH.

rushed through the breach and passed the outer wall, but found the inner keep uninjured, from whence such a murderous fire was kept up, that, having no artillery, the column was compelled to retire: its gallant commander had, however, received his death-wound, and died almost immediately, greatly to the regret of the army. The men pushed through an aperture on the opposite side of the wall into the open plain, and, to make up for lost time, they proceeded at a double-quick march to the camp, where the left and right columns had arrived, and carried all before them; the artillery having come up at a gallop, and poured in a telling fire. When the three columns united, the work of strife was soon over. The enemy broke and fled, numbers rushing madly into the river, where as many perished as fell by the fire and bayonets of the pursuers. Seldom has a victory been so complete. "Camp, baggage, artillery, ammunition, standards, horses, arms of every kind, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The camp they committed to the flames; of the baggage, as well as of animals to transport it, they carried back to Jellalabad as much as they cared to preserve; and were especially gratified by finding, in one of the forts that flanked the lines, an important magazine of powder, shells, and shot. All these they carried with exceeding joy to the town, where, in the course of a few hours, provisions became abundant;"* for the retreat of Akbar Khan was soon known, and the neighbouring chiefs hastened to send in their submission, and to bring supplies; a market being "opened outside one of the gates, to which the country-people were encouraged to bring grain and food of every kind."† Leaving his prisoners in the valley of the Tazeen, the sirdar retreated first upon Lughman, and then continued his retrograde movements to Cabool.

Major-general Pollock was marching on Jellalabad when this battle was fought. He left Peshawur on the 5th of April, at the head of an army of about 8,000 men; and though a further reinforcement of 4,000 men was on the road to join him, he determined not to wait for its arrival, but to force the Khyber Pass with the troops he then had at his disposal. It was estimated that 10,000 mountaineers were stationed

in the pass, occupying the heights, from whence they commanded the road through the valley. The general determined that some of his men should scale these heights, and clear them of the enemy; and this service was performed by two flanking columns of twelve companies each; the right commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, of the 9th Europeans, and Major Anderson, of the 64th native infantry; and the left by Lieutenant-colonel Moseley, of the 64th, and Major Huish, of the 28th native infantry; there were also 400 native troops under Captain Ferris. Captain Alexander, of the artillery, supported these columns, by throwing in shrapnell shells wherever he could discover the enemy within range; and so successful were the efforts of the assailants, that the heights were speedily cleared as far as the fort of Ali Musjid, which was attacked, taken, and occupied by the British. The entire army, with its baggage and treasure, then marched unmolested through the pass; the loss in effecting this movement being only thirteen privates and one officer killed, three officers and 101 privates wounded, and seventeen privates missing. General Pollock—who "was very much liked in the camp, not caring how the men *dressed*, so long as they *fought*"‡—then pursued his march to Jellalabad, where he arrived on the 16th of April. As the troops entered the town, the garrison fired a salute of seventeen guns; and hearty and cordial was the cheering with which the officers and privates of the two armies greeted each other.

There was now an interval of some repose, both at Jellalabad and Candahar, where the chiefs employed themselves in strengthening their positions. General Nott had been joined by Brigadier England, who, in consequence of a peremptory order from his superior, left Quettah on the 29th of April, with 3,000 men, 2,000 camels, £100,000 in money, and medical and military stores for the use of the army. On reaching Hy-Kulzie, he found the Affghans posted in their former position. They were attacked by the 41st European regiment, led by Major Simmons, which quickly carried the heights, and dispersed the enemy. The army then threaded the Kojuck Pass without opposition, and reached Candahar on the 9th of May.

The first orders of Lord Ellenborough to retreat had been succeeded by others less imperative with respect to that movement,

* *Salé's Brigade in Affghanistan.* † *Ibid.*

‡ MS. Journal of a young officer; quoted in Macfarlane's *India*.

after his lordship heard of the fall of Ali Musjid; and in July, influenced by what was taking place at Cabool, despatches were forwarded both to Sir W. Nott and General Pollock, ordering them to advance on that city and retake it. There great confusion prevailed. After the assassination of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, and the succession of Futtey Jung, the Barukzyes revolted, and besieged the new monarch in the Bala-Hissar. Akbar Khan took the command of the besiegers on arriving at Cabool, after his flight from Jellalabad. Futtey Jung's troops made a good defence; the assailants resorted to mining; and having run a mine under one of the towers, it was sprung on the 6th of June. The garrison, however, stood well to their guns, and presented so firm a front, that the storming party recoiled, disappointed and discomfited. Notwithstanding this success, Futtey Jung despaired of maintaining his position; and he offered terms to Akbar Khan, which were accepted. He also came to an accommodation with the chiefs of the Ghilzies and Kuzzilbashes, surrendering a tower of the Bala-Hissar to each of them, but retaining the royal residence for himself; and thus Cabool was divided between four tribes—the Dooranies, the Barukzyes, the Ghilzies, and the Kuzzilbashes—who found it impossible to arrange any satisfactory settlement of their differences. Akbar Khan, however, adhered to Futtey Jung, who made that chief his vizier.

It was not till the month of August that Sir W. Nott found himself in a position to make the advance on Candahar. In the interim, his force had defeated a considerable body of Affghans near Candahar; captured twenty-five forts occupied by the Goolai tribe, where they found a good supply of provisions; and taken and burnt thirty-five forts belonging to the Shinwaries. In the beginning of that month, he sent Brigadier England back to Quetta, with the sick, the women, and the children; with whom that officer ultimately proceeded to Scinde, having first completely destroyed the fortifications of that place. It was the 15th of August when Sir W. Nott, with a force of about 7,000 men, "lightly equipped, and in high spirits," and in the fullest confidence that "1,000 sepoy, properly managed, would always beat 4,000 Affghans," left Candahar, *en route* for Ghuznee, having with him a quantity of ammunition, and provisions for

forty days. For fifteen days the British pursued their march unopposed. On the 30th of August, at Gonine, thirty-one miles from Ghuznee, a body of Affghans, 12,000 strong, commanded by Sheems-ud-deen, a cousin of Akbar Khan, intercepted them, and offered battle. General Nott attacked the enemy with only one-half of his force; routed them, and captured all their guns, ammunition, tents, and baggage. On the 4th of September, Ghuznee was seen, reconnoitred, and arrangements made for attacking the mountain positions of the Affghans. The batteries were erected, and the army was prepared for an arduous task; but on the morning of the 5th, it was discovered that the fort had been evacuated in the night. The inhabitants must have departed before; for when the British entered the town, not one individual, old or young, was to be seen: there was no property; and not a house that was not more or less dismantled. The general ordered the fortifications and citadel to be destroyed, as "having been the scene of treachery, mutilation, torture, starvation, and cruel murder, to our unresisting countrymen."* Here the British remained four days, near the village of Rozeh, "one of the loveliest in the country; and they showed the admirable discipline to which Sir W. Nott had brought them." The village "was full of inhabitants, with houses filled with property, the farmyards stocked with poultry, the gardens laden with fruit, and the vineyards bending with ripe grapes; yet all was saved; nothing was touched by the soldiers, even after four years' sufferings: they paid dearly even for the fruit; but nothing was taken by force, or stolen from the village."† Whilst staying at Rozeh, Sir W. Nott recovered 327 sepoy of the 27th Bengal native infantry, who had been sold as slaves within a district of forty miles round; and on the 10th of September he resumed his march, which Sheems-ud-deen and other chiefs endeavoured to interrupt, but in vain; he twice defeated them (on the 14th and 15th of September) with great loss.

Before General Pollock left Jellalabad, he had been reinforced by a corps of infantry, under Brigadier Bolton. He marched on the 20th of August, leaving Sale's brigade behind; and on the 24th, defeated 12,000 Affghans at Mammoo

* Letter to Major-general Lumley.

† Taylor's *India*.

Khail, a fort sixty miles south-east of Cabool, with the loss of about fifty men. At Gundamuck, where a halt of a fortnight took place, Sir Robert Sale joined the head-quarters; and the force was divided into two columns—the command of the first being given to Sale, and of the second to General M'Caskill; who, however, being an invalid, Brigadier (late Lieutenant-colonel) Monteith took the command *ad interim*. The march was resumed on the 6th of September, when the first division left Gundamuck, being followed by the second on the 8th. On the morning of that day, the first division approached the pass of Jugdulluck; the march from Gundamuck having been impeded by the Ghilzies, who were found at every point of the mountains, and harassed the troops in front, flank, and rear. But though this somewhat retarded, it could not arrest their progress. At Jugdulluck the enemy was collected to the number of near 5,000. They were under different chiefs, and crowned the amphitheatre to the left of the road. From this position they commenced a heavy fire on our troops as soon as the latter came in sight; which was returned from the British artillery, whose shells were seen to do great execution. Still the enemy maintained their position; and the command was given to scale the heights, and drive them off. This service was performed by her majesty's 13th, one company of each of the 6th and 35th Bengal native infantry, and some sappers, commanded by Captains Wilkinson and Broadfoot. The gallant fellows mounted the hills amidst a loud cheering; the enemy did not wait for them, but ran down the opposite side of the hill to avoid the charge.

The route to Tazeen was pursued amidst similar skirmishing. The entrance to that pass was disputed by a force of 16,000 men, under the command of Akbar Khan himself, Amenoollah, and several other eminent chiefs. The force occupied the "summits of the Huft-Kothul—a cluster of mountains, seven in number, the highest of which rises to an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. The valley of Tazeen is close, in the rear, not less than the front, by precipitous rocks; and the Affghans, assuming that the invaders had done their worst—that having penetrated thus far, they feared to go further—not only assembled one body of men on the

Huft-Kothul, but planted another in the rear of the valley, shutting up, as they imagined, their enemies in a trap.* But they found themselves mistaken. The British reached the Huft-Kothul on the 11th of September. The road by which they were proceeding, passes over one of its shoulders; and the first column traversed it without opposition, till they "approached the point where the pathway attains its extreme altitude: there such a storm of fire assailed them, that the air rang with the hissing of the bullets as they passed. In a moment the 13th to the right, and the 2nd Queen's, to the left, spread in skirmishing order over the bases of the hills, and clambered up, returning the fire as they best could, yet scarcely appearing to check their onward progress while they did so. The enemy fought with great desperation, standing till but a few paces divided them from our troops, and gave way even then only when the fixed bayonets gleamed before them, and they heard the shout with which the British infantry invariably preface a charge. Then might be seen a flight and a pursuit; the one winged by terror, the other animated to perseverance by a burning thirst of revenge. The 3rd dragoons were let loose upon the fugitives. They soon overtook them, and hewed right and left, as men do who have the deaths of their friends and comrades to avenge; and the whole summit of the hill, as well as the slope beyond it, and the road and the declivities leading down to it, was strewn with the bodies of the slain. Two pieces of artillery, both originally belonging to Elphinstone's corps, were taken; and Akbar, routed completely and utterly, felt that he was indeed powerless.†

No further attempt was made to defend the capital. The troops halted for a night at Bootkak, from whence proclamations were dispersed throughout the country, inviting the people to continue in their dwellings, promising them protection, but warning them against ill-using or carrying off the prisoners; and from Bootkak the march was pursued to Cabool, not a single man, woman, or child being met by the way. The Affghan troops had all departed from the city; and, on the 15th of September, General Pollock encamped on the race-ground at Cabool. On the 16th he entered the Bala-Hissar, where the British standard was planted, under a salute from

* *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan.*+ *Ibid.*

the artillery, and the enthusiastic cheering of the troops; and where, on the 17th, he was joined by Sir William Nott. Futtey Jung still remained at Cabool; and, by permission of General Pollock, had witnessed the hoisting of the flag of England on the palace of the Affghan kings.

Akbar, when he fled from Tazeen, had with him several prisoners, whom he had taken with him from Cabool. Fourteen, of whom two were ladies, and ten children, the people at Cabool had refused to give up to him. With the officers left as hostages they were taken to the English camp, to their great joy, soon after the arrival of the troops; but there were many other Englishmen, women, and children—those who had been so long in Akbar Khan's hands—whose lives were in jeopardy; and General Pollock's first act was to adopt means for liberating them. By the donation of 10,000 rupees, he induced a band of Kuzzilbashes, under Sir Richmond Shakespear, to trace the steps of Akbar Khan, and to effect their release. It was known that he had retreated in the direction of the Hindoo-Koosh; and on the 17th of September it was ascertained that he was in the Bameean Pass. But the prisoners were not with him. In August he had ordered them to be removed from the valley of Tazeen to Turkestan. On the 3rd of September they reached Bameean, where they were halted at an old fort, in the charge of a chief named Salee Mohammed, who had orders to hurry them along, and to butcher all the sick, and those for whom he could find no conveyance. Providentially for the prisoners, this man had an eye to his own interests, which he thought he could best promote by taking care of, and finally liberating, the prisoners. On the 11th of September, five of the officers who were in his custody agreed to give him a gratuity of 20,000 rupees, and 1,000 rupees a month, for the liberation of themselves and their companions. He immediately hoisted a flag of defiance on the walls of the fort, telling the prisoners that they had nothing to fear; and Major Eldred Pottinger assumed the direction of the affairs of the English *detenus*, entering into arrangements with some of the neighbouring chiefs, who being Kuzzilbashes and Shiahhs, agreed to support him. For several days various rumours reached the fort of the successes of the English, and the defeat of Akbar Khan and his troops. On the 15th a letter was received, stating that the Cabool chiefs had

risen against Akbar, who had fled; and, on the 16th, the whole party left the fort, taking the road to Cabool. On their march that day they were cheered with more reports of the victories of their comrades; but, at the same time, they were informed that they were pursued by 2,000 horse, who had orders to carry them across the Oxus. They halted for the night; and, before dawn the next morning, were roused from their slumbers by the arrival of a horseman, with a letter from Sir Richmond Shakespear, announcing his approach at the head of 600 Kuzzilbashes. They proceeded on their route rejoicing, and, about noon, reached a deserted fort, where they rested for refreshment and repose, as well as shelter during the mid-day heat. After resting for about three hours, they were recommencing their journey, when, at 3 P.M., Sir Richmond and his Kuzzilbashes came up. Words cannot describe the joy of the meeting; and, says one of the relieved party, not even "the most thoughtless amongst us could fail to recognise, in all that had befallen us, the distinguishing grace and protecting Providence of a forbearing and merciful God."*—There was still a long and difficult country to traverse; and it was not certain that Akbar Khan might not attempt to recapture them. The route was pursued, therefore, by forced marches; and, on the 20th, they were met by Sale's brigade, headed by that general: the meeting between him, his lady, and daughter, may be imagined, but cannot be described. "The thunder of artillery told that day, not of the work of death in progress, but of its opposite. Friends met friends from whom they had long been parted. The wife threw herself into the arms of her husband; the daughter leapt upon her father's neck and wept, while a royal salute, fired from the horse artillery that had come to the rescue, called echoes from the distant hills, which seemed to laugh and shout with joy."† It was sunset on the 21st when the happy party and their escort reached General Pollock's camp at Cabool. There their reception was most cordial; again the salute of the artillery resounded through the air; again friend embraced friend; and again and again were the kind words of welcome interchanged. But, the first ebullitions of joy over, memory reverted to those who were dead; for several of the number origi-

* Lieutenant Eyre's *Journal*.

† *Sale's Brigade in Affghanistan*.

nally captured were no more, as well as General Elphinstone, who died on the 23rd of April. The total number rescued from captivity was 122, of whom nine were ladies, and three the wives of non-commissioned officers or privates; twenty-two were children, thirty-four officers, and the rest were British non-commissioned officers and privates, with two or three civilians.*

Great efforts had been made to trace and capture Akbar Khan, who, however, succeeded in eluding his pursuers. Generals Nott and Pollock were very desirous to secure the person of this chief; and as soon as the necessary arrangements were made for establishing order at Cabool, Brigadier M'Caskill was dispatched, with his division, to Kohistan, with orders to take Akbar Khan prisoner if possible; to punish the inhabitants for their cruel treatment of the British troops; to disperse a considerable body of Affghans, who were assembled at Istaliff, and proclaimed that they should soon march to Cabool, and drive out the unbelievers; and to liberate the sepoys and camp-followers who were detained as slaves. This division first proceeded to Istaliff, a town situated on the slope of a mountain, about twenty-two miles north-west of Cabool. It had near 15,000 inhabitants; and the natives considered it to be unassailable on account of its situation, and surrounded as it was with walls, and overlooked by towers, commanding the approaches. The British ascended the hill, and attacked the town. An attempt was made to defend it; but the troops by whom it was garrisoned were soon obliged to fly, and make their way to the top of the mountains, where they were not pursued. A considerable amount of property, which had been plundered from the British, was found. This was secured; and about one-third of the town was set on fire and destroyed.—Charekur—where Captain Codrington and Lieutenant Rattray had been killed, Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton wounded, and the Ghoorkas cut to pieces—was next taken, the British property recaptured, and a part of the town destroyed. The division, unable to obtain any intelligence of the movements of Akbar Khan, then returned to Cabool. In this expedition the women and children were respected, and all pillage and personal violence were prohibited. We are told that these orders

* Lady Sale's and Lieutenant-Eyre's Journals.

were obeyed, and that not a single act of wanton outrage or cruelty was committed. But much property was destroyed; and if the expedition was justifiable in war, it was one of those things which show us how terrible war really is, and make us sensible of the heavy responsibility that must fall on those who wantonly or heedlessly provoke it.

On the 1st of October Lord Ellenborough was at Simla. A short time previously, he received, on one day, the intelligence of three victories—those gained by Generals Nott and Pollock in Afghanistan, and by the expedition on the coast of China, with whom we were then at war. His lordship, however, was not disposed to continue the hostilities in the former country; and, on the 1st of October, he issued a proclamation, stating, that the disasters of the British army having been avenged on the spot where they occurred, that army would be withdrawn to the Sutledj. Orders to that effect must have been previously sent to the generals in command; as, long before that proclamation could have reached Cabool, preparations for its evacuation, and the return of the troops, had commenced. General Pollock resolved, before he left, to destroy some of the monuments at Cabool, as a warning to the Affghans of the fearful retaliation they must expect if they again provoked British vengeance. The fortifications were destroyed, and all the guns that were found either on the walls or in the Bala-Hissar. At the request of Futtay Jung, that building was spared; but the prince was given distinctly to understand, that he must not look to the "Feringhees" for support. Akbar Khan had built a mosque, especially to commemorate the destruction of Elphinstone's force, and called it "the Feringhee Mosque." This was levelled with the ground; and thus far the work of destruction was excusable. But when the great bazaar, built by Aurungzebe, with its 2,000 shops, was destroyed; when many houses were set on fire, and numerous trees—the delight of the Affghans—ruined and rendered worthless by scraping away their bark—we think the line of demarcation which ought to separate just retaliation from unbridled revenge was overstepped; and the conduct of our own countrymen, we regret to say, leaves us little room to blame the excesses of the savage races through whose treachery and cruelty the "avengers" had undoubtedly suffered much.

On the 12th of October the army commenced its march from Cabool, the troops bearing with them as much spoil as they could carry, besides the idol-destroying mace and the sandal-wood gates, embossed with brass, from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee, which Sir William Nott had carried off by desire of the governor-general. Lady Macnaghten also had the remains of her husband taken from the pit into which they had been thrown; and they were afterwards interred, with great respect, at Calcutta. When the troops were prepared to move, Sir Robert Sale was dispatched in advance with a light corps, to clear the way through the Khoord-Cabool Pass; and the rest of the army marched in three divisions, under Generals Pollock, M'Caskill, and Nott. The defiles of the Khoord-Cabool offered no difficulty; and the first part of the army arrived safe at Jellalabad on the 22nd of October; the remainder following on the 23rd and 24th. The fortifications of that city were destroyed; and on the 25th the army started for the Khyber Pass. "What will the Feringhees give for a safe passage?" was the demand made by the mountain chiefs, as the troops approached that formidable defile. "Nothing!" was the reply; and the consequence was, that they had to fight almost all the way. Generals Pollock and M'Caskill entered the pass on the 27th of October. General Nott followed on the 29th. The first division reached Peshawur on the 3rd of November, having lost some men and baggage. Two days afterwards M'Caskill's column arrived, two officers and sixty sepoy having been killed on the route. General Nott reached his destination on the 6th. He had, *en passant*, destroyed the fort of Ali Musjid; and, though repeatedly attacked, he brought off all his baggage; but had four privates killed, and two officers and fourteen privates wounded. Whilst the troops were on their march, Lord Ellenborough had, by an order of the 25th of October, liberated Dost Mahomed, his wives and family, and also those members of Akbar Khan's family, and all other Affghans who were still in the hands of the English. They had all set out for their own country before our troops entered India.

The army remained for a few days at Peshawur, and then set out on their march through the Punjab to Ferozepore. There they arrived on the 17th of December, and

were met by the governor-general; and there they were received with all the honours of a triumph. Medals and other rewards were bestowed on the officers and most deserving of the men; whilst dinners and balls were given in their honour. At one of the former, in proposing the health of Sir Robert Sale and the brave garrison of Jellalabad, Lord Ellenborough said, that it was they who had saved the name and fame of the British empire in India. Reviews were also held; and at one of these military displays, on the 31st of December, 24,000 soldiers and 102 guns were mustered on one spot.—With respect to the gates from the Sultan Mahmoud's tomb (which that monarch had carried off as a trophy from Guzerat), the governor-general addressed a proclamation to the native princes of India, in which he reminded them of the insult offered to their forefathers when the temple at Somnauth was defiled. That insult was now, after 800 years, avenged; and he called upon the rajahs and princes of Sirhind, Rajwarra, Malwa, and Guzerat, whom he termed his "brothers and friends," to "bear the glorious trophy of successful war" through their respective territories "with all honour," and replace them at the restored temple of Somnauth. This proclamation excited much discussion, and some ridicule, in England; but, in truth, its inflated language was just adapted to the Oriental taste; and there is no doubt, that the restoration of these gates, carried off by their Mohammedan conquerors, and retaken by the valour of their present rulers, had a considerable effect in India.

In England, the whole policy of the war, and the conduct of the two governors-general (Lords Auckland and Ellenborough), occasioned much discussion both in and out of parliament. The destruction of property in Affghanistan, before our troops left the country, was severely censured; and in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham, in denouncing the demolition of the gardens at Cabool, termed our generals "incendiaries." The thanks of both houses, however, were returned to those generals, and to the troops engaged, and titles and other rewards were bestowed upon them.*

* Major-general Nott was appointed resident of Oude, an appointment he was soon obliged to give up on account of ill-health, and return to England. He proceeded to Carmarthen, his birthplace where he died, much regretted, Jan. 1st, 1846!

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR IN SCINDE; ITS CAUSES; SIR CHARLES NAPIER APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE FORCES IN SCINDE; HE TAKES EMAUM GHUR FROM THE BELOOCHEES; MAJOR OUTRAM AT HYDERABAD; ATTACK ON THE RESIDENCY; BATTLE OF MEEANEE; THE AMEERS SURRENDER, AND THE BRITISH TAKE POSSESSION OF HYDERABAD; VICTORY OF DUBBA, OR OF HYDERABAD; DEFEAT OF THE BELOOCHEES; CONCLUSION OF THE WAR; SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S ADMINISTRATION OF SCINDE; DISPUTES WITH THE MAHARAJAH OF GWALIOR; BATTLE OF MAHARAJPOOR; BATTLE OF PUNNIAR; PEACE IN INDIA; RECALL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

THE unfortunate Affghan war was followed by a more successful contest in Scinde, and the annexation of that territory to the dominions of the East India Company. A brief notice of our relations with the Ameers, or governors of Scinde, has been taken in former chapters;* and in the narrative of the Affghan war, it will have been seen that some cause of difference with them arose. The bases of the dispute were a claim made on the Ameers for tribute due to Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, from which they alleged they were released; and the passage of the Indus by our troops, which, they contended, was contrary to the treaty. On both these points, we must think that the Ameers were unjustly treated; and however they were smoothed over at the time, ill-will arose; and we have no doubt that Sir Charles Napier was right, when he characterised the war in Scinde as "the tail of the Affghan storm."

Before the war in Affghanistan closed, the Ameers were accused of violating the treaty which ensured the free navigation of the Indus to our merchants, and with intriguing with the Affghan chiefs. Lord Ellenborough, in consequence, ordered General England, who was returning from Quettah with a force of about 3,000 men, to go to Scinde; and inclosed to Major Outram, then residing at Hyderabad as the British political agent, letters to be addressed to each of the Ameers, informing them of the rumours to their disadvantage, and telling them, he should rely on their fidelity till their faithlessness was proved; but that, if he obtained such proofs, no consideration should induce him to permit them to exercise the power they abused. Major Outram withheld these letters, lest fear should drive the Ameers and the other chiefs of tribes to extremities; but he informed the governor-general that "he had it in his power to expose the

* See *ante*, pp. 183 and 255.

hostile intrigues of the Ameers, to such an extent as might be deemed sufficient to authorise the dictation of any terms to those chiefs, or any measure necessary to place British power on a secure footing."† Lord Ellenborough, however, would not take any steps without proof; but he resolved to strengthen the force under General England; and on the 26th of August, 1842, he appointed Major-general Sir Charles Napier commander-in-chief in Scinde. That officer—who was the eldest son of the Hon. George Napier, and brother to Lieutenant-general Sir William F. Napier, author of *The History of the Peninsular War*—had been transferred from the command of the troops in the northern district of England, to the staff in Bengal, in 1841, and reaching Bombay in 1842, he was sent to Poonah, where his professional activity soon attracted public notice. In sending him to Scinde, Lord Ellenborough was influenced by his antecedents in the Spanish war, in which he especially distinguished himself. He was entrusted with the full power of command over the troops in Scinde and Beloochistan, and his appointment "gave him entire control over all the political agents and civil officers. He was instructed to keep possession of Kurrachee (taken upon the first advance into Affghanistan), and peremptorily informed, that 'if the Ameers, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs against the British forces, it was the governor-general's fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith, and to exact a penalty which should be a warning to every chief in India.'"‡

On the 3rd of September, Sir Charles embarked at Bombay, in the *Zenobia* schooner, which was full of troops; amongst whom cholera broke out as soon as the vessel cleared the land; and in the interval between the 3rd and the 10th, "six bitter

† Sir W. F. Napier's *Conquest of Scinde*. ‡ *Ibid.*

days and nights," as Sir Charles termed them, they cast into the sea fifty-four dead bodies—just one-fourth of their number. He landed at Kurrachee, and proceeded to Sukkur, where he arrived on the 4th of October, having had an interview with the Ameers on his way, and there he "forthwith commenced a series of political and military operations, which," in the estimation of his brother and historian, "reduced these chiefs to the choice of an honest policy or a terrible war. They chose dishonesty and battle; they tried deceit, and were baffled by a superior intellect; they raised the sword, and were themselves cut down by a stronger arm."*

Major Outram's authority, as political agent in Scinde, was superseded by the supreme power given to Sir Charles Napier, and he left Hyderabad for Bombay. Sir Charles lost no time in entering into negotiations with the Ameers, who, he was taught to think were "thorough ruffians"—perfect "villains, drunken and debauched"—any one of them being "capable of fratricide;" and determined to assassinate him, and "Cabool the troops." Outram, on the contrary, who knew them better, says they were "decidedly favourable specimens of Mohammedan princes, ruling after a very patriarchal fashion; merciful, accessible to complainants, singularly temperate, abstaining not only from drinking and smoking, but likewise rigidly eschewing the accursed drug opium, even as a medicine."† But even this officer was of opinion that they were dishonest, and not to be trusted. To Sir Charles Napier they appear to have evinced no hostility; but his intercourse with them was uniformly regulated by his impression of their want of faith. He was confirmed in this opinion by Meer Ali Moorad, of Khyrpore, described as "one of the most ambitious and able of the Khyrpore brothers," who informed him, that all the Ameers, except himself and Meer Sobdar, of Hyderabad, had entered into a league against the English, and were about to commence hostilities. Sir Charles set his troops in motion to check any attempt of those he considered as enemies; and requested that Major Outram might return to Hyderabad to assist him in the negotiations. The major returned accordingly, and the draft of a treaty was ultimately

signed by the Ameers. In this preliminary agreement, it was stipulated, that various places, including Kurrachee, Tatta, and Shikarpore, should be ceded to the British; the navigation of the Indus as to be free; and there were provisions as to the payment of a subsidy to support a contingent.—The Beloochees were enraged at this treaty, and made no secret of their indignation, but appeared to be ready for any act of hostility. War was actually caused, however, by what there is now little doubt were the intrigues of Ali Moorad, who either "bullied," or persuaded, his elder brother, Meer Roostum (whom Sir William Napier terms "an old debauched wretch"), to surrender to him the Ameership of Khyrpore—the northern and finest part of Scinde; and then, by inducing his aged relative to believe that the English were bent upon making prisoners of him, his wives, and family, he caused him to fly into the wilderness, with a view of taking refuge in Emaum Ghur, a strong fortress in the Thur, or Great Sandy Desert, separating Scinde from Jessulmere. As scarcely a drop of fresh water can be had on the route from Scinde, after leaving Choonkee, a place about fifty miles from the fort, the latter was generally considered by the Ameers as an impenetrable place of refuge;‡ and Sir Charles looked upon the conduct of the Ameer and his relatives, in flying to this place, as a manifestation of their intention to "raise, in conjunction with their cousins of Hyderabad, the standard of battle. They trusted in their sandy wastes, their strong and numerous fortresses, their deadly sun—in the numbers, courage, strength, and fierceness of their wild Beloochee swordsmen; and braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter."§ But their trust proved vain, though we must think that they had justice on their side.

"From the flight of Roostum," says Sir W. Napier, "may be dated the commencement of the Scindian war." It is the conclusion of the historian of that war, that the Ameers had long resolved to thrust the English out of Scinde, where, by the way, without the perfect consent of the Ameers, they had no right to be. The Beloochees, and all the tribes of that fierce race in the mountains beyond, are said to have been willing to aid them, and the arrangements for carrying this resolution into execution were undertaken by heads of greater ability, and hearts of greater courage, than the

* Sir W. F. Napier's *Conquest of Scinde*.

† Outram's *Commentary*; M. Martin's *India*.

‡ Thornton § *The Conquest of Scinde*.

Ameers possessed. "The ablest plotter was Roostum's vizier, Futteh Mohammed Ghoree, a wily man, who, in conjunction with other designing persons, Affghans and S khs, as well as Beeloochees, concerted a general combination of those nations, to fall on the British stations with 200,000 fighting-men. Of this number the Ameers could furnish at least 70,000."* To break this alliance, and to frustrate the designs of the Ameers, was Sir Charles Napier's object; and with a view to check their combination, and interrupt their communications, he had, in the first instance, occupied Sukkur on the right, and Roree and Alore on the left, banks of the Indus—a position which gave him "the whole of the Ameers' country before it, except Shikarpore, on the right flank, and the districts of Subzulcote and Boong-Bharra in rear of the left wing." That being resting on the desert, he barred the Ameers of Khyrpore from the two last-named places; while his Bengal troops could seize the narrow districts behind his position. "The Beloochees dared not attack him in a position which could be forced by the Bengal troops; they could not pass his flanks, save by the desert, and by a hort movement on that side he could intercept them. They were indeed strong at Larkaana, on the right of the Indus, and might assail Sukkur, which was hemmed in with jungle; but he strengthened his lines there on a pivot of movements;"† and thus he remained, whilst "he thought to reduce the Ameers to quietude by reason." He did not, we are bound to believe, wish for war. "I mourn," he said—

"Over the whole thing, I hate bloodshed. I did all I could to prevent it, as my conduct will prove, and as every officer in this army knows; for they used to say, 'The general is the only man in camp who does not wish for a battle.' The Ameers are the greatest ruffians I ever met with, without any exception. However, I have only obeyed my orders."‡

It is due to Lord Ellenborough, also, to state, that he was equally averse to violence and bloodshed. As Sir W. Napier observes, "his instructions are on record. They inculcate the moral obligation of avoiding war, by all means save the sacrifice of British honour, and the supremacy of power absolutely necessary, at the time, for the safety of the British empire in India." It was to maintain British honour and supre-

macy, and avenge the breach of treaties, that the war was professedly entered upon; and certainly our troops were placed in a position in which war or a disgraceful retreat was inevitable.

It is reported, that the Ameers of Lower Scinde, notwithstanding the draft treaty to which they all had agreed, were prepared to take the field, when Roostum resigned the turban to Ali Moorad. Sir Charles Napier objected to that resignation at first; but he ultimately assented to it. It secured the alliance of Ali Moorad, and drove the other princes of Roostum's family into a premature display of hostility. It was followed by the stoppage of the posts coming to Sukkur, and the interception of the communications of the British army; and Sir Charles resolved to march on Khyrpore (at that time the head-quarters of the hostile Ameers), though Ali Moorad was our ally. On the 26th of December, the British force reached Mungaree, a fort near Khyrpore; and the sons and nephews of Roostum left the latter place, with their wives, families, and treasure, and went off to the south: they were followed by Roostum, with all his treasure. At the same time, the Beloochees stationed at Larkaana, marched in the same direction. It was estimated, that the Ameers had from 70,000 to 80,000 men; whilst Sir Charles Napier had not more than 8,000 in all; and not more than 3,000 fighting-men together in the field. It was ascertained, that Mohammed Ali, one of the sons of Roostum, with 2,000 men, occupied Shah Ghur, a fort to the east on the borders of Jessulmere; and Mohammed or Houssein Khan, with a body of about the same strength, was at Emaum Ghur; and the seizure of these forts was considered as an act of aggression against Ali Moorad, as they were appurtenances of the turban yielded to him by Roostum. At Hyderabad, the Ameers of Lower Scinde, and Shere Mohammed, Ameer of Meerpore, were also collecting troops. After an interview with Ali Moorad at Khyrpore, Sir Charles Napier resolved, with a view to break up some of the enemy's combinations, and to dispel the charm of invincibility which hung over the wilderness, to march upon Emaum Ghur. Ali was at first opposed to this movement, saying, he would reduce that fort himself; but he yielded to the arguments of the British general; and the latter informed the governor-general, on the 27th of December, that, "after drawing all

* *The Conquest of Scinde.*

† Sir W. F. Napier.

‡ *The Conquest of Scinde.*

he could from Ali Moorad," and "although war was not declared," which he did not think necessary, he would at once march upon the fort, "and prove to the whole Talpoor family, both of Khyrpore and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could protect them from the British troops." Before starting upon his expedition, he issued the following manifesto, which we give entire, considering that, as Sir Charles's conduct throughout the whole of his transactions with Scinde has been so repeatedly questioned, it is only fair to let him tell his own story.

"Ameers and people of Scinde,—His highness the Ameer Roostum Khan, sent a secret message to me, saying he was in the hands of his family, and could not act as his feelings of friendship for the English nation prompted him to do; and if I would receive him, he would escape and come to my camp. I answered his highness, I would certainly receive him; but my advice was, for him to consult his brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad Khan. He took my advice. He went to the fort of Dejee, to his brother. When I heard of this, I was glad; for I thought that Scinde would be tranquil; that his highness would spend his last days in honour and in peace. I moved with my troops towards Khyrpore to force his violent family to disperse the wild bands they had collected. I sent his highness word I should visit him; I wanted to ask his advice as to the arrangement for the new treaty. I thought he had again become the friend of the government I serve. That night I heard he had solemnly conferred upon his brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad, the turban of command over the Talpoor family, which brother is the lawful heir to that honour. I thought this a very wise proceeding, and it added to my desire to meet his highness, that I might hear from his own lips all about these things, and report the same to the governor-general, being assured that these acts would receive for him the good opinion and friendship of the governor-general of India. My feelings towards his highness were those of friendship, honour, and peace. I even advised his highness's brother, the Ali Moorad, not to accept the turban, but to assist his brother, the chief, in the cares of government. I laboured for the honour of the Talpoor family. What, then, was my astonishment to find, that, when I expected to meet the Ameer Roostum Khan, his highness had departed from the roof of his brother, thus insulting and defying the governor-general, whose commander I am. But my surprise is greatly increased, by hearing that his highness has joined his family and the armed bands, who have cut off our communications, and stopped our mails. These things have surprised me; but my course is plain; and I thus publish it to the country, that all may know it, and conduct themselves accordingly. I will, according to the existing treaty, protect the chief Ameer, Ali Moorad, in his right, as the justly-constituted chief of the Talpoor family. God willing, I mean to march into the desert. I will disperse the armed bands that have stopped the mails. I will place the killedars of the chief, Ali Moorad, in command of every fort; and I will act towards the Ameers of Hyderabad as I shall find they deserve."

Almost contemporaneously with the publication of this manifesto, a letter was received from the Ameer Roostum, in which he said he had not ceded the turban voluntarily; and intimated that Sir Charles Napier had betrayed him into the hands of Ali Moorad, designing to make him a captive. At the same time a letter was received from the Ameer Nusseer of Hyderabad, professing obedience, but only, according to Sir William Napier, to obtain time for the assembling of the tribes. To the Ameer of Hyderabad Sir Charles Napier replied, that he could not, at that distance, reconcile his actions and his words; and that as he had come to Khyrpore to see how matters really stood, he should go to Hyderabad for the same purpose; and as "he heard of troops collecting in the south, and as armed men should not cross the Indus, he would take troops." To Roostum, the general replied in stronger terms. He designated his letter as a subterfuge; and reminded him that he offered to come to the British camp, but had been advised by the general to go to his brother's fortress instead. "Yet," said Sir Charles—

"You now pretend, that, when I asked you to meet me, you flew from me, not from any desire to avoid a meeting with me, but because I advised you to be guided by your brother's advice, and he advised you to fly! I will not suffer your highness to take shelter under such misrepresentations. You made submission to me as the representative of the governor-general; you have solemnly resigned the turban; and you now avow that you look upon this, the most solemn and important act of your life, as a farce and a mockery! Ameer, I do not understand such double conduct. I hold you to your words and deeds. I no longer consider you to be the chief of the Talpoors, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you to be Rais."

It would have been, we believe, for the permanent interest of the company, and certainly would have been all the better for his own character, if Sir Charles Napier had avoided all these disputes, and left the Ameers to settle their own differences. He says he was bound to protect Ali Moorad by previous treaties; a plea, we must confess, that does not appear to us to be well-founded. But we cannot go further into this subject; and, perhaps, as our work is rather devoted to "battles," than to "negotiations," we have already taken up too much room with this introduction to the brief but glorious war in Scinde; that is, if glory can accrue where "he quarrel is unjust. But so much angry controversy has arisen on the subject, that we were inclined to

place the cause and origin of the war before our readers in as clear a light as the published documents will enable us.

Having determined to march on Emaum Ghur, Sir Charles Napier started from Khyrpore on the 4th of January, 1843, and the same day arrived at Dejeekote, seven miles south of that city. This fortress, consisting of a number of fortifications crowning several eminences, and connected by a single mud wall pierced with loop-holes, is situated on a range of low limestone hills, proceeding in a direction from north-west to south-east, and reaching the Indus at Roree. Leaving the main body of his army at this port, Sir Charles "selected 200 irregular cavalry, put 350 of the 22nd Queen's regiments on camels, loaded ten more of those animals with provisions, and eighty with water;"* and with this small force he boldly advanced into the wilderness, uncertain of his way, and not knowing whether he might trust his guides. Major Outram, who had a short time previously joined the camp from Hyderabad, accompanied him. The march was a most daring one; the great Duke of Wellington described it as "one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of in his life." On the second day the Ameer Roostum, on his way from Emaum Ghur to Hyderabad, was encountered. His armed force was ten times the number of that under Sir Charles Napier, and he had seven guns. Sir Charles sent Major Outram to have an interview with the Ameer, whilst he pushed on with his small band. Nothing resulted from the interview, though Roostum promised to come to the British camp; but he struck his tents in the night, and fled.—The march being continued, on the eighth day the force arrived at Emaum Ghur, only to find that, two days before, Mohammed Khan, with the garrison and his treasure, had evacuated it, taking the road to the south, but leaving all his stores of powder and grain in the fortress. It is difficult to imagine why this post was evacuated, for its strength was immense. Sir Charles Napier describes it as being "exceedingly strong for any force without artillery. In the centre was a square tower, fifty feet high, built of burnt bricks: this tower was surrounded by walls forty feet high, with eight round towers of defence." With the consent of Ali Moorad, who had

accompanied the British force, the powder found, amounting to 20,000 lbs., was employed in springing thirty-four mines, which reduced the formidable fort to a mass of shapeless ruins. The grain was distributed amongst the troops.—The destruction of the fortress effected, and learning from a camel-rider, come in from Dejeekote, that the tribes were collecting at Dingee, between Khyrpore and Hyderabad, fifty miles south of the former, Sir Charles Napier returned, as rapidly as possible, to the Indus, taking a new route. On the second day he arrived at Turgull, from whence roads branched off to Hyderabad and Dingee. Here another camel-rider met him, with the intelligence that Roostum had left the waste, retreating to Khoonhera, where he had a fort, skirting Lower Scinde, within the desert, but well supplied with water; that his sons and nephews had broken up from Dingee, and repaired to the same place; and that the Ameers of Hyderabad were in a state of terror. He pursued his march; and having sent instructions to his troops at Dejeekote to march to Peer-Abu-Bekr, a town to the southward, he directed his course to that place, where he arrived on the 23rd of January, without the loss of a man.† There he had nearly 3,000 troops; his right being on the Indus, and his left on the desert: on the former floated his armed steamers and supplies; in the latter were Captain Jacob and his irregular horse; and he was also supported by the troops at Sukkur and Roree.

After the expedition had occupied Emaum Ghur, Major Outram had been ordered to return to Khyrpore, to endeavour to get the Ameers to meet and discuss the draft treaty which they had previously agreed to. They, however, neither replied nor sent delegates to meet the commissioner; and, on the 27th of January, Sir Charles Napier addressed a communication to them, designating their conduct as insulting to the government he served. He gave them till the 1st of February to send their vakeels to his head-quarters, for the purpose of negotiation; adding that, in the meantime, his "operations must go forward, but their persons should be respected, and they should be considered as friends till that day; after which he would treat all as enemies who did not send vakeels to meet him." The army advanced to Nowsharra, a town on the southern borders of Upper Scinde, on the 31st of January and there

* *The Conquest of Scinde*† *Ibid.*

information was received, that the Ameers of Khyrpore were willing to submit. Sir Charles says, this information proved false; but he, believing it, wrote to Lord Ellenborough suggesting a mitigation of the draft treaty, where it pressed hardly on their pecuniary resources.

Negotiations went on at Hyderabad—being removed there at Major Outram's instance—from this time till the 13th of February; and it is impossible to imagine more opposite accounts than are given by Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram of these transactions. According to the former, the Ameers were acting with deceit and treachery throughout; making various propositions and demands to gain time, whilst they were collecting their followers, particularly the Beloochees, at Meeanee, where 30,000 men assembled before the 10th of February. The villages all round Hyderabad were also filled with armed Beloochees, anxious for battle; Roostum had repaired to Hyderabad, but his sons remained at Khoonhera, which was sixty miles distant, with 7,000 men; the Chandians, more than 10,000 strong, had crossed the Indus in rear of the British camp on that river; Shere Mohammed had 10,000 men at Meerpore; Omercote, a fort in the eastern desert, was strongly garrisoned; and thousands of the hilltribes were coming down to the Indus. The aim of the Ameers was to get the commissioner and the general into their power; for which purpose, they persuaded Major Outram to write to him to delay the advance of his army, and to come himself to Hyderabad. Every man, woman, and child in Scinde, belonging to the British government was to be put to death. "The general alone was to be spared, that they might put an iron ring in his nose, and lead him with a chain in triumph to their dharbar (or conference); and against the walls of their palace he was to be fastened, as a spectacle and a signal example, while life lasted, of their power and vengeance."* Such was the information brought to Sir Charles Napier by his emissaries, and gathered from letters found on a Murree chief, Hyat Khan, who was taken prisoner. Major Outram was described as the blind dupe of the Ameers; and his conduct, according to Sir W. Napier, "creates amazement."

Major Outram, on the contrary, maintains that the Ameers really meant to deal

faithfully; and contends, that they were asked to agree to unjust proposals, particularly in the recognition of the claim of Ali Moorad to the turban, and the refusal of all compensation, in any shape, to Roostum Khan. His instructions from Sir Charles Napier were positive: he had no discretion. He was told, that the terms of the draft treaty had been deliberately drawn up by Lord Ellenborough, and that in proposing to alter one of them, he had stepped beyond the line of his mission. His instructions were—

"Say to the Ameers of Khyrpore thus:—'You were told, in December, 1842, to disperse your armed bands, yet you have kept, and still keep them together. Disperse them instantly, or I [Sir C. Napier] will fall on them.'—To the Ameers of Hyderabad say thus:—'If you permit the bands of Upper Scinde to assemble in your territory, I will treat you also as enemies. And if you let them go to your fortress of Omercote, in the desert, I will first assault Hyderabad, and then Omercote. You may receive your relations of Upper Scinde as guests, but not as enemies of the British.'"[†]

Unable to obtain such concessions as he thought right—and having in vain endeavoured to induce Sir Charles Napier not to drive the Ameers to the alternative of abandoning Meer Roostum, or going to war—the commissioner, "feeling bound to vindicate Napier's conduct in his communications," urged the Ameers to maintain peace by signing the treaty. These are his words:—

"I was called upon to gain their consent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery; and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions, as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction; while I firmly believed that every life lost in consequence of our aggressions, would be chargeable upon us as a murder."[†]

That Major Outram fully trusted in the Ameers is certain, for he took no precautions to defend the residency, or to protect himself from any attacks. Sir Charles Napier was, on the other hand, as confident of their bad faith; and refused to detain his troops at Nowsharra, but marched upon Hyderabad. Major Outram maintains, that it was "this continued advance, contrary to his advice, which forced the Ameers to war." The general contends, that that advance saved the lives of the commissioner and of those who were with him, and preserved the army.

The Ameers signed the treaty on the

* *The Conquest of Scinde.*

† *Ibid.*

† *Outram's Commentary.*

12th of February, in full dhurbar, "with all formalities," says Sir W. Napier, "Nusseer of Khyrpore alone excepted: he was absent, but his signature was promised." As soon as it was known that the treaty was accepted, the spirit of the people rose, and they—"execrated the Ameers for their dastardly submission to what they [the people] called robbery."* The commissioner and his suite were assailed as they passed from the dhurbar, and would not have reached the residency in safety, if the Ameers had not sent a body of horse with them, headed by some of the most influential Beloochee chiefs. The whole of that day, the Ameers, fearing the Beloochees meant mischief, had been engaged in paying off and dismissing all those who had flocked to the city in the previous day. Before the dhurbar opened, the city was clear; but, after dark, great numbers flocked in again,† and, on the 13th and 14th, their hostile spirit appears to have increased—beyond the power of the Ameers to restrain it, according to Major Outram: in consequence of their instigations and orders, says Sir Charles Napier. The Beloochee chiefs also met, and, in consequence of the refusal to restore Meer Roostum to the turban, they took an oath on the Koran to fight the British army, and not to sheathe the sword till they had reinstated him. The treaty was stolen from the place of its custody by a moonshee of Major Outram's, torn in pieces, and trampled upon: and it was arranged at the quarters of Nusseer, that the residency should be attacked by 8,000 Beloochees, led by two of the Ameers, named Shahdad and Sobdar, and Ahmed Khan, a Lughasee chief.

Sir Charles Napier, "disregarding the signature of the treaty," which "he looked upon as a mockery,"‡ had continued his advance; and anticipating that the residency would be attacked, he sent an armed steamer, with ammunition and a reinforcement, to join Major Outram. "From one of those accidents so frequent in war," says Sir W. Napier, "the steamer proceeded without the men or the supply; and Major Outram had therefore to resist the assault of 8,000 men and six guns, with two armed steamers, a stone house, and a hundred men, with but forty rounds of ammunition each." A gallant defence this little band

made. The men Major Outram had with him, were a few of the 22nd regiment and some sepoys. As three sides of the residency, which were covered by a wall, were exposed to the enemy, the men were distributed along this defence and the fourth side, which was open, and extended to the river, was covered by the *Planet* and *Satellite* steamers, moored in the Indus, 150 yards from the house. Beyond the residency were gardens and houses, which the Beloochees occupied, and, by 9 A.M. on the 14th of February, opened a fire of matchlocks upon the British, who were under the orders of Captain Conway, Lieutenant Hardinge, and Ensign Pennefather, of the 22nd, and Captains Green and Wells, of the company's service. The steamers acted under the direction of Captain Brown, of the Bengal artillery, aide-de-camp to Sir Charles Napier, who having just before arrived with a letter for the commissioner, went on board the *Planet* to aid in the defence. For three hours that defence was kept up, till all the men's ammunition was exhausted. Then Major Outram resolved to retreat to the steamers, and proceed by the river to join the army. An attempt was made to remove the baggage and other property; but after one load had been taken to the steamers, the servants and camp-followers, having felt the effects of the fire from the assailants, refused to return for any more. The garrison then collected in a mass, and rushed to the beach, under cover of the fire from the steamers, which arrested the pursuit of the Beloochees. They were taken on board the *Satellite*; and the *Planet*, having secured a large flat country-boat, used to transport troops, the two vessels proceeded up the Indus, the loss having been three killed, ten wounded, and four missing. The four missing, two of the wounded, and one of the killed were camp-followers. About sixty of the Beloochees were killed by the fire from the residency.

At Muttaree, a town on the Indus, one march north of Meeanee, Major Outram fell in with the army; and we are told he then "persisted in declaring that the innocent Ameers desired peace; and actually pressed the general to halt another day."§ Sir Charles Napier, however, would not listen to his representations. Notwithstanding his diminutive force, as compared with that of the enemy, he continued his course, resolving to attack them on the plains of Meeanee, where they were encamped to the

* Letter of Major Outram to Sir C. Napier.

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Conquest of Scinde.* § *Ibid.*

number of 35,000. The general's spies had brought him word that, on the 14th, 15,000 were entrenched in a position near that place, in an extensive nullah (or water-course.) The next day, 20,000 more crossed the Indus and joined them; and Sir Charles Napier had only 2,600 men fit for duty, from which number 200 were taken, at Major Outram's request, and sent down the river in a steamer, for the purpose of clearing the sides of the Indus, which he expected could be occupied by the enemy. The disparity of force was thus enormous; but Sir Charles, in pursuance of his resolution never to retreat before a barbarian army, continued fixed in his determination to give battle.

The little army marched from their encampment in the night of the 16th; at 8 A.M. on the 17th, the enemy's camp was discovered, and at nine the British line of battle was formed. The enemy was strongly posted in the deep nullah formed by the dry bed of the Fullaillee, with their guns (fifteen in number) placed in two masses, covering their flanks, which were also protected by "Shikargahs," or hunting-grounds; their right being further strengthened and covered by the village of Kattree, which was filled with soldiers. Their guns completely commanded the plain in front, which the British had to cross to make the attack, as it would have been useless to attempt to turn either flank. Sir Charles—after the 200 men under Major Outram were detached, and about 250 Poonah horse, and four companies of infantry, under Captain Tait, were appointed to guard the baggage—had barely 2,000 fighting-men, officers included. He had twelve small guns, under Major Lloyd, which were placed on the right; the Scinde irregular horsemen, led by Captain Lamb, covered the left; and the centre was formed of the 22nd, under Colonel Pennefather; the Bombay sepoy; the 25th, under Major Teesdale; the 12th, under Major Reid; and the 1st sepoy grenadiers, under Major Clibborne. They advanced *en échelon*, having to pass over a plain of about 1,000 yards in width, the enemy's force being partly concealed by the bank of the river, which sloped down its dry bed. The wood on the left was covered with a wall, having one opening to the plain, not very wide. The general himself reconnoitred this spot, where 6,000 Beloochees were placed; and finding that there were no loopholes in the

wall to fire *through*, and no scaffolding in the interior to enable the enemy to fire *over*, he placed the grenadiers of the 22nd, under Captain Tew, in the opening; telling them they must "block up that entrance; to die there, if necessary; never to give way." They obeyed their orders; Captain Tew and many others did die there: but this little body of eighty men kept in check 6,000 during the battle, and the British right passed securely under the wall to the attack. The advance was made under the fire of the enemy's guns, and the occasional discharges, in return, from Lloyd's battery; but little more than the heads of the enemy could be seen till the 22nd got fairly on the top of the bank. Sir W. F. Napier describes this battalion as being about "500 in number, composed entirely of Irishmen, strong of body, high-blooded, fierce, impetuous soldiers, who saw nothing but victory before them, and counted not their enemies." They mounted the bank of the river, "thinking to bear down all before them; but they staggered back in amazement at the forest of swords waving in their front. Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees, in their many-coloured garments and turbans; they filled the broad deep bed of the Fullaillee; they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun—their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as, with frantic gestures, they rushed forward, and full against the front of the 22nd dashed with demoniac strength and ferocity."* The Irish were not daunted; they met them with the bayonet, and "sent their foremost masses back rolling in blood."

The fighting continued for three hours and a-half, the hostile forces being frequently not more than three yards apart. The loss was great in officers on the part of the British; for they were in the front of the battle, animated by their general's example. Among the first who fell were Colonel Pennefather, of the 22nd, dangerously wounded; Major Teesdale, of the sepoy, and Major Jackson, of the 12th, who were killed—"several of the fiercest Beloochees sinking beneath the strong arm and whirling blade of the latter, as, crowding around him, they tore his body with their weapons."† Nearly all the European

* *The Conquest of Scinde.*† *Ibid.*

officers were disabled; and the sepoys were several times without leaders. Nothing preserved the British but their rapid firing, and, we have little doubt, the unmanageable numbers of their enemy. They fell thickly before the volleys of the 22nd and their supporters; and those who pressed on from behind had great difficulty in getting clear of the carcasses, which every moment increased. In this quarter the battle became a chain of single combats, where no quarter was given by either side. "The ferocity on both," says the historian, "was unbounded, the carnage horrible." Sepoys, Europeans, Beloochees, "were alike bloody and remorseless." "Spare that man!" said Sir Charles Napier to a soldier of the 22nd, who was about to run his bayonet into an exhausted Beloochee chief. The man, however, paused not; but exclaimed, "To-day, general, the shambles have it all to themselves!"—Still the fight went on; and the victory was doubtful at the end of the time we have mentioned. Sir Charles Napier then ordered a charge on the enemy's right, by the Bengal and Scinde horsemen, under Colonel Pattle—the irregular horse, under Jacob, being engaged in attempts to penetrate the shikargah on the left. The movement, though a desperate one, was successfully made. The gallant cavalry drove the Beloochee matchlockmen from the village of Kattree, which Major Clibborne, at the head of the grenadiers of the sepoys, had been ordered to storm, but had misconceived his orders, and kept his men, according to Sir W. Napier, "where they were but slightly engaged." From thence, galloping across nullahs and ditches, many being unhorsed in the course, the small but determined band fell on the rear and the left of the enemy, spreading confusion as they passed. Then the Beloochees in front began to waver and look behind them; and then the 22nd, the Madras sappers, and the sepoys, dashed upon their faltering ranks. After a short strife, the Beloochees—most probably not at all aware of the very small number of their opponents—began to retreat: they did so in good order; their "shields slung over their backs, their heads half-turned, and their eyes glancing with fury," and the British pouring into their ranks volley after volley with unerring precision. A body of 2,000 or 3,000 on the right, which had been passed by the cavalry, kept their ground after the main army had turned its

back on the field. A few discharges from the British cannon, however, soon sent them after their fellows; and the pursuit having been continued as long as the general considered prudent, he "halted his army, recalled his cavalry, and formed a large square, placing his baggage and camp-followers in the centre."*

Such was the battle of Meeanee, in which the enemy exceeded the victors by fifteen to one. The former abandoned their camp, standards, artillery, ammunition, stores, and treasure; the latter being of no great amount. Their loss of men was 6,000 at least, most of them being killed. On the side of the British, six European officers, and 60 non-commissioned officers and privates, were killed; and 14 officers, and 190 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. No prisoners were taken. After the battle, the general slept so soundly, that Major Outram, returning in the night and finding the camp in confusion from a false alarm, had to pull him off his bed to awaken him.†

The next morning Sir Charles Napier sent a messenger to Hyderabad, to say he should storm the city if the Ameers did not surrender. They inquired, by their vakeels, what terms would be granted them? The reply was—"Life, and nothing more;" till twelve o'clock being allowed them for their decision. Before that hour, Nusseer, Roostum, Mohammed of Upper Scinde, Nusseer Khan, Shahdad, and young Houssein, of Lower Scinde, entered the camp, and, surrendering themselves prisoners, laid their swords and other arms at the feet of the general, who returned them the former. The city of Hyderabad was taken possession of on the 19th, and the fortress occupied on the 20th. There was a considerable force of Beloochees within the walls, who would have defended both the fortress and city; but the Ameers ordered them away, and they joined Shere Mohammed of Meerpore, who, at that time, with 10,000 men, was about ten miles from Meeanee. Sir Charles left the Ameers the enjoyment of their palace and gardens; but, according to Major Outram, the city, though not a shot had been fired from its walls, was shamefully plundered. The ladies of the Ameers were searched in the most degradin^g manner; and "everything belonging to them, even to the cots on which they slept, were seized and sold by public auction!" Several of

* *The Conquest of Scinde.*† *Ibid.*

these unfortunates, it is added, "fled from the city barefoot, overwhelmed with terror and shame."* Sir William Napier says not one word of these enormities; on the contrary, he affirms, that the women of the zenanas were ultimately suffered to depart without being searched, carrying off all their valuables. Gold and jewels, to the amount of about £400,000, he says, were found in the public treasury.

After the battle of Meeanee, and the occupation of Hyderabad, Sir Charles Napier's first thought was to reinforce his army. He sent to Kurrachee and Sukkur, to order every detachment that could be spared to be sent to him; and Lord Ellenborough, who heard rumours of the battle of Meeanee before the general's despatch reached him, ordered three regiments of infantry, 350 of Chamberlain's irregular horse, and a camel battery, to be dispatched immediately to Sukkur, and from thence to Hyderabad. Captains Leslie's and Blood's batteries of horse artillery, the 3rd Bombay cavalry, and 800 sepoy infantry, under Major Stack, were also detached from General Nott's force after it passed the Sutledj, and forwarded to Hyderabad. Whilst waiting for the arrival of troops, the general formed an entrenched camp on the banks of the Indus, where he placed his hospitals and stores; and by his other arrangements for the security of his position, "manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations of war."† The country had also to be tranquillised, and the British residing in it protected. In consequence of orders given by the Ameers, or some one, to slay all the persons who could be found belonging to the British government, the smaller British stations for commissariat purposes and coal depôts were plundered, and several of the officers and servants killed. The communications above and below Hyderabad were also cut off by the Beloochees at Shah Ghur, under Roostum's nephew, Mohammed Ali, on the one side, and by Shere Mohammed on the other. The latter, also, was gathering a force with which he meant to attack and retake Hyderabad. The Ameers, who surrounded themselves with a number of Beloochees whom Sir Charles Napier was obliged to disarm, as soon as the women departed, kept up constant intrigues with this

chief.—The governor-general did not wait to ascertain what would be the result of the campaign in Scinde, and the occupation of its capital city. As soon as he received the official account of the battle of Meeanee, he issued a proclamation on the 5th of March, annexing Scinde to the British possessions, and ordering the Ameers to be sent prisoners to Bombay. Major Outram, his functions as commissioner at an end, also left Hyderabad for that city.

In March, having considerably reinforced his already numerous army, Shere Mohammed advanced upon Hyderabad. He took up a strong position at Dubba, four miles from the city, "openly boasting," says Sir W. Napier, "that he would 'Cabool the British.'" On the 18th of March he sent vakeels to the British general, with a message to the following effect:—"Quit this land, and your life shall be spared, provided you restore all you have taken." The evening gun was firing as the message was delivered. Sir Charles Napier's reply was—"You hear that sound! It is my answer to your chief. Begone!" The next day, a proposal to assassinate Shere Mohammed was made from his own brother! The general sent a messenger to inform the chief of the treachery, telling him, at the same time, that he would make no terms with him, except the promise of security to his person; and that if he did not surrender himself a prisoner of war before the 22nd, he would be attacked.

Nothing was further from the ideas of Shere Mohammed than surrender: and the reinforcements we have mentioned, having reached Sir Charles Napier on the 23rd of March, he determined to attack the enemy in his camp on the 24th. The British army was encamped not far from Dubba, having moved in advance to facilitate the junction with Major Stack's brigade, which was threatened by Shere Mohammed. On the morning of the 24th, at daybreak, the men were under arms; the force consisting of 3,900 infantry, 1,100 cavalry, and nineteen guns—five being horse artillery. Leaving a detachment and two cannon to defend the camp, the rest of the army commenced its march. On the route, messengers arrived with the only despatches which had reached the general from Lord Ellenborough for two months. They contained his lordship's thanks, couched in glowing language, to the army, for the ability and courage displayed in the battle of Meeanee; and when

* Major Outram's *Commentary*.

† Speech of the late Duke of Wellington, when moving the thanks of the House.

read to the troops, occasioned a genial burst of enthusiastic ardour which did not forsake them during the day.

The enemy was found in great force—more than 25,000 strong—with fifteen guns, eleven of which were in battery. There were two lines of infantry, and a heavy mass of cavalry in reserve. Their right rested on the Fullaillee, and was protected by a large pond of mud; the left rested on a nullah, scarped so as to form a parapet; and the front was covered by two nullahs, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet in width, with a depth of seventeen. Behind the right wing was the village of Dubba, or Naraja, which was filled with men, the houses being loopholed for the purposes of defence. The cavalry were massed behind the left wing; and the guns were placed behind the largest nullah. The operations of the army were directed by the Ameer, and by an African slave named Hoche Mohammed Seedee, of whose bravery and skill distinguished mention is made. The united talents of these chiefs had so skilfully disposed the Beloochee force, that its extent could not be ascertained; and the British went into action ignorant of much they had to contend against.

The battle commenced at eight o'clock, by Leslie's horse artillery making for the enemy's extreme right, firing at intervals, and inflicting great loss upon the masses of Beloochee infantry. One of the officers, Lieutenant Smith, riding foremost and alone along the bank of the first nullah, to see where his guns could pass, found the nullah filled with Beloochees; and he soon fell from their fire, being the first officer who was killed. The Bengal and Poonah cavalry supported Leslie's guns, and the infantry moved forward *en échelon*, the 22nd leading. The enemy's fire was seriously felt by the latter; half the light company alone went down in the advance. Whilst the 22nd, led by Major Poole, attacked the first nullah, the cavalry, under Major Stack, were seen charging the left wing of the enemy, under the impression, as numbers of Beloochees were hastening to the centre, that they were under the influence of panic. Scientifically, the movement was a bad one; but it turned out to have been the best that could have been made. The cavalry cleared the nullahs without a check, and inflicted serious loss upon the enemy. The infantry, meantime, charged and carried

the nullahs in front—the Beloochees fighting desperately, the black hero Hoche being amongst them. He fell, with many others, in the *mêlée*. "The 22nd was well supported by the batteries commanded by Captains Willoughby and Hutt, which crossed their fire with that of Major Leslie's. Then came the 2nd brigade, under Major Woodburn—consisting of the 25th, 21st, and 12th regiments, under the command of Captains Jackson, Stevens, and Fisher—bearing down into action with admirable coolness. It was strongly sustained by the fire of Captain Whittey's battery, on the right of which were the 8th and 1st regiments, under Majors Brown and Clibborne. Those regiments advanced with the regularity of a review up to the intrenchments, their commanders, with considerable exertion, stopping their fire, on seeing that a portion of the Scinde horse and 3rd cavalry, in charging the enemy, had got in front of the brigade. The battle was decided by the troop of horse artillery and her majesty's 22nd regiment."* The enemy were entirely routed from the nullahs and the village, and were pursued by the Bengal, Poonah, and Scinde horse. The general himself led the Bengal and Poonah horse; and on his return, the infantry received him with loud cheers.

This battle lasted three hours. The loss of the British was 267 men and officers killed and wounded; that of the enemy about 5,000; and the loss would have been greater, had not the pursuit of the cavalry on the right been untimely stopped by Colonel Pattle. Hoche and three other chieftains fell on the field. In the nullahs and at Dubba, 800 dead bodies were lying; and "all the villages and lanes beyond the latter place were so filled with dead and dying, that, to avoid them, the army was forced to encamp on the ground it occupied before the action commenced. All the fallen Beloochees were of mature age—grim-visaged men, of athletic forms; the carcase of a youth was not to be found."† The trophies of the fight were seventeen standards and fifteen guns; eleven taken on the field, and four the next day.

Having collected and taken care of his wounded, and written his despatches, Sir Charles Napier, eight hours after the battle—which has been called by three names, *i.e.*, Dubba, Naraja, and Hyderabad—was

* Sir Charles Napier's despatch.

† *The Conquest of Scinde.*

again on the march towards Meerpore, that being the route, he understood, the principal number of the Beloochees had taken. Shere Mohammed had himself fled there: finding, however, the next day, that the Poonah horse were near his gates, he would not remain to receive them; but, with his treasure and family, he left for Omercote. Shortly after he had quitted the place the British troops arrived. They were received as deliverers by the inhabitants, and found the town full of stores, which were very acceptable to them. The Ameer made no stand at Omercote. He was followed by the Scinde horsemen, under Jacob; the camel battery, under Captain Whittey; and the 25th sepoy infantry, under Major Woodburn. When the artillery and infantry reached the town, on the 4th of April, Shere Mohammed had left, and they were gladly welcomed by the inhabitants, who at once opened the gates; though a small garrison remained. The troops retired into an interior fort, but surrendered the next day, on a promise that their lives should be spared. Shere Mohammed remained in the desert till the close of April, when he removed to Khoonhera; and as the robber bands joined him, he was soon surrounded by 8,000 or 10,000 men, with four guns. His brother, Shah Mohammed, also collected a considerable force at Sehwan, a town situate at the verge of a swamp on the right or south-west bank of the Arul, which flows from Lake Monchur to the Indus. The object of Sir Charles Napier was to prevent the junction of the two brothers; and dividing his force into three bodies, one of which he commanded himself—the other two being under the orders of Colonel (late Major) Jacob and Colonel Roberts—he succeeded, by his skilful dispositions, in keeping the two Beloochee armies in an isolated position. On the 7th of June, it was ascertained that Shah Mohammed had encamped at Peer-Arres, near the Lukkee hills, fourteen miles from Sehwan. Here he was attacked, on the 8th, by Colonel Roberts, his troops dispersed, himself and seventeen attendants taken prisoners, and his matchlocks, swords, and shields captured. Shere Mohammed was pursued by the divisions under Sir Charles Napier and Colonel Jacob; and finding that he had little or no hopes of escape, and learning that Jacob had the weakest force, he determined once more, with him, to try the fortune of war. Of

his 10,000 men and four guns, so many had left him, that when, on the morning of the 14th of June, he came up with Jacob's division, he had not more than 4,000 men and three guns. He took his post behind a deep nullah, commanding the left wing himself, and giving the right, which was composed of cavalry, to Mohammed Khan. The British were not slow in accepting what looked like a challenge. The ground was so rugged, that they had great difficulty in coming into action; and after a brief cannonade on both sides, the Beloochee infantry dispersed; and the following is the account which Mohammed Khan gave to Sir Charles Napier of the cavalry:—

“I commanded the right wing; the Ameer commanded the left; he had the guns, and I nearly all the cavalry. It was hardly light when I heard the Lion's guns. I thought that Jacob was upon him, as there was nothing I could distinguish in my front; I therefore rode full gallop, expecting to charge Jacob's flank. You know our horrible dust; it was in vain to look for a man. I thought I was followed. I reached the Ameer; he was alone almost. On halting, the dust cleared off, and behold! only twenty-five men were with me. I was lucky; for had Jacob been there, I should have been killed. But all had run under cover of the dust, and so the Lion and I ran also; and that is all I know of the battle.”

That battle completed the conquest of Scinde. Shere Mohammed (the Lion) escaped across the Indus, and degenerated into a mere robber-chief, being joined by Mohammed Ali, the nephew of Roostum. Mohammed Khan surrendered to the British general, to whom, soon afterwards, 400 minor chieftains came in and gave up their swords, all of which, though very valuable, Sir Charles returned. Created governor and commander-in-chief of Scinde by Lord Ellenborough, with perfectly independent powers, he exercised them for four years with great ability. He abolished slavery; took off the transit duties on the Indus, opening the navigation of that river to the world; and, under his administration, canals were reopened, waste lands redeemed, new villages sprang up, and the inhabitants became tranquil and industrious. He had some trouble with bands of robbers and murderers who infested the hill countries, chiefly under two chiefs—Deriah Khan and Toork Ali; but he completely put them down before he left Hyderabad. The Ameers were taken to Bombay, where Shahdad—who, besides having murdered a British officer, appears to have been the worst of the whole—was separately confined,

and treated with more strictness than his brothers and kinsmen. Annuities were settled upon these fallen chiefs, amounting in the gross to £46,614 per annum. Ali Moorad obtained an accession of territory, which he claimed under a treaty with his brother. Subsequently, it appearing that this treaty was forged, he was deprived of it. After the Ameers arrived at Bombay, their cause was taken up warmly by the English press of that city; and the light which subsequent events have thrown upon Ali Moorad's character, renders it almost certain that, if it had not been for his treachery, which misled Sir Charles Napier, the war in Scinde would not have taken place.

That war had scarcely been concluded, when differences arose between the Mahrattas of Gwalior and the Indian government. The successor of Dowlut Rao Scindia died in 1843. He left no children; and his nearest relative, a minor, eight years of age, Jyajee Rao Scindia, was acknowledged as the maharajah; the Maha Ranee, widow of the deceased prince, being appointed regent. The governor-general approved of this appointment, as well as of the transference of the more important administrative duties to Mama Sahib, who appears to have conducted himself with ability and honesty in the important trust confided to him. This state of things was of very brief continuance. The Maha Ranee quarrelled with Mama Sahib; gave her confidence to another minister, named Dada Khasjee Walla; insulted the British resident, and compelled him to leave Gwalior; and Mama Sahib had to follow him. Various other insults were offered to the English authorities; disturbances were rife on the frontiers, and in Gwalior itself; and at length Lord Ellenborough deemed it necessary to interfere. As the Maha Ranee would hear no reason, listen to no remonstrance, the last argument, the sword, was called in aid, for the purpose of supporting the views and wishes of the British government, as the paramount power in India. In December, 1843, an army of nearly 24,000 men was collected, and ordered to advance into the maharajah's territory; its object being "to effect all the just purposes of the British government; to obtain guarantees for the future security of its subjects on the common frontiers of the two states; to protect the person of the maharajah; to quell disturbances within his highness's territories; and to chastise

all who remained in disobedience." The troops were ordered to observe the strictest order and discipline when in the Mahratta territory, and to pay for all the supplies found necessary on their march. And the evil advisers of the Maha Ranee were warned that they would be held responsible for any resistance that might be made to the re-establishment of the maharajah's just authority.*

The army was formed into two divisions. The first, consisting of between 8,000 and 9,000 men, under Major-general Grey, marched from Bundelcund, and crossed the Scinde river at Chandpore; the main body, under Sir Hugh Gough, 14,000 strong, with forty guns, marched from Agra, accompanied by Lord Ellenborough, and the ladies and family of the commander-in-chief. This body crossed the Chumbul, near the town of Dholpore, thirty-seven miles north of Gwalior; entered the Mahratta territory on the 23rd of December, and encamped at Hingona, twenty-three miles north-west of the fortress. The Maha Ranee made an effort to negotiate; but it was soon evident that it was merely to gain time; and the governor-general determined that decisive measures should be at once adopted. The army marched again on the 29th of December; and, crossing the Koharee river, found the Mahratta army, composed of 15,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 100 guns, drawn up near the village of Maharajpore; that village, and the neighbouring village of Chonda, being the keys of the position. In front, seven regiments were posted, to each of which four guns were attached; and Sir Hugh Gough divided his army into three columns: the first, under Major-general Littler, was ordered to make the attack in front; the second, under Major-general Valiant, was to take Maharajpore in reverse. The third column, under Major-general Dennis, was held in reserve to support the other two; and the guns were formed into light batteries, also to support the advance of the troops.

A better-contested battle has rarely been fought. General Littler's column advanced bravely to the attack; and the Mahrattas stood their ground as bravely. Their artillery, playing on the British as they approached, did great execution; but the 39th and 40th European foot, and the 56th native infantry, marched up to the very

* Lord Ellenborough's proclamation, dated Dec. 25th, 1843.

cannon's mouth, bayoneted the gunners as they stood to their guns, and drove the infantry before them upon the village, where they rallied, and where the most desperate hand-to-hand fighting ensued—the Mahrattas, after discharging their matchlocks, throwing them away, and using their swords. But Major-general Valiant, in pursuance of his orders, took the village in reverse, captured twenty-eight guns, and, joining the first column, the enemy was driven from the village with great slaughter. They defended themselves on every other point with equal bravery; but, beaten at all, they were obliged to leave the field, broken up, and completely defeated.—The wing of the army of the enemy stationed at Chonda, had no better fate. Attacked by Major-general Valiant, after their comrades were driven from Maharajpore, the Mahrattas were forced out of three intrenched positions; and Major-general Littler's brigade coming up and joining in the attack, they also dispersed and followed the remnant of the right wing to Gwalior.—The enemy, at the two posts, lost between 3,000 and 4,000 in killed and wounded, 56 pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition-wagons. The British lost 106 killed, 694 wounded, and seven missing. Seven officers were killed: Major Stopford and Captain Codrington, who successively commanded her majesty's 40th regiment, fell at the very muzzles of the enemy's guns.*

On the very same day another brilliant victory was achieved by the second division of the British force. Major-general Grey, after crossing the Scinde river, proceeded to the north-west, his orders being to cooperate with Sir Hugh Gough. This force reached Punniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, on the 28th of December. There the general learnt that a separate Mahratta army was intrenched at the village of Mangor, near Gwalior, to intercept his passage. The next morning that army left its camp, and advanced to meet the British, who encountered them upon a range of heights near the village. There were about 12,000 fighting-men; and although the British had been marching several days, they at once commenced an attack on the nearest point of the Mahrattas' position. They drove the foe from height to height; and a more complete rout was never experienced. The Mahrattas had to abandon all their posts, losing

* Lord Gough's despatch.

twenty-four pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition. The enemy also lost many killed and wounded: the British had 35 in the former, and 182 in the latter category.

The two divisions of the British army met under the walls of Gwalior, where no resistance was made. The dhurbar at once submitted to the requirements of Lord Ellenborough. They agreed to disband the Mahratta army; to admit a contingent commanded by British officers, to be stationed in Gwalior and the interior; to pay the expenses incurred by the British government in the campaign; and immediately to instal the young maharajah. This ceremony took place on the 4th of January, 1844, being celebrated with great pomp and splendour, and attended by a number of native chiefs. The same day the governor-general issued a proclamation to the army, in which he cordially congratulated the commander-in-chief on the splendid victories he had gained; on his able combinations, by which the two divisions of the army had been so readily united under the walls of Gwalior, though proceeding from different points; and on the satisfactory termination of the brief campaign. The army also were highly praised for their powers; whilst his excellency deeply regretted the severe loss which had been sustained; but it had, he added, been incurred in a great and necessary service; and the victories of Maharajpore and Punniar, which shed fresh glories on the British army, had also restored the authority of the young prince, and had given additional securities to the British rule in India. It was arranged with the dhurbar, that no further repairs should be made to the fortifications of Gwalior; and Colonel Stubbs was appointed governor of the fort.

Lord Ellenborough did not remain long in India after these events; but for the few months during which he still exercised the supreme authority at Calcutta, the tranquillity of the empire was not in the least disturbed. His policy, however, did not please the civil servants in India, nor the directors at home. His attachment to the military service, and the independence of the civil authorities which he insisted in maintaining for the military commanders, offended the one; his warlike policy the other. It was suspected, after the war in Scinde, and the annexation of that province, that he contemplated the subjugation

tion of the Punjab; and the directors determined to exercise the power which the act of 1833 gave them, to recall him. This step was completely opposed to the wishes of the government of the day, which had appointed him; and his conduct was alike approved of by Sir Robert Peel (the premier), and by the Duke of Wellington, who was commander-in-chief. Nevertheless, the directors persisted; and the order for his recall reached Calcutta on the 15th of June,

1844. The reins of government were taken by W. W. Bird, Esq., the senior member of the Bengal council: and the military at Calcutta displayed their feeling by giving his lordship a splendid *fête*. On the 1st of August he left India; and he had scarcely arrived in England, when the government evinced its feeling towards him, and its opinion of the conduct of the directors, by raising him to the dignity of an earl

CHAPTER XX.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE; POLICY OF HIS GOVERNMENT AS INDICATED BY THE DIRECTORS; HIS ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA; HIS EARLY MEASURES; A MUTINY SUPPRESSED; AFFAIRS AT KHOLAPORE; PURCHASE OF THE DANISH POSSESSIONS; THE SIKHS; RUNJEET SING'S SUCCESSORS; THE MAHARANEE AND LALL SING; GHOLAB SING; THE SIKHS INVADE INDIA; PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; THE SIKHS AT FERROZESHAH; BATTLE OF MOODKEE; BATTLE OF FERROZESHAH; BATTLE OF ALI WAL; BATTLE OF SOBRAON; OCCUPATION OF LAHORE; TREATY OF LAHORE; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL RECEIVES THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT, AND IS RAISED TO THE PEERAGE; CLOSE OF LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE successor of Lord Ellenborough as governor-general, was Sir Henry Hardinge; Lord Gough being nominated commander-in-chief. The name of the new governor-general had been long before the public as a gallant soldier, greatly distinguished in the Peninsular war, and as an able administrator in the important offices of secretary for Ireland and secretary at war. Though the recall of Lord Ellenborough met with the decided disapprobation of the government, both the queen's ministers and the directors concurred cordially in the appointment of Sir Henry to succeed him; and at the usual farewell dinner given to the right honourable baronet by the latter, the chairman of the court took especial pains to impress him with the conviction, that a pacific policy would be most agreeable to the wishes, and favourable to the interests, of the company. Economy was also recommended, with attention to the education of the people—care being taken not to interfere with their religious feelings and prejudices.

Sir Henry arrived at Calcutta on the 23rd of July; and during the short interval of peace with which India was blessed after his arrival, he evinced the most decided

determination to carry out the policy of the directors; and few governors-general have proved themselves such able administrators of Indian affairs. He devoted himself to the development of the resources of the empire; and all his measures were indicative of the far-seeing statesman. The education of the natives, with other means of promoting their welfare, were among the first things attended to; the establishment of railroads being one of the objects especially recommended, as promotive of internal communication, and as the great aid of civilisation. The interests and welfare of the army were also most assiduously promoted. An estrangement had long been growing up between the officers of the royal regiments and the native corps: this bad feeling, so injurious to both, the new governor-general took great pains to weaken and obliterate. Nor were the lower grades of the army neglected. The means of promotion were devised for deserving non-commissioned officers; and libraries were established for the privates. His excellency also directed his attention to the establishment of a better understanding between the civil and military services. On his way out to India, he had inspected the

works in progress at Aden; and he had scarcely established himself in the government-house ere he drew up two most able papers—one exposing the errors which the Bombay engineers had fallen into, and the other describing what was really necessary to be done in providing for the defence of that important post. These “Aden Papers” are acknowledged to be amongst the ablest and most important of the many elaborate and valuable documents which have from time to time emanated from the heads of the Indian government.*—One incident interrupted the peaceful tenor of the first few months of Sir Henry Hardinge’s administration. A mutiny took place amongst several native regiments, which, though made light of, was connected, no doubt, with the disaffection excited by some of Lord W. Bentinck’s measures, and increased by the war in Affghanistan. It was suppressed without much difficulty; and Colonel Moseley, of the 64th Bengal native infantry, was dismissed the service.—About this time, Sir Henry Hardinge cancelled the order issued by Lord W. Bentinck for abolishing corporeal punishment in the sepoy regiments; an order condemned by almost all military men in India, but which no governor-general had had the courage to withdraw. Imprisonment in irons had been substituted for flogging. During the time that punishment was in force, insubordination had greatly increased; and the testimony is certainly to the effect, that subsequently to the cancelling of Lord William Bentinck’s order, the discipline of the army was, up to the period of the late mutiny, greatly improved, and insubordination suppressed.

The affairs of Kholapore were the first that called for the attention of the new governor-general, apart from those pacific measures which he was desirous to originate and bring to perfection. The rajah of that province died in 1839, “leaving two sons, both young, and by different mothers. He was succeeded by the elder, Sevajee, usually called Baba Sahib. His mother assumed the regency during his minority; but it was shortly wrested from her by Tarra Bai (the widow of a former rajah, Abba Sing), who was recognised as regent by the British government. She con-

tinued to exercise full authority until 1842, when her extreme mismanagement compelled the government, as guardian of the young rajah’s interests, to interfere. After the complete failure of mild measures, Tarra Bai was set aside altogether, and Dajee, a Brahmin, was appointed to act as regent, under the immediate control of the British government.”† This was followed by much confusion—an armed rebellion raging through the entire province, and all the hill chiefs taking up arms. They made an effective stand in the fortress of Samunghur, a strong fort on the summit of a scarp rock, which withstood the British forces for several weeks. Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves, the British civil commissioners, offered an amnesty to the rebels upon its capture, which they refused to accept. A body of these insurgents had seized Dajee, and confined him in the strong hill fortress of Punalla. The Bombay government had dispatched Colonel Ovans to Kholapore, as sole commissioner, to replace Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves; but he was intercepted on the road, made prisoner, and taken to the same fort. It was determined to attack the rebels there, as it was considered their head-quarters; and the young rajah, his mother, aunt, and several chiefs, having joined the British camp on the 24th of October, 1844, it was determined to attack them there. The end of November arrived, however, before Punalla was invested. On the 27th, the troops established themselves in the Bettah, or suburbs, and commenced throwing up their batteries. In the interim, the rebels, finding their position desperate, had released Colonel Ovans, hoping to obtain terms; but as they had formerly rejected the offered amnesty, all pacific overtures, short of entire subjection, were now refused. On the 1st of December, the British opened their batteries against the fort; and a breach being effected after a few hours’ cannonading, it was carried by storm. Some of the garrison escaped; the remainder were taken prisoners. Those who escaped fled to another fort, which was shortly after taken.

The rebellion was not, however, put down. The rebels occupied the Concar district; and many established themselves in the fastnesses of Sawunt Warree, the southern part of the Concan—a province remarkable for its woody districts and deep valleys, in the range of mountains

* See article on “Lord Hardinge’s Administration,” in the *Calcutta Review*.

† Thornton.

that separate it from the Deccan. To Colonel Outram—whom it is the fashion, in some quarters, to abuse, and to describe as destitute of all talent, civil or military, but whom an independent authority characterises as possessing “great knowledge of Asiatic character, conciliating manners, quick decision, surprising activity and energy, and enlarged experience”—was committed the task of subduing these desperadoes, and of restoring tranquillity to the territory. The result proved, that it evidently could not have been in better hands. In a fortnight after he received the appointment he was in the field; and in six weeks he had traversed the disturbed districts, driven the rebels from all their hiding-places, taken many prisoners, and completely quashed the rebellion. He soon re-established order; and “since that period the tranquillity of that territory has not been disturbed. *Suttee* has been abolished, and measures have been adopted to afford to all classes of the community protection from oppression, and the ready redress of grievances.”* The inhabitants profited greatly by their allegiance to the British government.

Whilst Colonel Outram was subduing the Mahratta insurgents in Sawunt Warree, the governor-general was negotiating with the governor of the Danish possessions in India for their purchase. On the 22nd of February, 1845, a convention was concluded, ceding those possessions to the East India Company for a stipulated sum; and shortly after, his excellency found himself inevitably involved in hostilities, the result of which still further extended the British empire.

Runjeet Sing—the Lion of Lahore, as he was termed—whose name has been frequently mentioned in this narrative, died on the 27th of June, 1839. Originally the leader of a small tribe of the Jats, he had raised himself to the rank of maharajah of the Sikhs; the capture of Lahore, in 1798, being the first achievement for laying the foundation of that power he afterwards acquired. Before his death, he had added Moultan, Peshawur, and Cashmere to his dominions; and was lord paramount throughout the whole of the district known as the Punjab—that extensive territory beyond the Sutledj, on the north-west of India, which derives its name from two Persian words, signifying “five waters;” those waters or

* Thornton.

+ *Ibid.*

rivers being the Indus, the Chenaub, the Jhelum, the Ravee, and the Sutledj. There is a sixth stream, the Beas; but its course being much shorter than that of the other rivers, it seems to have been disregarded when the name of the country was bestowed.† On the death of Runjeet, his son Kurruck succeeded; but he was, from his accession, exposed to the intrigues of his minister Dehra Sing, and his son Heera—members of a family known as the lords of Jumnoo, a principality conquered from the Rajpoots. Both father and son were said to be “profligate and abandoned” characters; but they had been great favourites with Runjeet Sing; and at his decease they sought to render the power they had enjoyed under him permanent and absolute. His successor is said to have been deprived of reason before he succeeded to the maharajahship, and soon after of life, by the practices of these men. Upon his death, his son, Nao Nehal Sing, who had assumed the chief direction of affairs during his father’s short reign, was declared maharajah; but after Kurruck Sing’s interment, as he was returning from the funeral, riding upon an elephant, some loose stones fell on his head as he entered the gate of Lahore, apparently from accident; but there is no doubt it was effected by the hand of design. His senseless body was immediately secured, and carried off under the auspices of Dehra Sing; and when it was again seen, life was extinct. The eldest son of Gholab Sing, one of the brothers of Runjeet, who had been with the young maharajah in his howdah, was killed at the same time. Another son of Runjeet, Shere Sing, whom he had declared to be illegitimate, was then placed on the throne, under the auspices of his uncle, Dhyan Sing, the second brother of the old “Lion.” Chunda Kunwoor, the mother of Nao Nehal, endeavoured to raise a party against him, but failed; and Shere Sing commenced a short and inglorious reign, disgraced by his own debauchery and drunkenness, and distracted by intrigues. He was assassinated on the 13th of September, 1843; his son, Pertaub Sing, being murdered with him; and Dhuleep Sing, an infant four years old (the son of Chunda, but not by Runjeet Sing), was proclaimed his successor: then another reign of anarchy ensued, in which more assassinations took place—Chunda Kunwoor, the Maha Rancee, who was an unprincipled volup-

tuary, and her favourite, Lall Sing, who held the appointment of vizier, being the main agents. In the course of these transactions, the two ministers of Runjeet Sing, and his brothers, Dhyan and Suchet, were assassinated.

With a view to strengthen their own power, the Maha Ranee and Lall Sing were obliged to succumb to the Sikh army, which had long been imbued with the most hostile feelings towards the English; whose interests, up to that time, had been ably protected by Sir Claude Wade and Sir George Russell Clerk, the agents of the East India Company in the north-west provinces. The British government had taken no part in the intrigues of the rival aspirants for power at Lahore; but the Sikh army was eager to cross the Indus, and drive the British from Hindostan. As "Punt'h Khalsajee," or true believers, they believed, or professed to believe, that this was their mission; and numerically, and also with respect to courage and discipline, they were no mean enemy; nor did they want for *matériel*. Count Ventura, MM. Court and Allard, and the Neapolitan Avitabile (four Europeans in the service of Runjeet Sing), had not only disciplined his force, but had also directed the casting of cannon, and the organising of artillery, to a considerable extent. Gholab Sing, the only surviving brother of Runjeet, who had refused the office of vizier, and who had himself a strong party at Lahore, discouraged this hostility to the British, but in vain. He then withdrew from Lahore; and he is charged with having previously promised his support, and agreed to send supplies to the troops, which the leaders had resolved should cross the Sutledj, and invade the British dominions to the south of that river: but he appears to have had no idea of so committing himself. He had a view to the sovereignty of the Punjab; and feeling certain that the Sikhs would be worsted, he thought he might then step in as a mediator, for the promotion of his own interests. Therefore, though convinced that a rupture with the British would most effectually compass his ends, he resolved not to mix himself up in the quarrel. "Even when he returned to Lahore, after the war had begun, and he was requested by the ranee and the 'punches' [leaders] of the army to join the latter, he availed himself of the excuse of wishing to act independently at the head of his own troops."

The reports of the hostile disposition of the Sikhs had been conveyed to the governor-general, who had lost no time in moving troops to the frontiers. Early in December, 1845, he had 10,472 men, and 24 guns, at Ferozepore, 7,235 men, and 12 guns, at Loodiana; and 12,972 men, with 32 guns, at Umballa: in all, 30,679 men, and 70 guns, the command-in-chief of which was given to Sir Hugh Gough. On the 2nd of December the governor-general himself arrived at Umballa, a large walled town in the district of the same name, part of the province of Sirhind, in the Cis-Sutledj territory; where there is a fine encamping-ground for the troops, under the walls of the fort. On the 6th he moved towards Loodiana, which lies sixty-nine miles to the south-east of Umballa; his excellency's object being "to visit the Sikh protected states, according to the custom of his predecessors. He was not then of opinion that the Sikh army would cross the Sutledj with its infantry and artillery, though he considered it probable that some acts of aggression would be committed by parties of plunderers, for the purpose of compelling the British government to interfere; to which course the Sikh chiefs knew he was much averse."* Sir Hugh Gough, the chief secretary to the government, and Major Broadfoot, the political agent, all concurred in the opinion, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted to. Still the governor-general took the necessary precautions to advance the troops for the protection of the frontiers; and it was well he did; for, on the 11th, the Sikhs crossed the river in great force, and took up an intrenched position at Ferozeshah, a village twelve miles from the left bank of the Sutledj, and ten in advance of Ferozepore. It was on the 13th, at a place called Lushkur Khan ki Sarai, that Sir Henry Hardinge received intelligence of this movement; and he immediately issued a proclamation, recapitulating the acts of aggression by the Sikhs—the crowning one being the crossing of the Sutledj, and the invasion of the British territories; in consequence of which his excellency declared, "the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left or British bank of the Sutledj, confiscated, and annexed to the British territories;" promising to "respect the existing rights of all jaghedars, zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who should

* Sir Henry's despatch to the Secret Committee.

by the course they pursued, evince their fidelity to the British government." All chiefs and sirdars in the protected territories were called upon to co-operate cordially in the punishment of the enemy, and in the maintenance of order; the inhabitants were directed to abide peaceably in their villages, where they would receive efficient protection from the British government; but, it was announced, that parties of men found in armed bands, who could give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, would be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

Although the Sikhs commenced the passage of the river on the 13th of December, they had not transferred all their heavy guns to the left bank till the 16th. They were commanded by Tej Sing, an officer of established reputation; and were divided into two bodies. One, comprising 25,000 men and 88 guns, under Lall Sing, occupied the camp at Ferozeshah, and took possession of all the wells in that vicinity; and the other, under Tej Sing, numbering 23,000 men and 67 guns, remained opposite Ferozepore, where Sir John Littler commanded, and which place the enemy partially invested. By the directions of Sir H. Hardinge, an advanced force of 4,500 men, under Brigadier Wheeler, had, a few days before, proceeded to Busseean—an important point, where the roads leading from Umballa and Kurnaul meet—for the purpose of securing the stores there; and this corps was joined, on the 16th, by the main column from Umballa, *en route* to Ferozepore, which place, threatened by the enemy, it was the object of the governor-general to relieve. The road from Busseean to that station was by the village of Moodkee, where the army arrived on the 18th, some Sikh cavalry retiring from the village as the British approached. That morning a part of the Sikh army had left Ferozeshah (which is farther advanced on the road to Ferozepore than Moodkee) with twenty-two guns, under Lall Sing, to intercept the British; and the latter had just halted at the village, taken up their encamping-ground, and were preparing refreshments (having marched twenty-two miles), when a scout brought in news of the near approach of the enemy. All were immediately once more in motion—the horse artillery and cavalry taking the lead, the infantry and field batteries moving forward in support. They had not proceeded beyond two miles when they found the enemy in position.

The country where the hostile forces met, "is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but in some places thick, jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle, and such undulations as the ground afforded." The British general, to cover the formation of the infantry, advanced the cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front, in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were followed by the horse artillery, under Brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry on his flanks. The infantry then formed into line, the enemy opening a severe cannonade upon them, which was vigorously, and most effectively, replied to by the horse artillery, whose rapid and well-directed fire appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and, at the same time, the 3rd light dragoons, the body-guard, the 5th light cavalry, and a portion of the 4th lancers, turned the left of the Sikhs, sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silencing for a time the latter, and putting the numerous cavalry to flight. The remainder of the 4th lancers, and the 9th irregular cavalry, with a light field battery under Brigadier Mactier, threatened simultaneously the enemy's right. This movement was also successful; and the intervening jungle, which screened the infantry and guns of the Sikhs, alone prevented these combined operations from having then a decisive effect.

As the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry were commanded by Major-generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill; and although the enemy's force was almost invisible, from the wood and the approaching darkness of night, the fire of the British told with considerable effect; and the whole force of the Sikhs "was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery—some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster; for this stout conflict was maintained during an

* Sir Hugh Gough's despatch; from which this account of the battle of Moodkee is principally taken.

hour and a-half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."—The governor-general had followed the army to the field, and was in the midst of the fight—cannon-balls and bullets whizzing about his head and those of his attendants. He was remonstrated with for thus exposing himself, and importunately begged to quit the field. He, however, paid no heed to the counsels of his officers, and his "presence was of great advantage in preserving the confidence and directing the movement of a part of the force."* During the battle, Captain Hardinge (his excellency's youngest son) had a narrow escape; 16 officers were killed, and 200 rank and file. The number of wounded was 48 of the former, and 609 of the latter. Of the wounded, 153 subsequently died; and the death of one officer—Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad, whose left thigh was shattered by grape-shot in the action—was greatly lamented. The number of the British force engaged was 3,850 Europeans, and 8,500 natives. The number of the Sikhs was not much greater; but their loss was even more severe than that of the British. Amongst their wounded was the commander, Lall Sing, who narrowly escaped being taken prisoner: several other leaders were also wounded or killed.

The Sikhs fled to Ferozeshah; the British returned to Moodkee, where, on the 19th, her majesty's 29th, the 1st European light infantry, and the 11th and 41st regiments of native infantry, with two heavy guns, arrived. On that day Sir Henry Hardinge—who, though head of the government, could issue no orders, and take no command, whilst he remained in a civil capacity—offered his services to Sir Hugh Gough, and was appointed second in command. On the same day an express was sent to Sir John Littler, at Ferozepore, informing him of the victory obtained at Moodkee, and ordering him to march, on the 21st, with as many men as possible, to effect a junction with the commander-in-chief. He accordingly started on that day, with 5,500 men and 21 guns, in the direction of Ferozeshah. The same morning, the army under Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge, left Moodkee; at half-past one the two forces met, near the village of

Misriwalla; and at two, the Sikh intrenchments at Ferozeshah were in sight.

After the junction with Sir John Littler, Sir Hugh Gough's army amounted to 17,727 rank and file; 5,674 being Europeans. He had also 65 guns. The Sikhs say, they had 25,000 regular troops and 88 guns at Ferozeshah; Tej Sing, with 23,000 men and 66 guns, being only ten miles distant, holding in check the remaining British force at Ferozepore. It would not have been advisable to delay the attack until a junction could have been formed between these forces; and, fatigued as the British were with their march, it was determined immediately to assail the enemy's intrenchments. Those intrenchments were in the form of a parallelogram, being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. "The strong village of Ferozeshah was included in its area; the shorter sides looking towards Ferozepore and the open country."† The ground in front was covered with jungle, like that at Moodkee; and the Sikhs could direct their guns on whichever side the attack was made. The British army was formed in three divisions, under the command of Major-generals Gilbert and Sir John Littler, and Brigadier Wallace; the guns, except three troops of horse artillery, were in the centre; one of those troops was placed on each flank, the other in reserve. The reserve was under Sir Harry Smith, and, with the cavalry, formed the second line.

The battle commenced by a well-sustained fire from the British mortars; but it was found that they could not silence the enemy's guns. The whole of the artillery, protected by the infantry, then moved up, firing as they advanced, till they were within 300 yards of the enemy's batteries. But the Sikh guns still maintained their superiority; and the infantry gallantly dashed upon them under a murderous discharge of grape and round shot. In this advance Major-general Littler's division, led by that officer with the greatest valour, close up to the batteries, was compelled to retire. The left brigade of the reserve, under Sir Harry Smith, then took the left attack, and those of Major-general Gilbert and Brigadier Wallace, the right and centre, with complete success; the enemy flying, and all their batteries appearing to be within the grasp of the British. But night fell whilst the contest was raging; and though the 3rd dragoons charged, and took some of the most

* The Rev. J. Coley's *Journal of the Sutledj Campaign*.

† Sir Hugh Gough's despatch.

formidable batteries—a charge, by the way, something resembling that at Balaklava, for 10 officers and 120 men were lost out of about 400—the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of their intrenchment, the British bivouacking in the remainder, “exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit.”* An exertion of that spirit was repeatedly called for during the night, the enemy harassing them by the fire of artillery, whenever the moonlight discovered their position. Once they advanced one of their heavy guns, which played with deadly effect on the British: but the 80th foot and the 1st European light infantry, formed at the command of Sir Henry Hardinge, drove back the enemy, and captured the guns.

With daylight the battle was renewed. As soon as the men could be roused the infantry formed in line, supported on both flanks by the horse artillery, and a fire was opened from the centre by the heavy guns that still remained effective, accompanied by a discharge of rockets. The enemy had a masked battery, which returned this fire, dismounting several guns, and blowing-up some tumbrils. Whilst the artillery was thus for the moment discomfited, Sir Henry Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, and Sir Hugh Gough at that of the right wing, and charged the enemy, driving them from the village of Ferozeshah, and from their intrenchments. Then changing front, the band of heroes swept through the camp, breaking down all opposition, and dislodging the enemy from their whole position. “The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders, as they rode along its front, with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards.”† The victory was scarcely achieved—the enemy had only just been driven out from his strongly-fortified position—when the army of Tej Sing was seen in the distance. He was dismayed, however, by the defeat of his colleagues; and, after making demonstrations on the village and the captured intrenchments, and failing in both, he withdrew to the Sutledj, the British cavalry being too much exhausted to pursue him, or to interrupt the fugitives of Lall Sing’s discomfited army in their flight.—The Sikhs left in the camp seventy-four guns, with a large quantity of ammunition

* Sir Hugh Gough’s despatch.

† *Ibid.*

and other stores, and lost a great many of their ranks in killed and wounded: so did the British; no less than 2,415 officers and men being put *hors de combat*, of whom 694 were killed. Several gallant officers lost their lives; amongst them being Colonels Wallace and Taylor; Majors Baldwin, Broadfoot (political agent), Davy, and Fitzroy Somerset; Captains Box, D’Arcy, Todd, and Nicholson; Lieutenants Pollard and Barnard. The entire staff of the governor-general were killed or wounded, except his son, Captain A. Hardinge, who had a horse shot under him. With the exception of Captain Mills, all the political agents were also killed or wounded in this fierce struggle. Prince Waldemar of Prussia was in the engagement of the 21st, and Dr. Hoffmeister, his medical attendant, was killed. His royal highness wished to have taken part in the battle of the 22nd, but was persuaded by the governor-general—who was unwilling he should run a further risk of losing his life—to leave the field.

Sir Hugh Gough conducted his victorious troops to Ferozepore; and the Sikhs expected that he would have at once crossed the Sutledj, and advanced on Lahore. The losses the army had sustained, and the want of a battering train, prevented him; and he was obliged to wait for the force from Meerut, before he felt himself justified in making any forward movement. That force consisted of a battering train, the 16th lancers, her majesty’s 10th and 53rd foot, and the 43rd and 59th native infantry, under Sir John Grey. Whilst it was on its way, the Sikhs threw a bridge of boats across the river at Sobraon, and established a large body of troops at that place: they also passed over 10,000 men in another direction near Loodiana. This force, under the Sirdar Runjoor Sing, intrrenched itself at Aliwal; and Sir Harry Smith, after the Meerut force joined, was detached, with 7,000 men and twenty-four guns, first to reduce Dhurrumkote, and then to relieve Loodiana. Dhurrumkote was evacuated on his approach; and, on the 28th of January, 1846, Sir Harry appeared before Aliwal. The left wing of the enemy rested on that village, and his right on Rundree; and as the British drew near their intrenchments, the Sikhs advanced a short distance from the camp, and began a fierce cannonade upon our force. It did not, however, retard their advance. Aliwal was the key of the position: it was stormed and taken, Brigadiers

Godby and Hicks heading the charge. The entire force then gave way, many of them, however, fighting desperately, and, "with much resolution, maintaining frequent *rencontres* with our cavalry hand-to-hand. In one charge of infantry upon her majesty's 16th lancers, they threw away their muskets, and came on with their swords and targets against the lance."* But the impetuous valour of the British overcame all resistance, and the enemy fled to the Sutledj; a "complete and decisive victory" being obtained. A great many Sikhs were killed and wounded, and they lost their camp baggage, stores of ammunition and grain, and fifty-two guns. They carried one gun across the Sutledj; but two gallant soldiers, Lieutenant Holmes, of the irregular cavalry, and Gunner Scott, of the horse artillery, forded the river, and spiked the weapon.

The Sikhs still remained at Sobraon, where they increased their numbers, added to their guns, and strengthened a *tête-du-pont*, which they had thrown up in front of their position. The head-quarters of the British, and the commander-in-chief's camp, had been removed twenty-four miles from Ferozepore; and a number of heavy guns from Delhi having arrived, and Sir Harry Smith having rejoined head-quarters, it was resolved to drive the enemy back across the Sutledj, and then to advance on Lahore. The Sikhs had 34,000 men, and seventy guns, on the left bank of the river; and were united, by their bridge of boats, with a reserve of 20,000 men on the other side: a number of pieces of artillery were also planted there, commanding and flanking the approaches to the Sobraon position, which the French officers in the Sikh army asserted was impregnable. Whether it was or not, was now to be put to the test. The army under Sir Hugh Gough then numbered 16,244 rank and file, 6,533 of whom were Europeans; he had also 99 guns, of varied calibre; strong in this arm it was resolved that no delay should take place. The 10th of February was fixed upon for the attack; and the governor-general's horse having fallen with him the day previous, he accompanied the army in his carriage.

Three o'clock A.M. was fixed as the hour for the troops to march; and at that hour they left the camp, and pursued their route

* Sir Harry Smith's despatch.

+ Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*.

† Sir Harry Smith's despatch.

so silently, that the Sikhs were unaware of their approach till they had very nearly reached the intrenchments, throughout which the enemy immediately beat loudly to arms. As the British general had now a large number of guns, he determined to open his attack with them. They were formed in a semicircle, taking in the entire works of the enemy; and as soon as a heavy fog, which for some time obscured everything, had cleared away, the batteries opened a terrible fire of shot and shell upon the Sikh intrenchments. The Sikhs were not backward in returning it; and for three hours the deadly warfare raged. Nothing can be conceived grander than the effect of this battle of the batteries, "as the cannonade passed along from the Sutledj to Little Sobraon, in one continued roar of guns and mortars; while, ever and anon, the rocket, like a spirit of fire, winged its rapid flight high above the batteries, in its progress towards the Sikh intrenchment. It now became a grand artillery concert; and the infantry divisions and brigades looked on with a certain degree of interest, somewhat allied to vexation, lest the artillery should have the whole work to themselves! The commander-in-chief, however, was determined to give full play to an arm which he did not possess to an efficient extent in other hard-fought battles."† But the cannonade, it was found, could not decide the battle; the musket and the bayonet were, after a time, therefore, called into action; and well they played their part.

It was nine o'clock when the order was given for the infantry to advance. At that hour, "Brigadier Stacy's brigade, supported on either flank by Captain Horford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieutenant Lane's troop of horse artillery, advanced to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other correlatively."‡ The advance was made with great firmness; but it was made under such a hot fire from cannon, musketry, and zumbouruks,§ that there was a temporary check or pause, and, for a brief interval, doubt, whether the formidable position could be won. "But soon, persevering gallantry triumphed; and the whole army had the satisfaction of seeing the gallant Brigadier Stacy's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them, within

§ Guns mounted on camels, and carrying a one-pound shot. These were very effective when skilfully managed.

the area of their encampment.”* The attack was supported by the second division, under Major-general Gilbert; which “advanced to the enemy’s batteries, forced their way into the intrenchments, and after a severe struggle, swept through the interior of the camp.”† The 10th, 53rd, and 80th European regiments, with the 33rd, 43rd, 59th, and 63rd native infantry, under Major-general Sir Robert Dick, moved to the fortified fort “at a firm and steady pace, never firing a shot till they had passed the barriers opposed to them; a forbearance,” said Sir Henry Hardinge, “much to be commended, and most worthy of constant imitation, to which may be attributed the success of their first effort, and the small loss they sustained.”‡ Their attack was successful; and their valour and discipline obtained the admiration of the army. But gallant as was the attack, so was the defence. “The Sikhs, when, at particular points, their intrenchments were mastered by the bayonet, strove to regain them by the fiercest conflict, sword in hand. Nor was it until the cavalry of the left, under Major-general Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forwards, and ridden through the openings of the intrenchments made by our sappers, in single file, and reformed as they passed them—and the 3rd dragoons (whom no obstacle usually held formidable by cavalry appeared to check) had on this day, as at Ferozeshah, galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works—and until the full weight of three divisions of infantry, with every field artillery gun that could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale, that victory declared for the British.”§ The Sikhs first slackened their fire; and then, the victors pressing upon them on all sides, some precipitated themselves upon the bridge, others attempted to ford the river—an attempt, which a sudden rise of the waters would have rendered almost impracticable under any circumstances; but, exposed to the fire of the British artillery, it was then almost certain death. The slaughter was awful, and would, says the commander-in-chief, “have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the early part of the action,

sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom, in the vicissitudes of the attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy.”||

The cannonading had continued from six A.M. till nine; the general action was over by eleven; when the enemy, driven from the left bank of the Sutledj, was making his way, as best he might, to some shelter on the other side. As soon as the firing was over, the bridge of boats was broken down and sunk, and the communication with the right bank interrupted. The Sikhs left on the field of battle 67 pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 *zumbouruks*, numerous standards, and vast munitions of war. It is fearful even to think upon the number of the killed. It is said to have amounted to 8,000; and their total loss to 13,000. Sir Hugh Gough gave them permission to bury their dead; but they shrank from the task, after having pursued it for several days; and many hundred bodies, not swept away by the river, were left as prey to the wild beasts and birds of the country. The loss of the British was also great; 13 officers were killed, and 131 wounded; the number of privates and non-commissioned officers killed was 320; wounded, 2,063: making a total, of officers and men, of 2,527. Amongst the officers killed were General Sir R. Dick and Brigadier Taylor; General M’Laren was mortally wounded, and died soon after the battle.

This victory completely broke the power of the Sikhs; and the commander-in-chief followed it up by sending expresses to Sir John Grey, who was stationed half-way between Ferozepore and Sobraon, and to Sir John Littler at Ferozepore; and before morning, at a point nearer Lahore than where the remains of the routed army had crossed, six regiments of native infantry, and six guns, had been established on the right bank of the Sutledj. The next day, Sir Hugh Gough commenced throwing a bridge of boats across the river, which was finished on the 12th. On the 13th, the British army crossed over and established themselves at Kussoor, a large town, nine miles from the right or western bank of the Ghara, sixteen from Ferozepore, and thirty-two from Lahore. On the 14th, the governor-general joined the commander-in-chief at that place; which, occupied without resistance by the British, had twice successfully withstood the attacks of Runjeet Sing.

* Sir Harry Smith’s despatch.

† General Order of Feb. 14th, by the governor-general.

§ Sir Harry Smith’s despatch.

‡ *Ibid.*
|| *Ibid.*

The governor-general issued a proclamation to the Sikhs the day that Kusoor was occupied, telling them, that the British army had appeared amongst them, "in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th of December"—viz., for the purpose "of effectually protecting the British provinces, vindicating the authority of the British government, and punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace." The military operations against the government of Lahore, it was stated, had not been undertaken for any purposes of aggrandisement; and they would be discontinued as soon as redress was obtained. The Maha Ranee professed to be anxious to afford that redress; and she sent vakeels to confer with the governor-general at Kusoor; and Gholab Sing, as he anticipated, was requested to act as the mediator between the British and the Sikhs. On arriving at Kusoor, the governor-general received the negotiators in full dhurbar, surrounded by his officers; and, the introduction over, they were sent to confer with Mr. Currie and Mr. Lawrence, with whom terms were arranged. The treaty, however, was not immediately concluded. In the interim, Dhuleep Sing was brought to the British camp, and introduced to the governor-general, to whom he made his submission; and the British army advanced to Lahore, where some troops occupied the gateway of the citadel, the Badshabee Mosque, and the Hoozooree Bagh; but the main body encamped on the parade-ground, two miles and a-half from the city gate. There, on the 7th of March, the treaty of Lahore was signed; the following being the terms to which the rulers of the Punjab found it necessary to agree:—

Art. 1. Established perpetual peace between the contracting parties.—2. The maharajah surrendered all claim to, or connection with, the territories lying to the south of the Sutledj.—3. He also ceded to the East India Company, "all his forts, territories, and rights in the Dooab, or country, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Beas and Sutledj."—4. As one crore and a-half of rupees (£1,500,000) were to be paid for the expenses of the war, which the Lahore government could not pay at once, the countries between the Beas and the Indus, including Cashmere and Hazarah, were ceded as a guarantee for its payment.—By subsequent articles, the maharajah agreed to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army; to organise that army upon the

* This is the territory in Upper India, known as the Julinder Dooab; now part of the North-west Provinces.

system of Runjeet Sing; to limit it to 25 battalions of infantry (of 800 men each), and 12,000 cavalry; not to increase it without the consent of the British government; to surrender to that government the guns, 36 in number, which had been pointed against the British troops, and were not captured at the battle of Sobraon; the control of the rivers Beas and Sutledj, and of Ghara and Punjnah (continuations of the latter), to be in the hands of the British, who were to have liberty to send troops through the Lahore territories, special notice being first given to the Lahore government; the maharajah not to employ any British or other Europeans, or Americans, in his service, without the consent of the British government; the maharajah agreed to recognise Gholab Sing's sovereignty in any territories and districts in the hills which might be made over to him by the British government, and in the event of any dispute with the said Gholab Sing, to leave it to the arbitration of that government; the limits of the Lahore territory not to be changed without the concurrence of the British government, which was not to interfere in the internal government of Lahore, but to be always ready to give its advice and good offices; the subjects of either state visiting the other to be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

On the 9th, the governor-general held a public dhurbar, in which the attendance of his staff and other officers, in full uniform, and of the civilians, had an imposing appearance. The maharajah attended in state; and the treaty was ratified and exchanged with the usual ceremonies. At the close, the governor-general addressed the assembled chiefs, telling them, that the British government had in no respect provoked the late war, and had no objects of aggrandisement to obtain by hostilities—a proof of which would be seen by its moderation in the hour of victory. The British government had no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Punjab. He was ready and anxious to withdraw every British subject from Lahore; but, at the earnest solicitation of the Sikh government, he had consented to leave a British force in garrison till time should have been afforded for the reorganisation of the Sikh army; but in no case could he consent, that the British troops should remain in garrison longer than the end of the year.—This speech was well received. The youthful maharajah was then re-established on his throne; the Maha Ranee still acting as regent, with Lall Sing as vizier. Sir John Littler was left as commander of the British garrison of 10,000 men; and Sir Henry Lawrence as political resident. The governor-general and the army left Lahore, on their return to India, on the 11th of March. Sir Charles Napier—whom the

governor-general had sent for when the aspect of the Sikh war looked serious, but who did not arrive till the 5th of March—departed again, on the 12th, for Hyderabad.

On the 14th, the governor-general arrived at Umritser, or Amritser, where Gholab Sing was then residing; and, on the 16th, another treaty was concluded, with the full consent of the Lahore government, between the governor-general, on behalf of the East India Company, and Gholab, by which the latter agreed to pay two-thirds of the sum stipulated by the treaty of Lahore, to be paid to the company as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and, in return, the independent possession of the territory between the Beas and the Indus, placed in the hands of the British, as a guarantee, by the fourth article of the treaty of Lahore, was ceded to him in perpetuity. Gholab Sing, by the terms of the treaty, acknowledged the supremacy of the British government, and bound himself to assist them with troops under certain contingencies; the British, in return, undertaking to defend him against his enemies. There was some difficulty in carrying out this treaty with respect to Cashmere, as the Sikh governor refused to yield that territory to Gholab. A large force had to be sent against him, under Brigadier-general Wheeler, which rendered longer resistance useless; but he justified his conduct by producing orders from the vizier, Lall Sing, under which he had acted. This led to the dismissal of the vizier, and his banishment from Lahore, to the great indignation of the Maha Ranee, who did not disguise the bitter feelings to which this loss of her favourite gave rise. The vizier was dismissed on the 13th of January, 1847, and a council formed for the administration of the government, under British superintendence, during the minority of Dhuleep Sing, which, it was arranged, should end on the 4th of September, 1854.

As soon as the intelligence of the Sikh war, with its glorious termination, was received in England, the thanks of both houses of parliament were given to the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and the officers and soldiers who had so nobly sustained the honour of the British arms. The governor-general was raised to the peerage as Viscount Hardinge, of Lahore, and of King's Newton, Derbyshire, with a pension of £3,000 for himself and his two next successors. He also received

the thanks of the East India Company, who settled upon him a pension of £5,000. The commander-in-chief was raised to the dignity of Baron Gough, of Chin-Keanfoo, in China, and of Maharajpore and the Sutledj, in the East Indies, with a pension of £2,000 per annum for three lives: the East India Company included him in the vote of thanks to Lord Hardinge, with a pension of the same amount as that of the government.

Lord Hardinge did not remain much longer in India; but the remainder of his term of government was passed in peace, and devoted to the development of the resources of the empire, to the promotion of improvements, and to advancing the progress of civilisation. To his lordship India owes the grand trunk railroad from Calcutta to Benares; and the works on the Ganges canal, commenced by Lord Auckland, and suspended by Lord Ellenborough, were resumed by him. He also induced no less than twenty-three of the native princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of England, to put an end to female infanticide, the *suttee*, and slavery. Many useful regulations in the army, correcting the errors of Lord William Bentinck, were the work of his lordship, who also separated the duties of governor of Bengal from those of governor-general, appointing Mr. Bird to be deputy-governor of the province. He promoted education, encouraged missionaries, without offering any persecution to the heathen, and promoted the arts; whilst he practised economy, and endeavoured to make the income and expenditure correspond. In fact, there have been few governors-general who did so much to promote the best interests of India as Lord Hardinge—never one who did more. On the 4th of August, 1847, Earl Dalhousie was appointed to succeed him in the important office of governor-general; and his lordship left Calcutta on the 18th of January, 1848,* having received various testimonials from native gentlemen, to show their sense of his exertions in behalf of their countrymen. Soon after his return to England he was appointed master-general of the ordnance; and, in September, 1852, on the death of Arthur Duke of Wellington, was appointed general-commanding-in-chief of the British army; which command he held till his death, on the 24th of September, 1856.

* Before his lordship left India, intelligence was received of the death, by poison, of Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed of Cabool.

CHAPTER XXI.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE; HIS LORDSHIP'S ANTECEDENTS; HIS POLITICAL CONDUCT PRESCRIBED BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL; FRESH DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB; MURDER OF TWO BRITISH OFFICIALS AT MOULTAN; A CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED AT LAHORE; HOSTILITY OF THE SIKHS; LIEUTENANT EDWARDES AND COLONEL CORTLANDT; THEIR GALLANT ACTIONS WITH THE SIKHS; BATTLES OF KINEYREE AND SUDDOOSAM; INVESTMENT OF MOULTAN; FAILURE OF THE FIRST ATTACKS; DESERTION OF THE SIKHS UNDER SHERE SING; LORD GOUGH ASSEMBLES THE "ARMY OF THE PUNJAB;" ITS FIRST SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS; SIEGE OF MOULTAN; TERRIFIC EXPLOSION; SURRENDER OF MOULTAN; DOST MAHOMED AT PESHAWUR; BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH; SIR C. J. NAPIER APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; BATTLE OF GOOJERAT; FLIGHT OF THE SIKHS, AND SURRENDER OF THEIR CHIEFS; DEPOSITION OF DHULEEP SING; ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB TO THE BRITISH DOMINIONS; HONOURS CONFERRED ON THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

THE Earl of Dalhousie, who succeeded Viscount Hardinge as governor-general of India, was the eldest son of George, the ninth earl, a distinguished commander in the war with Napoleon I. He was the youngest man that had been appointed to that office, being only in his thirty-sixth year: he had, however, filled several public appointments; was considered an able member of parliament; and, as president of the Board of Trade, had displayed considerable administrative talent. At the dinner given to him by the court of directors, previous to his leaving England, Lord John Russell, then first lord of the treasury, attended; and, in addressing the new Indian viceroy, his lordship said, he had not the slightest doubt but that the noble earl "would show, as his immediate predecessor, Viscount Hardinge, had shown, that resolution in administering justice, that forbearance towards all neighbouring and foreign powers, that attention to the arts of peace, and that sedulous care for the improvement of the internal condition of India, which are compatible with the utmost spirit and the utmost courage in repelling any aggression that may be made; meeting and conquering those who choose to constitute themselves the enemies of the British empire."

His lordship left England in November, 1847, and landed at Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848—four days before the departure of Viscount Hardinge. At that time, "there prevailed a universal conviction among public men at home, that permanent peace had been at length secured in the East. Before the summer came, we were already involved in the second Sikh war."* This war arose immediately out of the conduct of the Dewan Moolraj, governor of Moulton—an ancient

city, situate three miles from the west bank of the Chenaub river, and said to be the finest city in the Punjab, after Amritser and Lahore, from the latter of which it was distant 190 miles, in a south-west direction. This city had been taken from the Affghans by Runjeet Sing, in 1818, when he is said to have cut to pieces the garrison of 3,000 men, except a very small number, and to have found a booty worth £4,000,000 sterling. Runjeet had placed the government in the hands of Sawan Mull, a man of low origin, but of great talent; and on his assassination by one of his own soldiers, in 1844, Moolraj, his son, succeeded him. After the peace of 1846, the terms of which could not be very acceptable to the Sikh chiefs, the Maha Ranee and her favourites appear to have kept up a series of intrigues against the British; and Moolraj's conduct can only be explained by supposing that he entered fully into those intrigues, and became one of the active agents for carrying them out.

In November, 1847, he went to Lahore, and requested permission to resign his government; giving as a reason, that he could no longer, under the British system, collect the taxes from the people. His resignation was not accepted then, but it was soon after his return to Moulton; and Mr. Vans Agnew, a young Bengal civilian, with Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay fusiliers, were sent from Lahore to instal the Sirdar Khan Sing, appointed to succeed him. They were accompanied by 1,400 Sikh troops, and reached Moulton on the 18th of April, 1848. The troops were encamped near the Eedgah, a small Mohammedan fort, not far from the fort of Moulton, and about a mile from the country garden-house of Moolraj. On the next day, the British officials, with the new and old governors, went into the fort, where the cere-

* Minute, by the Marquis of Dalhousie.

mony of the transfer of authority was gone through. On their return, these were cut down by some of Moolraj's soldiers; and though taken to the Eedgah, were murdered, their bodies being hacked to pieces, and exposed to various indignities. Their Sikh escort had offered no resistance; but Khan Sing simulated sorrow for their fate. He was found weeping over their remains, for which he was rebuked by Moolraj, who retained the government; never having had, it would appear, any real intention of resigning.—This outrage at Moulton led to the discovery of a conspiracy at Lahore, organised by the Maha Ranee and her friends, having for its object the murder of the British officers, the expulsion of the British soldiers (only left there at the express and earnest desire of the sirdars), and the subversion of all the rules and regulations originated by the British for restraining the ambition and profligacy of the Maha Ranee. The Dewan Khan Sing, it was soon ascertained, was one of the conspirators; his grief and regret displayed over the bodies of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson being only assumed. A *ghoroo*, or priest, named Maharaj Sing, also raised the standard of revolt in the neighbourhood of Lahore; and this occupied the attention of the British force there, and prevented it from proceeding to Moulton. But it was deemed necessary to remove the Maha Ranee from that city, and she was sent to Benares; one of her confidential agents, and a Sikh general, were at the same time seized, tried, found guilty of treason, and executed.

At the time when Moolraj committed his outrage—for that it was his there is no doubt—upon the British officials, a young English officer, Lieutenant Edwardes, was engaged in settling the country ceded to the company by the second article of the treaty of Lahore. Mr. Vans Agnew, after he was wounded and taken to the Eedgah, found means to dispatch a messenger to this officer, who instantly concerted measures with the rajah of Bhawalpore, to array a force at once, to assist Lieut. Edwardes in his attempt to rescue his countrymen, and to protect Colonel Cortlandt, who at that time was at the head of a small garrison in the town of Dera Ismael Khan, one of the most considerable places in the Derajat—also called Daman, or the Border—a tract abutting on the Indus on the east, and on Scinde on the south, and which constituted

a part of Runjeet Sing's dominions. Without waiting for the rajah's troops, Lieutenant Edwardes, collecting the little force which had been sent to the Indus under his orders, crossed that river, and proceeded at once to Moulton; where, though too late to save the lives of his countrymen, he, for a time, put a check upon the hostile designs of Moolraj. But the latter did not long remain quiet. He sent a force, in May, to attack a party of 300 horse, left by Lieutenant Edwardes to collect the revenue at Leia, an important commercial town, situate on a small branch of the Indus, about eleven miles to the eastward of the main stream. The attack took place on the 18th of May; but Moolraj's troops were completely defeated, and compelled to retreat, leaving ten light guns in the hands of the victors. About the same time, Colonel Cortlandt left Dera Ismael Khan, with 4,000 troops; and having captured Sunghur (a fortress on the west of the Indus) on the way, effected a junction with Lieutenant Edwardes. The united force—chiefly Sikhs, and a corps of Mohammedans raised by Edwardes—defeated a large detachment of Moolraj's army on the 20th of May; the slaughter amongst the enemy, and their loss of guns, being considerable.

On the 10th and 11th of June, the two commanders recrossed the Indus, for the purpose of effecting a junction with the troops of the rajah of Bhawalpore. Moolraj, apprised by some of his emissaries of their route, and its purpose, crossed the Chenaub on the 14th; and on the 16th, the two forces were opposite to each other, on different sides of that river. The troops of the rajah were then marching to join Edwardes, who, on the 18th of June, crossed the Chenaub to meet them, with 3,000 irregular infantry; Cortlandt being left to follow with the cavalry and the guns. Before the latter, however, could effect the passage, Edwardes and his force were attacked by Moolraj's army, the number of which has been variously estimated at from 7,000 to 10,000 men, with ten guns. Gallantly the inferior force resisted the attack; they beat back the repeated assaults of the enemy, which were made with all the desperate bravery of the Sikhs; till at length Cortlandt—who had got over gun after gun, with some small bodies of troops—joined; and then the men under Lieutenant Edwardes became the assailants, and defeated Moolraj's army, with

great loss to the latter in men, baggage, and stores; six guns were also taken. This action, which lasted nine hours, is called the battle of Kineyree.—The fugitives retreated on Moultan, and were followed by Lieutenant Edwardes and Colonel Cortlandt; who, on the 1st of July, were within a short distance of the city. Moolraj resolved to arrest their further progress; and he left Moultan for that purpose at the head of 11,000 men, taking up his position behind a strong breastwork at the village of Suddoosam. There they were attacked by Lieutenant Edwardes' army, and another fierce fight of six hours' duration ensued, ending in the defeat of Moolraj, who with difficulty got back into the fortress; before which Lieutenant Edwardes now encamped his force, augmented, by the arrival of a large body of men, under Sheikh Imaumood-deen, to 18,000. But though strong in men, he was deficient in siege artillery. Sir Frederick Currie, who had succeeded Sir Henry Lawrence as political resident at Lahore, on learning the position of this force, dispatched a siege-train, under a competent escort, to the camp; but it was a long while before it arrived.

Early in August, the spirit of revolt manifested itself in another Sikh district—Hazarah. That district was under the administration of a chief named Chuttur Sing, whose son, Shere Sing, at the head of a considerable number of Sikhs, had joined Lieutenant Edwardes before Moultan. Chuttur himself was disaffected to England; and when his troops revolted, murdered Colonel Canora, an American, who was at the head of the artillery, and attempted to seize the fortress of Attock, on the left bank of the Indus (immediately after the influx of the Cabool river, and forty miles E.S.E. of Peshawur), he made no effort to restrain them. Their attempt on Attock was defeated, however, by the prompt action of Major Lawrence, the resident at Peshawur, who sent some troops to reinforce Lieutenant Nicholson, who commanded there; and, for the time, the projects of the rebels were frustrated.

The British resident at Lahore, on first hearing of the murder of the officials at Moultan, and of the movements of Moolraj, had urged upon the government at Calcutta, the propriety of sending a British force to capture that city; but both the governor-general and the commander-in-chief were of opinion, that the time was

very unfit for a European force to commence operations, it being the hottest season of the year, and the district around Moultan the hottest in India. The British government also thought, that it was a case for the Sikhs to act in; and they "were called upon to punish Moolraj as a rebel against their own sovereign, and to exact reparation for the British government, whose protection they had previously invoked."* As time progressed, however, and the Sikh government did nothing to restore tranquillity, Sir F. Currie sent General Whish from Lahore to Moultan, with her majesty's 8th regiment, a troop of horse artillery, a regiment of irregular cavalry, and two native regiments, the 8th and 52nd. He reached his destination on the 18th of August; and on the next day a still larger body arrived from Ferozepore, comprising her majesty's 32nd foot, the 11th regular and the 11th irregular cavalry, the 49th, 51st, and 72nd native infantry, a troop of horse artillery, and a battering train of 30 heavy guns. These reinforcements increased the besieging army to near 28,000 men, of which General Whish took the command.

The siege-train sent from Lahore arrived on the 4th of September; and on the 9th active operations commenced. On that day Colonel Harvey, with 2,500 men, was ordered to dislodge the enemy from a village and garden near the walls, where they were strongly intrenched. He failed at first; his men—none of whom were Europeans—being driven back with considerable loss; but rallying, they returned to the attack, and, after a severe struggle, the post was carried. On the 12th, the general directed another attack upon the outworks; the irregulars taking the left, and two British columns the right. This affair was principally distinguished by an attack made by the British upon the Dhurmsala, or public hospital, which had been converted into a strongly-fortified post. It was taken, 300 men being killed there; and the besieging force was advanced within battering-distance of the walls. The general then gave instructions for the commencement of the necessary siege-works: but, on the 14th, Shere Sing left the camp, with all the Sikhs under his orders; and this so reduced the British force, that it was thought advisable to wait for reinforcements before the siege was pressed. On

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

the 15th, the army retired to some distance from the walls; and during their march, Shere Sing detached 1,000 of his cavalry to harass and annoy his late friends. Colonel Cortlandt, however, halted the troop he commanded, and opening his guns upon the pursuers, they speedily turned their horses' heads and fled.—Shortly after this movement, intelligence was received, that Lieutenant Edwardes had been raised to the local rank of major, and created a knight-commander of the Bath.

Shere Sing joined his father, Chuttur Sing; and the two chiefs, having 30,000 men under them, established themselves at Ramnuggur, a walled town close to the left bank of the Chenaub, from whence they circulated the most inflammatory proclamations. The retirement of the British from before Moulton seems to have been the signal, also, for other Sikh chiefs to display their long-concealed hostility to England. The Sikh troops at Peshawur revolted, and would have seized Major Lawrence, but he made his escape with his lady to Kohat. He might as well have remained at Peshawur; for the Affghan ruler of Kohat made him and Mrs. Lawrence prisoners, and sent them to Chuttur Sing, who, thinking that, should events go against him, they would be hostages for his safety, placed them under surveillance to prevent their escape; but otherwise treated them well. Moolraj sought the aid of the Affghans, and concluded an alliance with Dost Mahomed; and it became quite evident, that there was to be another struggle for supremacy in the Punjab. As this conviction pressed itself upon the British government, it determined upon action; for, "when it was seen that the spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us; when chief after chief deserted our cause, until nearly their whole army, led by sirdars who had signed the treaties, and by members of the council of regency itself, was openly arrayed against us; when, above all, it was seen that the Sikhs, in their eagerness for our destruction, had even combined in unnatural alliance with Dost Mahomed Khan and his Mohammedan tribes—it became manifest, that there was no alternative left. The question was no longer one of policy or expediency, but of national safety;"* and the government resolved to put forth its power. A large

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

army was speedily incorporated in the neighbourhood of Ferozepore, under the title of "The Army of the Punjab," of which, it was arranged, the force before Moulton should form part; and, on the 2nd of November, Lord Gough arrived at Ferozepore, and assumed the chief command; when a proclamation was issued, admonishing the country people to remain quiet, and warning them of the consequences of joining in the rebellion.—During these movements, Brigadier Campbell, who had succeeded Sir John Littler at Lahore, preserved the peace of that capital; he also took care to secure the fortress of Amritser: he then joined the main army.

Lord Gough had scarcely arrived at the camp before he put the troops in motion. Brigadier Campbell, at the head of an infantry brigade, and accompanied by a cavalry division under Brigadier Cureton, was ordered to proceed from Saharem, four miles from the camp where the head-quarters were established, at Nonwulla, in the night of the 21st, to drive the enemy from a small island in the Chenaub, opposite Ramnuggur, where Chuttur Sing had established a strong position, defended by several guns, and which commanded the ford. It was two o'clock A.M., in the morning of the 22nd, before the troops were in readiness to move forward, which they did in nearly total darkness. The approach was through deep sand, and the British were exposed to a fire from the enemy's batteries on the right bank. Our gunners opened a brisk and well-directed fire in return; but the attack failed: the heavy guns of the enemy overpowered the 6-pounders of the British, and the latter had to retire, leaving behind them one gun, which they spiked, and two ammunition-waggons, they having become so deeply imbedded in the sand that it was found impossible to remove them. As the river was fordable, when the British were seen to retire, 4,000 Sikh cavalry were sent over, under a discharge of artillery, to attack them in flank. The movement was observed by the British officers, and Lieutenant-colonel Havelock, at the head of the 14th light dragoons and 5th light cavalry, was ordered to charge them. Right gallantly did the brave British dash down upon their enemy, who instantly retreated; and on followed the dragoons and cavalry, unobscured by a nullah about thirty feet wide, with a steep fall of five or six feet from the bank, where some of the enemy's guns had

been placed, and from which a heavy fire was kept up on them, that threw their ranks into disorder. They re-formed, and charged a second time, when Lieutenant-colonel Havelock (brother to the hero of Lucknow) fell. A third charge was made under Colonel King; Brigadier Cureton, who rode up at the moment, being struck with two matchlock-balls, and falling dead. At the same time Captain Fitzgerald was mortally, and Captain R. H. Gall, dangerously, wounded. After this charge the cavalry were withdrawn; but, by other more skilful, though not more gallant, movements, the enemy were driven from Ramnuggur; and the left bank of the Chenaub was entirely cleared of them.—On the 30th of November, Major-general Thackwell, with a troop of horse artillery, two light field batteries, a brigade of cavalry, three of infantry, two 13-pounders, and a pontoon train, crossed over to the right bank, at Vizierabad; and the batteries being pushed to the river's bank so as to command the principal ford, a brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Godby, also crossed the river, and opened communications with Major-general Thackwell. On the 3rd, the Sikhs made a determined effort to drive that officer from his position. They outnumbered him in men, and had twenty guns; but they were signally beaten, and so disheartened, that, in the night, they blew up their magazines, and abandoned their position—one body retreating to Jhelum, a town on the river of that name; and another, under Shere Sing, proceeding to Russool. They left sixty boats on the Chenaub, which were taken possession of by the British. On the 28th of December, the entire force of the latter had crossed the Chenaub, and encamped on the right bank of what is called the "upper river."

General Whish and his army remained quiet in their intrenchments near Moulton, during the months of October, November, and December, without offering to invest that city; upon the fortifications of which, we may remark, Sawan Mull, before his assassination, had employed every labourer and artisan in the place for two years, rendering it the strongest in that part of India. On the 21st of December the general was joined by a strong body of troops from Bombay, and, by their junction, his force was increased to 32,000 men, nearly one-half of whom were British, and 150 guns. He was also joined by Sir Henry Lawrence,

who had returned to England on sick leave; but started again for India as soon as he heard of the proceedings in the Punjab. On the 25th the Bengal division marched to Moulton; it was followed by the new arrivals from Bombay, on the 26th; and, on the 27th, the siege was resumed, the enemy being driven out of the suburbs, and the place invested. Several very brilliant affairs occurred during the day. The suburbs are extensive; and the enemy had posted themselves in some brick-kilns, in a cemetery, and in Moolraj's garden. They were driven from every one of their positions; and the besiegers were enabled to advance within 400 yards of the city walls. The garrison made a sally on the 29th, but were beaten back. On the 30th, a shell from one of the mortars, laid by Lieutenant Newall, of the Bengal artillery, fell into the principal magazine of the citadel, said to contain 400,000 lbs. of powder. The explosion was one of the most terrible ever witnessed. The great mosque, several other temples, and a number of houses, were destroyed, and 800 men killed. The fortifications were not injured, and Moolraj still refused to surrender, saying he had yet powder enough to last for twelve months. On the 2nd of January, 1849, however, two practicable breaches were effected in the walls, which were stormed on the 3rd, and the city was speedily occupied by the British. Moolraj then retired to the citadel, which was regularly invested on the 4th. The Sikhs held out till the 22nd, when a practicable breach being effected, and the troops ready to storm, he surrendered unconditionally.—In this siege we first hear of a "naval brigade." The sailors were landed from Captain Powell's steamers, a part of the Indus flotilla, which had ascended the river to Moulton; and they worked the guns of an 18-pounder battery with as much goodwill and bravery as were displayed by the "blue-jackets" under Captains Lushington and Peel, at the siege of Sebastopol. The battery attracted the particular notice of the garrison, who sent so many shells in that direction, that it was completely destroyed: the tars, however, carried off both powder and guns. The loss of the enemy during the siege is not known: that of the British was 210 killed, and 982 wounded. It is reported that 13,000 shot, and 26,000 shells, were expended during the siege.

One of the first things to which the captors directed their attention, was to search

for the remains of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson. When found, they were wrapped in Cashmere shawls, and solemnly interred. In the search for these remains, the bodies of Khan Sing and his son were discovered in a cell, locked in each other's arms. After the Khan had deserted the cause of the British, Moolraj found out, or suspected, that he and his son were engaged in a plot against him, and he imprisoned them both. They were either forgotten in the siege, or purposely neglected, and died. Moolraj himself was tried for the murder of the two officials, found guilty, and sentenced to death—a sentence which the governor-general commuted into imprisonment for life. The man who struck the first blow was also found, tried, condemned, and executed.

Unprepared for the defeat of Moolraj, Dost Mahomed had, in December, left Cabool, and arrived on the banks of the Indus, where he joined a detachment of Sikhs, sent by Chuttur Sing to attack Attock. The garrison there was commanded by Lieutenant Herbert, and it made a gallant defence; but he was unable to prolong it longer than the 31d of January, when the commander surrendered, he and his small band of followers becoming prisoners of war. Dost Mahomed then seized Peshawur, and proclaimed himself sovereign of that district.

When intelligence of the fall of Attock was brought to Lord Gough—together with the additional facts of the appearance of Dost Mahomed at Peshawur, and that Chuttur Sing was advancing to join his son—his lordship determined to attack the Sikh army in his front without loss of time. He learnt, from his spies, that "Shere Sing held with his right the villages of Lukhneewalla and Futteh Shauke-Chuck, having the great body of his force at the village of Lollianwalla, with his left at Russool, on the Jhelum, strongly occupying the southern extremity of a low range of difficult hills, intersected by ravines, which extend nearly to that village."* With a view to ascertain his true position, and obtain correct information as to the nature of the country, the commander-in-chief determined to move on Chillianwallah a village in the Jetch

* Lord Gough's despatch.

† *Dooab* means a country lying between two rivers.

‡ Lord Gough's despatch.

§ *Ibid.*

Dooab† division of the Punjab, five miles from the left bank of the Jhelum, and eighty-five miles north-west of Lahore. The force advanced on the morning of the 13th of January, making a considerable detour to the right, partly in order to distract the enemy's attention, and partly to get clear of the jungle, on which, it appeared, the enemy mainly relied. The advanced guard of the army reached Chillianwallah about noon. They found close to it a mound, on which was a strong picket of the enemy's cavalry and infantry. This was dispersed, and from the mound a very extended view of the country was obtained, and of the enemy drawn out in battle array; he having, "either during the night or that morning, moved out of his several positions, and occupied the ground in front of the British army, which, though not a dense, was a difficult, jungle."‡ It was Lord Gough's intention to have taken up a position in rear of the village, in order to reconnoitre his front, finding that he could not turn the enemy's flanks, which rested upon a dense jungle, extending nearly to Hailah (which his lordship had occupied in the late war, and the neighbourhood of which he knew), and upon the ravines near Russool. The engineers had received orders to examine the country; and the quartermaster-general was in the act of taking up ground for the encampment, "when the enemy advanced some horse artillery, and opened a fire on the skirmishers in front of the village." The general "immediately ordered them to be silenced by a few rounds from the heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. The fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed."§ As this movement made it evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would probably advance his guns so as to reach the encampment during the night, Lord Gough immediately gave orders for the army to draw up in order of battle. Sir Walter Gilbert's division was placed on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of artillery, and strengthened by the 14th light dragoons. To this division were attached three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre. Brigadier-general Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade

of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Brind. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions.*

This formation was rapidly effected, and then the infantry were ordered to lie down, and the heavy guns to open fire on the enemy's centre. The Sikhs were "magnificently placed, on a low hill surrounded by a thick jungle, equalling the British in number of guns, and more than doubling them in troops."† It was afterwards ascertained, that their position consisted of a double line of intrenchments, with large bushes planted in front, to impede the movements of cavalry. The camp was pitched on the slope of the hill, and a battery was thrown up on some broken ground, close to which was a deep and rugged ravine, with a narrow ridge, and, in the rear, a perpendicular wall of rock. The position was formidable; and when the attack was ordered, the British were not aware of all its advantages. They opened their fire with great spirit, and it was returned from the enemy's batteries; the shot and shell falling on both sides as thick as hail. The cannonade was kept up for upwards of an hour, when the enemy's fire being greatly slackened, the left wing was ordered to move forward, and the right was soon after also directed to advance. The forward movement was made in good order: and, as soon as it was supposed the two divisions were engaged, Brigadier Mountain was ordered, with his men, to attack the enemy's centre. This brigade forced its way through the jungles amidst a perfect storm of shot, officers and privates falling in great numbers. The survivors made their way, however, to the guns in front, all of which they spiked; but so fierce was the fire by which they were assailed, that they were obliged to retreat. The right brigade, as it advanced, being greatly outnumbered, was outflanked by the enemy. The men were also out of breath; for, mistaking the cheering and waving of their swords over their heads by Brigadier Pennycuick and Lieutenant Brown, as a signal to advance faster, they pressed on at double-quick time. Some hard fighting ensued; many fell on both sides; but at length Dawes' battery of artillery came up, and beat off the enemy, their guns at this point being captured. Brigadier Pennycuick and Lie-

tenant-colonel Brooke, of her majesty's 24th, gallantly met their death in this attack. On the left, the Sikhs, for a brief space, had the advantage, being so strong in numbers. But they were soon beaten back; the cavalry, under Brigadier White, making a dashing and successful charge; when the battle was put in jeopardy by the cavalry on the right retreating—why or wherefore has never been satisfactorily explained. They were followed by the Sikh horse, and both friend and foe galloped up to the British artillery, so intermixed, that the men could not fire without killing their own comrades. In that *mêlée*, besides the loss of cavalry, seventy-three of the gunners were cut down, and six guns were taken possession of by the enemy. As soon as the cavalry got clear, the artillery reopened; the enemy were beaten back, two of the guns were recovered, and the Sikhs retreated.

The fighting and the carnage ended only with night, when the troops were withdrawn, and bivouacked about a mile from the battle-field, in more open ground. When the "roll was called," it was found that the loss was terrible. No fewer than 26 officers, and 731 privates and non-commissioned officers, were killed, and 1,446 wounded; making the total reduction from the numerical strength of the army, 2,203. The number of killed and wounded, on the part of the Sikhs, was probably much greater; and at one time the British had forty-nine of their guns in hand: they only, however, brought off twelve.

Lord Gough, in his despatch, described this battle as ending in a complete victory; but private letters arriving in England at the same time, and giving a different account of it, and particularly of the cavalry retreat, caused an opposite opinion to prevail for a time. The public—never intending to be unjust, but which is, nevertheless, very frequently hasty and unthinking—demanded the recall of Lord Gough, with whom neither the government nor the court of directors appeared to be perfectly satisfied. It was resolved that he should come home; and when the Duke of Wellington, then commander-in-chief in England, was consulted as to who should be sent to replace him, his reply was, "There is only one man—Sir Charles Napier; if he won't go, I must go myself." The appointment was offered to Sir Charles, who had not long before returned home from

* Lord Gough's despatch.

† Letter from an officer engaged in the battle.

Scinde) on the 7th of March, and accepted: before, however, that officer arrived in India, the war was at an end, and Lord Gough's *prestige* restored.

The Sikhs do not appear to have been driven from their position in the battle of the 13th. They occupied it for nearly a month after; the British camp being pitched on their left flank, with their own left thrown back. The weather, probably, prevented either army from moving. The night of the 13th set in cold, with a bleak northerly wind, and a drizzling rain. On the morning of the 14th it came down in torrents, and continued till the 16th. The encamping-ground, especially on the right flank, was completely covered with water. "My tent," says an officer of the 6th light cavalry, "was surrounded with a pool knee-deep; and what was worse, our chief dared not move either one way or the other—not to the rear, for fear of giving the enemy a word to say against us; nor to the front, for the fear of bringing down their fire and another engagement," which he was not just then prepared to encounter. Thus the two antagonists lay till the 12th of February, "in a vile country, but with a magnificent view of the Cashmere hills, distant about a hundred miles, resplendent with snow."*—On the 12th of February, the Sikhs drew up their cavalry in a body outside their camp, to cover the striking of their tents; and, that task performed, they retreated in the direction of Goojerat—a considerable walled town of the Punjab, about eight miles from the right bank of the Chenaub, and on the great route from Attock to Lahore. As they moved towards Vizierabad, their intention was, probably, to cross the Chenaub, and make for Lahore; but General Whish, with the cavalry and part of the infantry, had reached Ramnuggur from Moulton, and he forwarded a strong detachment to Vizierabad, which prevented their crossing; and they took up a position near Goojerat. Here Shere Sing was joined by his father, Chuttur Sing, and also by a body of 1,500 Affghan horse, under Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed. Thus, "for the first time, Sikhs and Affghans were banded together against the British power; and it thus became an occasion which de-

manded the putting forth of all the means at our disposal, and of making such a conspicuous manifestation of the superiority of our armies as should appal each enemy, and dissolve at once their compact by fatal proof of its fatality."†

The British left their encampment on the 15th of February, and on the 16th, arrived at Sudalpore, a village five miles from the Chenaub, and not far from Goojerat. On the 17th, General Whish crossed the Chenaub, and put his army in communication with Lord Gough; and on the 21st, the latter resolved again to attack the enemy, who were concentrated in a camp encircling the town of Goojerat, having an effective force of 60,000 men, and 59 pieces of cannon. Lord Gough was much the stronger in artillery, having 97 guns, some of large calibre; but he had only 24,000 men. The attack was made early in the day—the experience of Chillianwallah having shown the inconvenience of fighting in an unknown country, and being overtaken by night. The army was moved down on Goojerat, in pretty nearly the same order as at Chillianwallah; and the action again commenced with a cannonade, which was returned by a rapid fire from the Sikh guns. Gradually the fighting became general; and it continued for three hours, when the entire British line advancing, the Sikhs and Affghans gave way, and "their ranks broken, their positions carried; their guns, ammunition, camp equipage, and baggage captured;" their flying masses were "driven before the victorious pursuers from mid-day to dusk, receiving most severe punishment in their flight."‡ Many threw away their arms, and made for the interior; whilst the mass rushed to the Jhelum, and seizing the ferry-boats, got over to the other side. The two leaders, with about 8,000 men, escaped into the Salt-Range hills. In this action, which the governor-general said, "must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of British warfare in India—memorable alike from the greatness of the occasion, and from the brilliant and decisive issue of the encounter"—the British lost five officers and 92 privates killed; 24 officers and 682 privates wounded.

Orders were received from the governor-general, who was at Ferozepore, to follow up this victory by pursuing the enemy to Peshawur, to break up the combination between the Affghans and the Sikhs. This

* Letter of an officer.

† The governor-general's despatch to the Secret Committee.

‡ Lord Gough's despatch.

service was entrusted to Major-general Sir W. Gilbert, who, with two columns—one of Bombay and one of Bengal troops—crossed the Chenaub, drove the enemy from the banks of the Jhelum, and reached Koorungabad, where he was met by Major Lawrence, with a proposal of surrender from Shere Sing. Akram Khan had left the Sikhs with his Affghans, and retired to Attock; and the chiefs of the former found that resistance was no longer available. On the 5th and 7th of March, Sir W. Gilbert effected the passage of the Jhelum; the Sikhs, about 16,000 in number, being in advance of his position. In the evening of the 8th, Mrs. Lawrence and her children came to the British camp; and, on the 14th, Chuttur Sing, Shere Sing, with a great many other chiefs, and all their followers, surrendered as prisoners, giving up their arms, and forty-one guns. None were detained; all were suffered to depart: the horsemen were allowed to keep their horses; and each Sikh, on giving up his gun and sword, received a rupee, to provide for his wants on his route home. Major-general Gilbert then marched to the Indus, and reached Attock just as the Affghans had left it. They destroyed the bridge of boats by which they crossed the river, but another was speedily constructed; and, on the 19th and 20th of March, the British passed over, and hastened to Peshawur, which they occupied on the 21st. Dost Mahomed had fled on the 19th, by the Khyber Pass into Affghanistan; and thus had given the concluding blow to the discomfiture of the Sikhs.

In consequence of the repeated breaches of faith by the Sikhs, the Indian government had decided, that the result of the war of 1848-'49, should be the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. This determination was made known to the Sikh ministers after the battle of Goojerat; and though it was very unpalatable to them, they were wise enough to know, that resistance was impossible. At a public durrbar held at Lahore on the 29th of March, Dhuleep Sing was formally deposed, it being agreed, that he should have his private property, and receive a pension, but that the property of the state should be handed over to the East India Company; and that the magnificent diamond, the Koh-i-noor—once the property of the Great Moguls—should be surrendered to the queen. The same day, a proclamation was issued

by the governor-general from Ferozepore, enumerating the causes of the war—in the violation by the Sikhs and their chiefs of the promises by which they were bound; in their refusal to pay, not only the annual tribute which they had agreed to pay to the Indian government, but also large loans which that government had made to them; in violently resisting, by arms, the control of the British government, to which they had voluntarily submitted; in murdering some British officers, and treacherously imprisoning others, when employed for the state; and finally, in “the whole of the state, and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the sirdars in the Punjab, who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the regency itself,” having risen in arms, “and waged a fierce and bloody war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power.” The government of India had formerly declared it required no conquest; it had no desire for conquest now—

“But it was bound in its duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the governor-general was compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government had long been unable to control; and whom (as events had shown) no punishment could deter from violence, no acts of friendship conciliate to peace. Wherefore, the governor-general declared, that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end; and that all the territories of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, were now and henceforth a portion of the British empire.”

The proclamation went on further to state, that the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing should be treated with consideration and with honour; that those chiefs who had not engaged in hostilities against the British, should retain their property; but the possessions of those who had should be forfeited to the state; that Mussulmans and Hindoos should have the free exercise of their own religion, but not be permitted to interfere with that of others; that the defence of all fortified places in the Punjab, not occupied by British troops, should be destroyed; and the people were called upon, under the promise of being ruled with mildness and beneficence, “to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the British government.” The organisation of the territory was left to Sir Henry Lawrence and the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces; and early in 1850.

the governor-general visited the principal places in the Punjab, proceeding as far as Peshawur—which is included now in that territory, and considered the key of the north-west provinces in that direction. From that time great attention has been paid to the improvement of this district by the eminent men who have had it in charge; and the reports presented to the House of Commons develop its progress. They show, “how internal peace has been guarded; how the various establishments of the state have been organised; how violent crime has been repressed, the penal law executed, and prison discipline enforced; how civil justice has been administered; how the taxation has been fixed, and the revenue collected; how commerce has been set free, agriculture fostered, and the national resources developed; how plans for future improvement have been projected; and, lastly, how the finances have been managed.”* That the government has been favourable to the people—that they appreciate it, and are at least as loyal to

the British government as they were to their own, has been abundantly proved; and indeed the transfer of the country to British rule was a benefit to the inhabitants generally. The promise made by the Government that to the people would be left the free exercise of their religion, and that all who became peaceful subjects of the state would be ruled with mildness and beneficence, has been strictly kept. Sikh soldiers have fought bravely, at Delhi, and in various wars since, in support of the British dominion.

The intelligence of the victory of Goojerat, and of the subjection of the Punjab, was received with great joy in England. The thanks of parliament were again voted to the chief actors in the brilliant and glorious scenes; whilst the governor-general was created Marquis of Dalhousie; and the commander-in-chief was raised to the dignity of a viscount, as Viscount Gough of Goojerat.—The noble viscount soon after left India for England.

CHAPTER XXII.

EVENTS OF 1850 AND 1851; THE SECOND BURMESE WAR; ITS CAUSES; THE PASSAGE OF THE IRRAWADDY FORCED; CAPTURE OF MARTABAN; RANGOON TAKEN BY STORM; CAPTURE OF PEGU AND PROME; THEIR EVACUATION AND RECAPTURE; ADVANCE OF A BURMESE ARMY; ITS DEFEAT; PEGU ANNEXED TO THE BRITISH DOMINIONS; PEACE WITH BURMAH; DEPOSITION OF ALI MORAD; DEATH OF THE RAJAH OF NAGPOOR; NEW CHARTER OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY; TREATY WITH DOST MAHOMED; SONTHAL INSURRECTION; ANNEXATION OF OUDE; CLOSE OF THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION; ITS RESULTS.

AFTER the close of the second Punjab war, India was tranquil, and the Marquis of Dalhousie applied himself to the promotion of internal improvements. Sir Charles Napier arrived, on the 6th of May, 1849, at Calcutta; and he immediately proceeded to Lahore, where the chief command of the army was given into his hands by Lord Gough. Sir Charles found the discipline of the army greatly neglected; and the first thing to which he devoted himself was to re-establish order, and to endeavour to promote a good understanding between the officers and the men. Early in February, 1850, in consequence of some regulations respecting batta, the 66th Bengal regiment

* *First Punjab Report*, p. 452.

mutinied at Amritser; but the disaffection extended no further: the ringleaders in that regiment were arrested and punished, and the regiment itself disbanded by the commander-in-chief. This was followed by an insurrection of the hill tribes; one of whom (the Afreedees) committed great outrages upon the sappers, who were making a road between Peshawur and Kohat. Sir Charles Napier sent Colonel Bradshaw against them with a numerous force, and the Afreedees were, for the time, subdued, after they had lost a number of men and several of their villages had been destroyed.—In disbanding the mutinous regiment at Amritser, the commander-in-chief was supposed to have exceeded his power. A dif-

ference arose between that gallant general and the governor-general in consequence, which occasioned the former to resign his command on the 2nd of July. He immediately repaired to Kurrachee, to embark for England. There, several native chiefs presented him with a sword, as a mark of their esteem for his character, and regret at his departure. In thanking them, he said—"I hold, that when once a general officer is appointed to command, he ought to know what is best for the army under his command, and should not be dictated to by the boy-politicals, who do not belong to the army, and who know nothing whatever of military measures. It is this that has caused me to resign the command." The Duke of Wellington—who had named Sir Charles as the only officer fit to be at the head of the Indian army—thought that, in his dispute with Lord Dalhousie, he was in the wrong. Lieutenant-general Sir George Anson was sent to succeed him.

On the 28th of January, 1851, Bajee Rao, the ex-peishwa of the Mahrattas, died at Bithoor. He enjoyed a pension of eight lacs of rupees (£80,000), which, as he had no son, the British government considered to have lapsed, as well as the jaghire close to the town, that had been bestowed upon him, and of which they took possession. The deceased had, however, adopted as his heir, Sreemunt Nursee Punt (Nana Sahib), the eldest son of his brother, who claimed the continuance of the pension, and asserted his right to the jaghire. Both were refused by the Indian government; and the refusal was confirmed by the court of directors. This was an unjust proceeding; because the Hindoo custom, which the government professed to respect, recognised the right of adoption: and although Nana Sahib had no means, at that time, of righting himself, he subsequently took a terrible revenge, and that on the innocent.

For two years—except the outrages committed by the hill tribes already alluded to, and which were renewed towards the close of 1851, when they were speedily put down by the force under Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded in the district—India was at peace. In the autumn of 1851, however, the governor-general found himself again involved in hostilities with Burmah. The king, who concluded the treaty of Yandaboo, and who had observed it faithfully, died in 1837; and his brother, the Prince Therawaddi, who usurped the succes-

sion, evinced a very different temper. He soon contrived to render the British political agent at Ava so uncomfortable, that he was withdrawn to Rangoon, and ultimately from the kingdom. The British continued to trade with the country; but after the departure of the envoy from Rangoon, "the Burmese assumed again the tone they used before the war of 1825. On more than one occasion, they threatened a recommencement of hostilities against us, and always at the most untoward time:" traders to the port of Rangoon were also "subjected to gross outrage by the officers of the king, in direct violation of the treaty."* "Holding to the wisdom of Lord Wellesley's maxim, that an insult offered to the British flag at the mouth of the Ganges, should be resented as promptly and as fully as an insult offered at the mouth of the Thames,"† the governor-general felt it necessary to exact reparation for the wrong done. In the first instance, that was all that was contemplated; for the noble marquis considered, that "conquest in Burmah would be only second to the calamity of war;" and regarded hostilities as certain to interrupt his economical measures, and to produce "exhausted cash-balances, and reopened loans."‡ A small expedition—consisting of her majesty's ships *Fox* and *Serpent*, of 44 and 12 guns respectively, and the company's war steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*—was sent to Rangoon, under the command of Commodore Lambert, whose orders were, first to investigate two specific cases of alleged unjust judgments, given at Rangoon against British commanders; then, if he found that the representations made by those commanders at Calcutta were correct, to demand the payment of £900 as a compensation to the injured parties.

The expedition sailed from Calcutta on the 19th of November; and when it appeared before Rangoon, and the British merchants came off with complaints against the authorities, the commodore refused to hold any intercourse with the local governor, but sent a messenger to the king at Ava, who at first expressed his willingness to comply with the demands of the British government, and displaced the governor of Rangoon, by whom the unjust judgments had been decreed. But this, apparently, was only a pretext to gain time; for the conduct

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Parliamentary Papers on the Burmese war.

of the new governor is represented as having been worse than that of the old one. He commenced a series of annoyances and insults, which rendered the residence of the British at the post quite insupportable; and when, on the 6th of January, 1852, a deputation sought an interview, for the purpose of obtaining redress, it was refused, the Burmese attendants alleging that their master was asleep; and it was subsequently declined, on the pretence that the deputies were intoxicated, which is positively denied. The commodore immediately ordered all British subjects to go on board the squadron; and several hundred men, women, and children, did so: those who remained were instantly thrown into prison. A painted hulk, called "the Yellow Ship," lay above the town, and this the British took possession of, as an indemnity for the compensation refused, and for the fresh outrages offered. This step was completely opposed to Lord Dalhousie's instructions, which forbade the resort to any hostile acts in the first instance; and was not exactly defensible in itself. The Burmese authorities declared that the attempt to carry off this vessel would be resisted; and when the *Tenasserim* towed it down, a fire was opened upon the *Fox* from stockades and batteries, which the Burmese had erected near the coast; and was returned with such effect, that the defences were destroyed, the "Yellow Ship" carried off, and the river ports of Burmah declared to be in a state of blockade. The commodore then returned to Calcutta for instructions, leaving the *Serpent* and the steamers to keep up the blockade.

Much as he wished to preserve peace, and although he disapproved of Commodore Lambert's exceeding his authority, still the Marquis of Dalhousie felt, that the conduct of the Burmese authorities rendered it absolutely necessary that reparation should be exacted. "However contemptible the Burman race may seem to critics in Europe, they have ever been regarded, in the East, as formidable in the extreme;" and "if deliberate and gross wrong should be tamely borne from such a people as this, without vindication of our rights, or exaction of reparation for the wrong—whether the motive of our inaction were a desire for peace, or a contempt for the Burman power—it was felt that the policy would be full of danger:" and the government resolved, forthwith, to "dis-

patch a powerful expedition to Pegu."* The command of this expedition was given to General Godwin; and forces were collected from the three presidencies. The Bengal division reached the mouth of the Rangoon river on the 2nd of April, when a demand was made for the payment of £100,000, as an indemnity for the expenses the British government had incurred; and that a British agent should be permitted to reside at Rangoon, in conformity with the treaty of Yandaboo. In the interim that had elapsed from the departure of Commodore Lambert, the sides of the river had been lined with stockades; and when a steamer was sent for an answer to this demand, she was fired upon from these defences. Upon this, General Godwin resolved to lose no more time in parleying. On the 5th of April, the expedition appeared before Martaban, and a fire was opened upon the fortifications from her majesty's steamer *Rattler*: the garrison offering only a feeble resistance, the town became an easy conquest. The Madras division having arrived, and General Godwin's force then amounting to 8,000 men, Rangoon was blockaded on the 10th of April. On the 12th, the steamers began to throw in their shot and shells; on the 13th, the Golden Pagoda was stormed and carried; and on the 14th, the town surrendered. The assailants lost 150 men in killed and wounded; many dying (several officers included) from the intense heat, which greatly impeded the operations.

The troops suffered severely after Rangoon fell, from the sultry weather, and no further operations were undertaken till the third week in May. On the 17th of that month, four war-steamers left Rangoon for Bassein, with a force of 400 of the Queen's 51st regiment, 300 of the 9th native Madras infantry, and 60 sappers and miners. This force, with a body of marines, was landed on the 19th. They found the place garrisoned by 2,000 men, who fought behind stockades, which were well defended by artillery. A brief parley ensued and as surrender was refused, the steamers bombarded the stockades, and having effected a breach, the troops rushed in, and soon made the town their own. The enemy had 800 killed. The loss on the side of the captors was very small—only three privates killed, and seven officers and twenty-four privates wounded. The officers wounded were, Ma-

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

for Errington, Captains Darrock and Rice, and Lieutenants Ansley, Carter, Elliot, and George Rice. This town, with Rangoon and Martaban, formed the base of the future operations.

The Burmese made two attempts to retake Martaban; the second on the 26th of May. Both were repulsed.—On the 3rd of June, General Godwin sent Major Cotton, at the head of 300 men, to Pegu, which he occupied without a single casualty, and destroyed the fortifications.—The British force, though it had not suffered greatly in battle, had by this time lost many men from disease, chiefly caused by the heat: and, having to garrison Rangoon, Bassein, and Martaban, the general did not at first think it prudent to advance upon Prome without additional strength. On his applying for more troops, the Marquis of Dalhousie proceeded himself to Rangoon, to ascertain the real position of affairs; and the result was, that considerable reinforcements were ordered. The general, however, sailed to Prome, after all, before they arrived; and on the 9th of July that city fell into his hands. "Some resistance was offered, as part of the troops, after landing, advanced to the position meant to be occupied for the night; but it was speedily overcome with very trifling loss, and in the morning the town was found evacuated."* The British troops were withdrawn from both Pegu and Prome shortly after, as General Godwin had not sufficient men to occupy them; and the army remained idle till September, when the required reinforcements arrived, by which his force was increased to nearly 20,000 efficient men.

The first operation undertaken, after General Godwin had received the additional troops, was to reoccupy Prome. This took place on the 9th of October. Then another period of inaction ensued—followed by General Godwin (who had left Sir John Cheape and the main army at Prome) himself, with 1,200 men and two guns, marching to Pegu, which, in the comparatively short interval since the British, under Major Godwin, had left it, had been put into a state of defence by the Burmese. Stockades had been erected the walls repaired and renewed; and a garrison of upwards of 3,000 men collected. It was defended in front by a wet ditch, with long grass growing on the plain by which the British had to advance. They marched through this

* Thornton.

grass, by the side of the ditch, to get at the weakest point of the Burmese position; and a constant fire was kept up upon them by the Burmese troops, from the ramparts on the other side of the ditch. The attacking force occupied two hours in passing along this ditch; and the grass must have acted as a protection from the enemy's guns, for they lost only six killed and thirty-two wounded. When they reached the shallowest part of the ditch, the troops dashed through the mud and water—the Burmese fled, and the city was taken. The force under General Godwin was employed to garrison the place; and they were, a few days after, nearly encircled by a numerous Burmese army, which advanced from all sides, and made a desperate effort to retake Pegu. A force of 2,400 men was sent from Rangoon to relieve the garrison; and on the 3rd of December a gallant action was fought in front of the city, between this force and the besiegers; an action remarkable for the bravery displayed by a corps of irregular Sikh horse, raised and commanded by Colonel Jacob, which materially contributed to the success of the British, who dispersed the Burmese troops, relieved Pegu, and, in fact, entirely cleared the province of the regular soldiers, though bands of robbers for some time infested the country, and found ample employment for the British force.

General Godwin had orders not to advance beyond the boundaries of Pegu, but to keep that territory entirely free from the Burmese army; and on the 20th of December, a proclamation, annexing it to the British possessions,* was read at Rangoon, amid the roar of artillery and the cheers of troops. This document set forth, that—

"The court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the governor-general of India resolved to exact reparation by force of arms. The forts and cities upon the coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Burmese forces had been dispersed wherever they had been met, and the province of Pegu was in the occupation of British troops. The just and moderate demands of the government of India having been rejected by the king; the ample opportunity that had been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done having been disregarded; and the timely submission, which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, being still withheld—therefore, in compensation for the past, and in better security for the future, the governor-general in council had resolved, and hereby proclaimed, that the province of

Pegu was and should be thenceforth a portion of the British territories in the East."

The inhabitants were called upon to confide securely in the protection of the British government; and the governor-general declared, that he desired no further conquest, and was willing hostilities should cease.

Shortly after, there was another revolution at Ava. The heir-apparent raised a party, which drove Therawaddi from the throne, and the new king expressed his wish for peace. He sent envoys to Rangoon, who, however, refused to sign away any of the Burmese dominions; but the sovereign, when they returned to Ava, still appeared peacefully inclined. He ordered his troops not to attack Meaday or Tounghoo (the British having advanced their frontiers to those places), set at liberty a number of British subjects who were in prison at Ava, and expressed his wish, "that the merchants and people of both countries should be allowed to pass up and down the river for the purpose of trading." The reply of the governor-general was, that "he was willing to accept those pacific declarations and acts of the king as a substantial proof of his acquiescence in the proposed conditions of peace [which required the cession of Pegu], although a formal treaty had not been concluded. Wherefore the governor-general in council permitted the raising of the river blockade, consented to the renewal of former intercourse with Ava, and proclaimed the restoration of peace." On the 20th of June, 1853, the termination of the war was proclaimed at Rangoon: at the same time the governor-general's thanks were given to the army, and all engaged in the late hostilities; the names of Commodore Lambert, Sir John Cheape, and Captain Lynch, being especially mentioned.—Since that period, Pegu has remained attached to the British dominions, and has gradually become civilised, and the inhabitants have applied themselves to industry—the British troops having cleared the country of the numerous bands of desperate robbers that for some time infested it, encouraged, it was thought, by the king of Ava. In this service, Sir John Cheape, Captain Latter (who was assassinated at Prome in December, 1853), Major Fytche, Captains Geilt, Tarlton, and Phillot, Lieutenant Grant, and other officers, distinguished themselves.—At the close of 1854, the king of Ava sent an ambassador

to Calcutta, who was entertained with great festive ceremony; but who, instead of being authorised to conclude a definitive treaty, confirming the cession of Pegu—which had then been tacitly assented to for more than a year and a-half—to the surprise of the Indian authorities, he announced that he was there "by the command of the king of Ava, to seek restitution of the whole of the captured provinces in Burmah." This demand was made to the governor-general in person, who replied—"Tell the king of Ava, that, as long as the sun shines in the heavens, the British flag shall wave over their possessions." This reply terminated the interview; and the envoy left Calcutta. A few months after Lord Dalhousie sent Major Phayre on a mission to Ava; and though he brought back no treaty of alliance or of commerce, the Marquis of Dalhousie stated, when he quitted the government of India, that he regarded "the continuance of peace between the states, as being not less secure than the most formal instrument could have made it."—The peace was followed by greatly increased intercourse between Burmah and British India.

In 1853, the territories of the East India Company were further increased by the cession of Berar and other districts of the Nizam's territory, "for the permanent maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent; for the payment of certain debts which he had incurred; and for the termination of those transactions which, for many years, had been the fruitful source of dispute, and had even endangered the continuance of friendly relations between the states."*—The same year, Ali Morad—who rendered himself so conspicuous in the Sikh war, and whose faithlessness to his own family, and treachery to the British, was then asserted—was convicted of having forged a clause in a treaty, concluded in 1842, with his brothers, and which gave him possession of various territories besides his patrimonial inheritance. By the submission of the other Ameers, and the treaty under which they ceded their territories to the East India Company, the districts obtained by Ali Morad, under this forged document, rightfully belonged to the British; and the forgery "being established, before a British commission, on evidence which could not be doubted, the instruments and assistants of Ali Morad being brought forward and confronted with him," he

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

"was deprived of his ill-gotten acquisitions, which were incorporated with the rest of Scinde, as part of the British empire in India. He was, however, permitted to retain the lands allotted to him by his father;" an act, according to one historian of India, "not of justice, but of that liberality of which so many instances are found in the dealings of the British government with native chiefs."* On the 11th of December, the rajah of Nagpoor died, "without issue, and, it is said, altogether without relations. According to the highest authority on the subject, the succession in the Bhoonsla family was 'hereditary in the entire male line from the common ancestor, or first founder of the dynasty, to the exclusion of females, or their issue.' There was no one who could pretend to this qualification; and it would have been unwise for the British government to elevate a stranger to the musnud. Nagpoor was therefore incorporated with the British dominions, and now forms a constituent part of them."†

In 1853, the act passed in 1833 for the government of India expired; and the question of how that extensive country could be best ruled, came again before parliament. The result was, the passing of another act (the 16th and 17th Vict., c. 95), which received the royal assent on the 20th of August. By that enactment, no specific time was fixed for the continuance of the British territory under the government of the East India Company; but it was enacted, that it should remain in that company's hands "until parliament should otherwise determine." The following are the other principal enactments of the new statute:—

After April, 1854, there were to be only eighteen directors of the East India Company, any ten of whom are to form a council. [Sect. 2.]—The crown to appoint six of the directors. [Sect. 5.]—Six of the twelve elected directors must have resided at least ten years in India [Sect. 9]; as must also three of the six appointed by the crown. [Sect. 3.]—The person appointed by her majesty to be commander-in-chief of her forces in India, is also to be commander-in-chief of the company's forces. [Sect. 30.]

India was perfectly tranquil in 1854.—The most important event in 1855, was the conclusion of a treaty, at Peshawur, with Dost Mahomed; Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab, being the negotiator on the part of the

British; and on the part of the Dost, the Sirdar Goolam Hyder Khan. This treaty was signed on the 30th of March, and consisted of three articles, of which the following is the substance:—

1. Friendship and peace were established between the British government and Dost Mahomed Khan and his heirs.—2. The East India Company engaged to respect the territories possessed by the Ameer, and not to interfere with them in any way.—3. The Ameer undertook, for himself and his heirs, not only to respect the territories of the British, but that they would be the enemies of the enemies, and the friends of the friends of the company.

The Dost was, shortly after, formally acknowledged as the king of Cabool; and, from that period, he gave the British no reason to entertain any doubts of his sincerity.

In June, 1855, during a period of profound tranquillity in other districts, a fearful insurrection broke out amongst the Sonthals, a tribe occupying the valleys of the Rajmahal hills in Bengal, to the north of Calcutta. "These people are described as frugal and industrious, but, at the same time, as simple and unlettered. They are stated to have been greatly oppressed by the exactions of the Mahajeens, or money-lenders of the plains; and, as they are represented as incapable of appreciating the adjustment of a disputed demand, except by a most simple mode, they were generally overreached in the local law courts, in endeavouring to obtain redress for their wrongs. To such grievances has been ascribed the origin of the insurrection."‡ The immediate cause of the outbreak, however, appears to have been a quarrel between the mountaineers and workmen employed on a railway which runs through their territory; but whether that quarrel arose out of insults to their religion, or to their women, is not ascertained. At the commencement of the insurrection, the Sonthals were guilty of great cruelty, and committed extensive devastations. Their avowed object was declared to be to murder every European and native of influence; and their first victims were two ladies—a Mrs. Thomas and Miss Pell. They hesitated at no murder or pillage, it is said; and they destroyed more than 200 villages. Troops and artillery were sent against them, before whom they could make no stand; and martial law being proclaimed, the insurrection was suppressed, but not till many lives had been lost, and much property destroyed. "Measures of precaution were taken, such as may be expected to prevent all risk of its

* Thornton.

† *Ibid.*‡ *Ibid.*

recurrence;”* and also for the better administration of the district.

Perhaps the most important, as it was the closing, act of the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie—important from its undoubted connexion with subsequent events—was the annexation of Oude, one of the finest districts in India. It is situated between the Upper Ganges and the lower spurs of the Himalayas, being about 270 miles long, 160 broad, and having a population of near 3,000,000. The relations between Oude and the Indian government had been of an intimate description since 1775; that government having undertaken to defend the possessions of the rulers of Oude (they did not assume the title of king till 1819); whilst those rulers paid subsidies for the maintenance of a contingent of British troops, the amount of which rose from £500,000 to £555,000, and then to £760,000 per annum, besides advancing large sums to the company on loan. As the British government undertook to protect the sovereigns of Oude from external and internal foes, it became essential that some interest should be taken in their conduct and character, and that attempts should be made to render their administration as acceptable to the people, and as humane and as equitable, as possible. A treaty was concluded with the grandfather of the late ex-king, soon after he came to the throne, by the terms of which he was bound to adopt such a system of administration as would conduce to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to render their lives and property secure. Under this treaty, the British residents had the right to interfere to restrain any overt acts of tyranny or oppression; and the conduct of the sovereign with whom that treaty was made, and of his successors, frequently led the governors-general to threaten them with deposition, and the annexation of the kingdom to the British dominions. Wajid Alee Shah, who ascended the throne in 1847, is represented as the most debauched and licentious of all the sovereigns of Oude; and after many remonstrances, which proved unavailing, “a new treaty was prepared for the acceptance of the king, whereby the administration of the territories of Oude would have been transferred to the British government, ample provision being made for the dignity, affluence, and honour of the king and

* Lord Dalhousie's Minutes.

† Thornton.

of his family. This treaty the king refused to sign; whereupon the treaty of 1801”—one of those by which, under certain conditions, the British government guaranteed the independence of Oude—“was declared to be null and void; and,” on the 7th of February, 1856, “a proclamation was issued, declaring that the territories of Oude were thenceforth vested exclusively, and for ever, in the East India Company.”† The annexation was not resolved upon without remonstrance; and some of the most able “old Indians” protested against it. It was accomplished without resistance; though, it is said, that the troops would have rallied round the king had he permitted them. His majesty agreed to go quietly to Calcutta, where he was residing when the late mutiny broke out; and for more than twelve months it was supposed that everything was quiet in Oude; that the people were perfectly reconciled to the change; and that their prosperity and comfort were visibly improving.

Previous to the annexation of Oude, the Marquis of Dalhousie, from increasing ill-health, brought on by anxious attention to the duties of his high office, had resigned the governor-generalship; and Lord Canning had been appointed to succeed him. The noble marquis, however, did not retire from the government-house till the 28th of February, 1856; and, in the following month, he embarked at Calcutta for England. His administration appeared to have been eminently successful; for the Sikh and Burmese wars had been honourable to the English arms, whilst those wars and other causes had greatly increased the territories and revenue of the East India Company. Like his predecessor, his lordship had also promoted public works and education; improved the administration of justice; and in various ways contributed to the advancement of the civilisation of the people. But his annexing policy is now generally admitted to have been a great fault, as it is thought to have been one of the causes of the terrible sepoy mutiny, which has brought so much misery on the country, and spread ruin and desolation throughout the whole of the north-west provinces of India.

The revenue of British India was increased, under Lord Dalhousie's government, from £26,000,000 to £30,000,000; but, unfortunately, the expenditure in

creased in a larger proportion: in the last year of his administration there was a heavy deficiency; and his lordship estimated that the deficiency of 1855-'56 (the first year under Lord Canning) would be £1,850,000. That the British was justified in the annexation of the Punjaub, appears abundantly from the proclamation of the Governor-General, in which the reasons of that annexation were calmly and dispassionately put forth; namely, the violation of treaties by the Sikhs, the nonpayment of sums they had promised

to pay, and of money borrowed; the armed resistance to the Government, causeless invasion of British territory; and the stirring up of a fierce and bloody war for the purpose of destroying the British power.

It is worthy of mention, before we close our notice of Lord Dalhousie's government, that his lordship sent the ex-maharajah of Lahore, Dhuleep Sing, at his own request, to England, where that prince resided for many years, until he suddenly took offence, and quitted the country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION; HIS ANTECEDENTS; TRANQUILLITY OF INDIA; THE PERSIAN WAR; ITS CAUSES; THE CAPTURE OF BUSHIRE; VICTORY OF KOOSHAD; SUICIDES OF MAJOR-GENERAL STALKER AND COMMODORE ETHERSEY; CAPTURE OF MOHAMMERAH; CAPTURE OF AHWAZ; CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES; TERMS OF PEACE; THE QUARREL WITH CHINA; ITS CAUSES; BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON; DESTRUCTION OF THE FOREIGN FACTORIES; BURNING OF CANTON; MASSACRE ON BOARD THE "THISTLE;" ATTEMPT TO POISON THE BRITISH AT HONG-KONG; REBELLION AT SARAWAK; EDICT OF THE EMPEROR; DESTRUCTION OF A PIRATE FLEET; ATTACK ON THE MANDARIN FLEET; GALLANT CONDUCT OF VICE-ADMIRAL KEPPEL; GENERAL ASHBURNHAM AND LORD ELGIN SENT TO THE EAST; THE FRENCH MISSION TO CHINA; LORD ELGIN'S ARRIVAL; ADDRESSES SENT TO HIM; HIS ANSWER; CANTON AGAIN BOMBARDED; ITS OCCUPATION BY BRITISH AND FRENCH TROOPS; CAPTURE OF YEH.

LORD CANNING assumed office as governor-general of India on the 29th of February, 1856, the day after the Marquis of Dalhousie sailed for England. He was the son of the celebrated George Canning; and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he attained, in 1833, the first class in classics, and the second in mathematics. He first took office in the government of the great Sir Robert Peel, being under-secretary of state for foreign affairs from September, 1841, to January, 1846, when he exchanged that appointment for the office of chief commissioner of woods and forests. He retired from office at the accession of Lord John Russell to the ministry, in July, 1846; but returned to it again when the Earl of Aberdeen became premier in December, 1852: he was then made a cabinet minister, as postmaster-general, which appointment he held till, on the resignation of the Marquis of Dalhousie, he went out to Calcutta, to take the government of the Indian empire. His attainments were considered as rather solid than

brilliant; but it was expected that he would be a safe and a pacific governor, and that he would not run into any schemes of wild and unjustifiable aggression or aggrandisement. The same advice was given to his lordship before he left England as had been offered to his predecessors; and at the time of his departure the strongest hopes were entertained that peace would be maintained.

"Since hostilities with Burmah had ceased, the Indian empire had been at peace:" and, "having regard to the relations in which the government of India then stood towards each of the foreign powers around it," there seemed to be every reason for thinking, that there was "no quarter from which formidable war could reasonably be apprehended."* India itself was perfectly tranquil. The insurrection of the Sonthals put down, its internal peace appeared to be entirely restored; and there were, at the moment, no threatening clouds to obscure the prospects

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute.

of a happy future.—But “no prudent man, who has any knowledge of Eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict the maintenance of continued peace within our Eastern possessions. Experience, frequent hard and recent experience, has taught us, that war from without, or rebellion from within, may at any time be raised against us in quarters where they were the least to be expected, and by the most feeble and unlikely instruments. No man, therefore, can ever prudently hold forth assurance of continued peace in India.”* Before Lord Canning had been nine months at Calcutta, the government was involved in war with a foreign power; and he had scarcely held the viceregal reins twelve months, ere a wide-spread mutiny and revolt in the north-west provinces threatened the whole fabric of the Indian empire with destruction.

The country with whom war broke out was Persia. The original cause of quarrel with this Eastern power was not a very dignified one. There are ministerial and political differences in Ispahan as well as in England; and in 1855, the acting minister of the shah, Sadr Azim, was opposed by interest, and perhaps by principle (if there be such a thing in the East), to Meerza Hashem Khan, who had been a partisan and *protégé* of his predecessor, the Ameer Nizam, and was still an *employé* of the Persian government. Mr. Thomson, at that time the British ambassador at Teheran, patronised Meerza Hashem, and appointed him first Persian secretary to the mission; an appointment which, to use his own words, “was not very agreeable to the Persian government.”† At the request of Sadr Azim, the khan was withdrawn from this post, and placed as the British agent at Shiraz. There were two objections to this appointment. In the first place, the Persian government had not discharged Meerza Hashem from the office he held under the shah; and till he had received his formal discharge, it was contrary to the Persian law that he should accept employment in the service of a foreign power; and in the next, the British had no right, under the treaty, to send a mission to Shiraz. Mr. Murray, who succeeded Mr. Thomson as British envoy at the court of the shah, persisted, and that with some *hauteur*, in

maintaining his right to make this appointment, although Lord Clarendon’s sanction to it was given expressly on the ground that it should receive “the concurrence of the Persian government;”‡ when another element of discord was added to those already existing. Meerza Hashem Khan had a wife; and on the ground—which is most distinctly denied—that this lady was on too familiar terms with the minister, her brother had her seized and delivered into his charge. Mr. Murray demanded her liberation and restoration to her husband; and as his letter “regarded ladies,” and “the discussion of such a subject was not only extremely delicate, and not to be thought of in that country, but was also unprecedented,” the Sadr Azim declined to “consider the letter in which it was broached as an official communication;” but informed Mr. Murray, that he was bound “to look upon it as if it had never been received.” In reply, Mr. Murray fixed a day for the delivery of the lady to her husband—saying, if she were not set free on the day and by the hour named, “the flag of the mission would be hauled down, and the responsibility of the interruption of friendly relations between the British and the Persian governments, would rest on those who had caused it by an act of flagrant and unprecedented injustice.” In spite of the good offices volunteered by the French and Ottoman ministers, the lady was not delivered up; and Mr. Murray struck his flag on the 5th of December, 1855.

These are the simple facts of the case, which gave rise to many irritating letters; and the Persian government complained greatly of all the British officials in that country. It is probable, however, that the difference would have resulted in nothing more than the suspension of diplomatic relations between the two countries, had not the Persian government directly violated the treaty of 1853, by sending a force to capture Herat, which the terms of that treaty expressly forbade them from doing. The Persians justified their conduct by asserting, that Dost Mahomed was advancing, with the sanction of the British government, to seize Candahar, and to march on Herat, where the legitimate prince, Mahomed Youssuf, had just established himself. The Persian prince, Sultan Moorad Meerza, in December, marched against that city at the head of 9,000 men, and it soon after fell into their hands,

* Lord Dalhousie’s Minute.

† Despatch to Lord Clarendon.

‡ Despatch to Mr. Murray.

though Dost Mahomed had made no advance. Specific demands were then made upon the Persian government, through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and instructions were dispatched to Lord Canning, to get ready an expedition to take possession of Karrack and Bushire, if these terms were not complied with. The British government demanded a recantation of the imputation cast on Mr. Murray, and an apology to that gentleman for the insult offered him; an invitation to his excellency to return to Teheran; his honourable reception by persons of high rank, deputed to escort him into the town and to his residence; the Sadr Azim to go in state to the British mission, and renew friendly relations with the envoy; the withdrawal of the Persian troops from Herat; the restoration of Meerza Hashem's wife: his appointment at Shiraz, however, not to be insisted upon, if it were his majesty's wish it should not take place; but a British correspondent was to be stationed at Shiraz till these matters could be arranged.* The fall of Kars, it is said, and the influence of Russia, emboldened the Persian government to refuse consent to these conditions; but the shah sent Ferokh Khan to Constantinople, with full power to settle all questions in dispute between the two countries. He arrived at the Turkish capital on the 17th of October, 1856, and soon after signed a paper, which he placed in the hands of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, agreeing to the instant withdrawal of the Persian troops from Herat. As, in consequence of the advance of those troops upon that town, the expedition had been prepared at Bombay, some fresh demands were put forward by the British government: one of which was, that Sadr Azim should be dismissed. If this demand had not been urged, it is very probable that a treaty would have been concluded at Constantinople. But to that condition Ferokh Khan would not agree; and as, before the difference on this point could be arranged, the intelligence arrived that the governor-general of India had, in consequence of instructions received from England, declared war against Persia, the Persian ambassador announced that all the engagements into which he had entered were null, and he left Constantinople for Paris just before the year 1856 closed.

* Despatch from Lord Clarendon to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

The declaration of war is dated on the 1st of November. It assigned the seizure of Herat as the cause of hostilities; there having been no pretence whatever for that seizure, the independence of the city never having been menaced from the East. Before the 7th, the expedition had left Bombay and Kurrachee, and sailed for the Persian Gulf. It comprised her majesty's 64th regiment; the 4th rifles; the 20th native infantry; the 2nd Belooch battalion; two squadrons of the 3rd cavalry; two troops of the Poonah horse; a field battery; a troop of horse artillery; a third-class siege-train, consisting of two 8-inch mortars, two 8-inch howitzers, two 18-pounder iron guns, and two companies of sappers and miners. Major-general Stalker commanded: and the naval force, consisting of eight steamers and seven sailing-vessels, was under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Henry Leake, who hoisted his flag on board the *Assaye*, a fine paddle-wheel frigate of 1,800 tons, with an armament of ten 8-inch 65-cwt. guns. The rendezvous was fixed at Bunder Abbas, near the entrance of the gulf; a place which, though within the Persian frontiers, is in the hands of our ally, the Imaum of Muscat, who pays a yearly tribute for it to the Persian government.—At the time this expedition sailed, India was profoundly tranquil. The governor-general was at Calcutta, intent on financial and other reforms; and Sir George Anson, the commander-in-chief, was making a tour of military inspection in the north-west provinces.

The greater part of the fleet and transports arrived at Bunder Abbas on the 23rd of November. On the 26th, they left that port in three divisions, and anchored, on the 29th, five miles below Bushire. Captain Jones, the British resident at that port, immediately repaired on board the flag-ship, where he received a communication from the governor, asking for information as to the destination of the vessels, and their errand in the Persian waters. Captain Jones replied, that, by order of the British government, his connection with Persia had ceased; and the general communicated the required information as to the business and intention of the armament, by forwarding to the governor the declaration of war. No reply was received from his excellency; and on the 4th of December, the island of Karrack, thirty miles north-west of Bushire, was taken possession of,

and occupied as a military depôt, two companies of the 2nd Beloochees being placed there as a garrison. On the 6th, the fleet proceeded to Halilla Bay, twelve miles south-east of Bushire, where the troops were landed without molestation; eight gun-boats having, before the landing commenced, dislodged the enemy from a date-grove near the beach. It was afterwards ascertained that they lost a leader of some note. The disembarkation lasted two days, the men landing with three days' provision in their havresacks; but the tents and baggage, in the absence of beasts of burden, were left in the ships.

Bushire, to which the march of the troops was directed on the 9th of December, lies on the coast of the province of Fars (120 miles W.S.W. of Shiraz), and is the principal seaport of Persia, being visited by ships from all parts of India. It stands on the extremity of a sandy peninsula, and, viewed from the anchorage, has an imposing appearance, which vanishes on landing. It contains about 600 houses built of sandstone, and 300 or 400 cajan huts. It had a population of 20,000 before it was desolated by the plague in 1831: it is doubtful whether it has so many at present. The coast from Halilla Bay to Bushire presents an unbroken line of cliff, insurmountable for artillery; while in the bight of the bay the land slopes gently upward, from a fine broad beach.—On the 10th of December the troops moved forward in two divisions—the first brigade, commanded by Colonel Stopford, being on the right; the second, under Colonel Honner, on the left; whilst the *Assaye* gradually drew ahead, till she got abreast of the old Dutch fort of Rushire, four miles and a-half below the port. The fort was surrounded by ruins; and both were occupied by the enemy—not Persian troops, but Arab mercenaries, belonging to the Dashti and the Fungestooni, two of the most powerful of the tribes that inhabit the sea-coast. The *Assaye*, as soon as she got within about 1,700 yards of the fort, opened a sharp fire of shot and shell, which she continued till the British troops got into action, when she was obliged to desist, or our own troops would have suffered. There were, at first, from 1,500 to 2,000 men in the fort, one-half of whom at least took to their heels shortly after the *Assaye* opened her fire, leaving from 800 to 1,000 to withstand the onset of the British. One portion of these Arabs posted themselves behind

the walls of the ruins, from whence they fired at the assailants with their matchlocks; the rest were in the fort. The European and native troops rushed to the assault with their usual bravery, and Colonel Stopford was the first man killed, being shot just as he had dismounted to head his brigade in the advance: this made his men of the 64th, by whom he was much beloved, fight desperately to avenge his loss. There was sharp work for a short time, the Arabs having to be driven from the ruins by the bayonet. They were forced back upon the fort, which the British entered with them; when it became *sauve qui peut* with the defenders. They made their way out as best they could: some attempted to get down by the cliff to the sea, but were stopped by the 4th rifles; others fled over the plain, where they were charged by the Poorah horse and the squadron of the 3rd cavalry. Their loss was serious: that of the British, when the fort was in their possession, and the flag of "Old England" waving over its walls, was found to be two officers and six privates killed; and three officers and thirty five non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Two of the wounded officers, Lieutenants Utterson and Warren, died from their wounds. The second officer killed was Lieutenant-colonel Malet, of the 3rd cavalry. One of his troopers had cut down an Arab, and was about to dispatch him, when the colonel arrested his sword—the fellow having dropped his matchlock and implored for quarter. He had scarcely turned round, when the wretch, whose life he had saved, snatched up his matchlock, and shot him in the back. He fell immediately, quite dead!

While the fighting at Rushire was going on, Captain Jones, the ex-resident, had proceeded in a small steamer to Bushire, as the bearer of a summons from Major-general Stalker, calling on the governor to surrender; and offering, in that case, the most favourable conditions to both the garrison and the inhabitants. The flag of truce was fired upon, and the steamer instantly returned; followed almost immediately by a messenger from the governor, who sent an apology for the outrage, which he attributed to the ignorance of an artilleryman. On the 11th, the troops were put in motion, with the intention of assaulting Bushire, after it had been cannonaded by the steamers, which, early in the morning, had anchored off the town, with springs

on their cables, and opened their fire. A flag of truce was sent off by the governor, to ask for a delay of twenty-four hours, to enable him to offer terms; but in consequence of the British flag of truce being fired upon the day before, this request was refused, and the attack continued. The occupants of a redoubt on the plain, outside the fortifications, were soon compelled to retire into the town; and when the troops appeared before the walls, practicable breaches having been effected by the bombardment from the vessels, the garrison ceased firing, and surrendered. The governor and the commander of the troops came out and surrendered their swords to the British general, who sent them to his camp, and also one of the principal civil officials. "The garrison, to the number of 1,200 or 1,500 men—a large number having made their escape, and very many others having been drowned in attempting to do so—grounded their arms in front of the British line, and were, next morning, escorted by the cavalry some distance into the country, and set free." The place was strongly fortified; and the captors found sixty-five guns, with large quantities of ammunition and warlike stores.* At half-past four in the afternoon, the British flag was hoisted by the first-lieutenant of the *Assaye* Clarkson, at the residency. There was some plundering (always difficult to be prevented), which the officers did their utmost to restrain, and order was speedily established. The main body of the force was then cantoned upon the plain, near the wells which supply the town with water. A small garrison was placed in the town, which was proclaimed a free port; the bazaars were reopened, and the people adapted themselves readily to their change of masters.

In the cannonade with Bushire, though not a single man was hit on board the ships, they all suffered considerably in their masts, hull, and rigging, from the enemy's fire. When they were refitted, on the 16th of December, Sir Henry Leake left in the *Assaye* for Bombay, taking with him the three principal prisoners, the Persian flag, which had been flying when they approached Bushire, and various specimens of Persian arms and accoutrements. While running down the coast, an Arab chief put off, and boarded the *Assaye*, for the purpose of proffering the services of his tribe—

who, he said, would prefer the rule of the English to that of the shah—against the Persians. The admiral learned from him, that at Lingah, a town on the coast, a Persian force of 5,000 men, well-equipped and armed, was stationed, for the purpose of attacking our depôt on the island of Kar-rack. The course of the *Assaye* was directed to Lingah; and as that place was approached on the 19th, the camp became a prominent object. Sir Henry Leake opened a fire upon it from his heavy guns, which the Persians returned with spirit; but their shot did not reach the steamer; whilst her shot and shells "crashed through the camp, knocking over men, horses, and camels, and flinging the tent-canvas to the winds. As a matter of course, the enemy had to retire, but did it coolly and well."†

The soldiers in the camp outside Bushire soon adapted themselves to their situation, or rather, perhaps, we should say, they speedily converted the resources the country afforded into means for promoting their comfort. Most of them had wooden huts, exactly like those used in the Crimea, instead of tents; the head-quarters were on an eminence, to which the name of "Balaklava" was given, and the inner bay of Bushire was called the "harbour of Sebastopol." Two places were opened for protestant worship, three days after the place was taken, in a quarter of the town which was rechristened "Victoria city." A race-course was established, and the Persians were invited to compete for prizes. A proposition was also made and accepted, to establish a railway across the town and the English lines, a distance of about two miles; and a cemetery was marked out, in which the remains of the officers killed on the 9th of December were interred—a pyramid of red marble being raised to the memory of Colonel Stopford, on the base of which was inscribed his name, and the date of his death.‡ In this position the soldiers enjoyed pretty good health; and though provisions were not brought in quite so freely as it was expected they would be, their wants were supplied as well as could be expected in an enemy's country—perhaps, altogether, better.

The Persian government was perfectly unprepared for the appearance in its territory of an English force; and we think the conduct of the Indian government and the

* Major-general Stalker's despatch.

† Letter from an officer on board the *Assaye*.

‡ Letter from Bushire, dated Dec. 28th, 1856, in the *Moniteur de l'Armée*.

resident at Bushire Captain Jones, was not so open and straightforward as that of English officials ought to have been. The first intimation of the declaration of war was received by the governor of Bushire from Major-general Stalker, when he appeared off that port; and Captain Jones boasts of having kept up "the illusion," that "the force would not quit the shores of India" till the fleet actually hove in sight. When the intelligence of the landing of an armed force on his territory, and the occupation of Bushire, reached the shah, he issued a manifesto, enumerating the concessions offered by Persia to Great Britain, contrasting the "friendly disposition" of the former with "the determined hostility" of the latter; and declaring, that—

"Seeing the fruitlessness of its friendly advances and loyal efforts, and being persuaded that England will not refrain from carrying further its domineering desires and unjust views, the Persian government finds itself obliged to appeal to the favour of the Most High, and to use all the means in its power to defend the country and people, and to resist an insolent enemy; and to submit to any sacrifice for the welfare and honour of the nation, that these objects and its holy religion may not be lightly exposed to ignominy and dishonour."

No reply was made to this manifesto; but the governor-general of India, early in 1857, "under instructions from the home government," organised a "second division of the expeditionary force for service in Persia," the command of which was given to Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., afterwards so widely known, then deputy-general of her majesty's forces in India. This division was composed of the 78th highlanders, the 23rd and 26th native infantry, her majesty's 14th light dragoons, the 1st regiment of Jacob's Scind Irregular horse, the 4th troop of horse artillery, and the 1st company of the 2nd battalion foot artillery. These regiments were formed into two brigades; Brigadier Hamilton, of the 78th highlanders, commanding one, and Brigadier Hale, of the Bombay artillery, the other. Brigadier J. Jacob, C.B., commanded the cavalry division. Both divisions were placed under Major-general Sir James Outram, who was invested with the local rank of lieutenant-general. That officer and his staff left Bombay, on the 17th of January, in the *Semiramis*; and the troops sailed within the next two or three days. The former landed at Bushire on the 27th; and the entire expedition

was on shore and encamped on the 1st of February.

Except sending, on the 1st of January, a small force of cavalry and horse artillery, under Colonel Tapp, to attack a Persian depôt of stores and ammunition, at a place called Chakotah, twenty-two miles from the camp (which was found deserted when they arrived, and the stores, &c., captured), the first expedition had remained inactive since the occupation of Bushire. But, soon after Lieutenant-general Outram's arrival, intelligence was received that the Persians were collecting in great force at a village called Burazjoon or Brásjoon, about forty-six miles distant from the camp, with the intention of attacking the British, and recovering the town. It was reported, that 8,500 men were already assembled there, and that very large reinforcements were on their way to join. Sir James Outram resolved not to wait to be attacked, but to take the initiative, and attack the enemy. On the 3rd of February he left the camp, at the head of the following troops:—1st brigade—her majesty's 64th regiment, the 78th highlanders, and the 20th and 26th regiments of native infantry; 2nd brigade—2nd European light infantry, 4th Bombay rifles, 2nd Belooch battalion, 3rd light cavalry, and a troop of Poonah horse. The artillery consisted of the 3rd troop of horse artillery, and the 3rd and 5th light field batteries. The number of guns was 18; of men, 2,212 European, and 2,022 native infantry, and 419 cavalry. These troops marched without tents; each man carried his great-coat, blanket, and cooked provisions for two days; the commissariat being provided with rations for three days in addition. The weather was very unfavourable; but the troops marched forty-six miles in forty-one hours, amidst deluging rain, and having to bivouac two nights exposed to wet and cold. They came in sight of the enemy's position on the 5th, shortly before 1 P.M.; and as the British advanced, the Persians retired: they abandoned their camp; and the only *rencontre* that took place was between their rear-guard and a few of the British cavalry, in which Cornet Spens, of the 3rd light cavalry, and two or three troopers, were slightly wounded.*

The camp thus abandoned was outside the village; and though the former was not

* *Outram's and Havelock's Persian Campaign*, by Captain Hunt.

intrenched or defended, the latter might have been made impregnable against the small British force. "A wall, with tower bastions at intervals, enclosed it, and detached square towers within overlooked all. A ditch, fifteen feet deep, ran round the outside, and beyond it gardens with high thorn and cactus fences. In proper hands, the capture of such a place must have cost both time and many sacrifices."* The Persians, however, made not the slightest attempt at defence, but withdrew into the strong passes where Sir James Outram did not think it prudent to follow, leaving their tents, camp equipage, and ordnance magazines, which contained about 40,000 lbs. of gunpowder, with small-arm ammunition, and a vast quantity of shot and shell.† The captors remained in the enemy's position two days; and, on the night of the 7th of February, commenced their return march, having destroyed the magazines, but carrying off large quantities of flour, rice, and grain, which the Persian government had been for some time collecting.

The Persians were commanded by one of their best men, Soojah-ool-Moolk; and, being reinforced, it appears that he had intended to attack his enemies on the very night that they set out on their return to Bushire. Finding that they had left, he pursued them, and overtook the rear-guard, about midnight, at a place called Kooshab. The Persians opened a fire upon the British; and as nothing of the kind was expected, there was some confusion at first, in which Lieutenant-general Outram, riding rapidly in the dark, came in contact with a baggage mule, and horse and man rolled over together. By this accident, the general was so much injured, that Major-general Stalker had to take the command next morning; but the chief of the general's staff, Colonel Lugard, conducted all the necessary arrangements so well, that few knew of the accident during the night. The word was given for the troops to form squares, which they did, with the baggage, &c., inside. It was quite dark; neither officers nor men were aware of the nature of their position, and they knew not which way to move; whilst they heard the war-cry of the Persians "Allah! il Allah!"-raised round them in all directions. The coolness, silence, and steadiness of the men,

under these circumstances, is described "as admirable." They had scarcely effected their movement into squares, "when the enemy opened five heavy guns, and round shot were momentarily plunging through and over them. The British batteries replied; and this cannonade continued, with occasional intervals, until near daylight, causing but few casualties, considering the duration of the fire. One shot, however, plunging into the 64th regiment, knocked down six men, killing one of the number. Two officers were wounded; and several of the native followers and baggage animals were killed or injured."‡

When day broke, the Persian force, amounting to from 6,000 to 7,000 men, with several guns, was discovered "drawn up in line; their right resting on the walled village of Kooshab and a date-grove; their left on a hamlet, with a round fortalice tower. Two rising mounds were in front of their centre, which served as redoubts: there they had their guns: there were deep nullahs on their right front and flank, deeply lined with skirmishers. Their cavalry, in considerable bodies, were on both flanks."§ Soojah-ool-Moolk was at their head; and the Eilkhane, or hereditary chief of the tribes, commanded the cavalry. The position of the Persian force, on the left of the rear of the British, rendered a change in the front of the latter necessary. This was soon effected; and the regiments were formed into two lines: the first comprising the 78th highlanders, the 26th native infantry, the 2nd European light infantry, and the 4th rifles; the second, her majesty's 64th, the 20th native infantry, and the Belooch battalion. The light companies of battalions, assisted by the 3rd cavalry and Jacob's irregulars, faced the enemy's skirmishers in the nullahs, and covered the flanks and rear of the British. Both lines advanced rapidly as soon as formed, the artillery discharging their guns on both sides. The action was soon over. The 3rd cavalry and Jacob's horse, accompanied by Blake's horse artillery, made a dashing charge on the horse and guns of the enemy, fairly driving the former from the field, and sabring the gunners at the latter. "The infantry lines were still advancing, and in beautiful order, to sustain this attack, and were just getting into close action, when the enemy lost heart, and his entire line at once broke and fled precipitately. The

* *Outram's and Havelock's Persian Campaign.*

† Sir James Outram's despatch.

‡ Captain Hunt.

§ *Ibid.*

men cast away their arms and accoutrements, and, as the pursuit continued, even their clothing. Two or three of their *sirbar*, or regular battalions, on their extreme right, alone retired with any semblance of order. The 3rd cavalry charged through and back again, one of these battalions, which attempted to receive them with steadiness."* The rout of the enemy was complete, and the slaughter immense. The trophies were two brass 4-pounder guns, the gun ammunition, and the mules which carried it; 350 stand of arms; and a standard (a silver hand on a pike-staff.) The enemy left at least 700 dead on the field: the British loss was three Europeans and seven natives killed; thirty-one Europeans, and thirty-one natives, wounded. One European officer, Lieutenant A. C. Frankland, was killed: Captain J. Forbes, 3rd light cavalry; Captain R. Mockler, and Lieutenant J. Greentree, of the 64th; Ensign Woodcock, of the 2nd light infantry; and assistant-surgeon J. M. Barnett, of the 26th native infantry, were wounded. The troops bivouacked for the rest of the day on the field of battle, and reached Bushire at midnight on the 9th of February, having performed "another most arduous march of forty-four miles, under incessant rain, besides fighting, and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours."†

Brigadier-general Havelock did not arrive at Bushire till after the expedition returned from Burazjoon, when he took the command of the second division. For several weeks after the arrival of the troops in the camp, the rainy, unsettled weather that ensued prevented any other operation from being undertaken, though an attack upon Mohammerah was then contemplated. Previous to any forward movement being made, two most melancholy events took place, that cast a gloom over both army and navy; these were, the suicides of Major-general Stalker and Commodore Ethersey. On the 14th of March, after the expedition had been decided upon (which was to be commanded by Sir James Outram, Major-general Stalker being to remain in charge of the camp), the two officers breakfasted together, after which the latter called upon several officers of his staff, not one of whom, however, he found at his quarters. He then returned to his tent, from whence, in ten minutes after he had been seen to enter it,

the report of a pistol was heard; and on the bystanders going to see what was the matter, the general was found in the agonies of death. In the night of the 16th, Commodore Ethersey also shot himself and was found dead the next morning. In both cases the verdicts of the courts of inquest held on the bodies, was "insanity." It was asserted, that Major-general Stalker was much hurt at Sir James Outram being appointed to the chief command of the Persian army, and that he took his supersession by that officer seriously to heart. But there are no reasonable grounds for the rumour. He and Sir James were always on the best terms; the fullest confidence evidently existed between them; and it would rather appear, that his temporary aberration of mind was caused by nervousness, brought on by an undue apprehension for the health of the troops during the approaching hot weather. It was also reported that Commodore Ethersey had been treated with harshness by Sir Henry Leake; and despatches recently received from that officer, and with a memorial from himself to the government of Bombay, were found on his table when his dead body was discovered, the contents of which never transpired. But the extracts from his diary, which were read at the inquiry, were sufficient to prove that the commodore, like Major-general Stalker, sank under the responsibility of his position. As far back as the 23rd of January, he had written—"My poor head is sadly confused. I have frequent dreadful nervous attacks at times;" and there was the following entry, under date of the 12th of March:—"I feel more and more my unfitness to command—I am broken down—my head is gone—and the terrible responsibility—I shall make mess of it."‡ When he heard of the general's death, he wrote—"His case is similar to my own. He felt he was unequal to the responsibility imposed upon him." The following was his last entry:—

"16th March, 1857. Monday.—A bad night: took opium, but the dose was too large; it made me very ill for some hours. Hugh Lindsay and Napier started for the river; it promised to be calm, but three hours after she left, it set in furious from the southward and south-eastward. I feel for the little vessel, and that it will be the first mishap of this wearisome expedition."

These entries show the nervous anxiety of the gallant officer, and fully justify the opinion, that the responsibility of his position was greater than he could bear.

* Captain Hunt. † Sir J. Outram's despatch.

‡ Sic in original.

With the exception of these melancholy episodes, "life in camp," during the period of inaction, "became very monotonous; and prevailing high winds caused the greatest annoyance from the drifting sand, which being of a fineness to penetrate even through the cloths of the officers' tents, covered everything with filth, made washing and dressing a misery, and a walk against the wind a downright punishment."* Reinforcements arrived early in March, and rumours were prevalent that the Persian troops defeated at Kooshab, having been joined by a fresh army under the commander-in-chief, meant to move forward upon Bushire. The movement, if ever contemplated, did not take place; but the British expedition to Mohammerah set forth about the middle of the month.

Mohammerah is a place of which very few persons had heard previous to this war. Its position is laid down on few maps, and it is not named in many geographies: yet it was long a subject of dispute between Turkey and Persia as to which country it belongs. It is situated at the junction of the Karoon with the Euphrates; and the question to decide between the two powers was, whether it stood on the Euphrates or the Karoon? If the former, it was in the Turkish territory; if on the latter, in the Persian. It was ultimately decided that it should belong to Persia, though Sir Henry Rawlinson is of opinion that it stands on the Euphrates. It is an important place, as it commands the navigation of the two rivers, and is "possessed of every advantage which the water-carriage of two magnificent streams can give, being the depôt for all merchandise to or from India, from the upper Persian provinces, as well as for Bassora and Bagdad;"† the former town being about thirty-six miles distant. The Persians had paid great attention to the defence of this town. They had "erected batteries of solid earth, twenty feet thick, and eighteen feet high, with casemated embrasures, on the northern and southern points of the banks of the Karoon and Shat-ool-Arab [Euphrates], -where the two rivers join. These, with other earthworks armed with heavy ordnance, commanded the entire passage of the latter river, and were so judiciously placed, and so scientifically formed, as to sweep the whole stream, to the extent

of the range of the guns, up and down the river, and across the opposite shore."‡ The banks of the river, for some miles, were lined with dense groves of date-trees, which afforded an excellent cover for riflemen; and the opposite shore being the Turkish, and therefore neutral, territory, no counter-batteries could be erected there. In this strong position was situated a Persian army, amounting to 13,000 men of all arms, with thirty guns, commanded by the shahzada, Prince Khauler Mirza, in person.

The force destined to attack this position, was composed of her majesty's 64th and 78th (highlanders); the 23rd and 26th native infantry; a light battalion; a troop of the 14th light dragoons; a regiment of the Sciude irregular horse; No. 2 field battery, and the 3rd troop of horse artillery, with the Bombay and Madras sappers and miners. The total number of men was 4,886; of guns, 12. These troops were embarked in transports, and sent to the mouth of the Euphrates some days before Sir James Outram joined them, which he did with the war-steamers and sloops—the *Feroze*, the *Semiramis*, the *Clive*, the *Victoria*, the *Assaye*, the *Comet*, the *Ajdaha*, the *Falkland*, and the *Pottinger*—under the command of Commodore Young, on the 21st of March. On the 24th, all the steamers, with the transport ships in tow, moved up the river, until within three miles of the southern battery, opposite to the Arab village of Hurth. The stream is there only about 300 yards wide, yet the Persians failed to take advantage of the admirable cover the date-groves afforded to annoy the invaders, though the crowded decks of the vessels must have presented available marks for their matchlockmen. In ascending to this point, some of the large vessels shoaled, and Sir James Outram was obliged to defer the attack for another day. In the night a *reconnaissance* was made, to ascertain the nature of the soil of an island opposite the northern battery, upon which Sir James wished to plant some mortars. It was found to be deep mud; and it was resolved to place the mortars on a raft. The raft was constructed on the 28th, under the superintendence of Captain Donnie, and armed with two 8-inch, and two 5½-inch mortars. A party of artillery, under Captain Wergan, was put on board; and this floating battery was towed to its position in the night by the steamer *Comet*.§ "The cool daring of the men who placed, and

* Captain Hunt.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lieutenant-general Outram's despatch.

§ *Ibid.*

the little band of artillery who remained on this raft for several hours of darkness, in the middle of a rapid river, without means of retreat, and certain destruction staring them in the face, should the enemy, within but a few hundred yards, be aroused to a sense of their presence, requires no commendation. The simple narrative of the event as it occurred is sufficient.”*

During the 25th, the horses and guns of the artillery, a portion of the cavalry, and the infantry, were transhipped into boats and small steamers, in readiness for landing the following morning. At break of day, on the 26th, the mortars on the raft opened their fire upon both the northern and southern batteries, and the 8-inch shells burst immediately over and inside the enemy's works; the others fell short. The *Semiramis*, *Clive*, and *Ajdaha* sailed up the river, and supported the mortars; and the *Feroze*, *Assaye*, *Victoria*, and *Falkland* joined in the attack upon the forts. The Persians were not slow in returning the fire, but went to work with great spirit. “The morning being very clear, with just sufficient breeze to prevent the smoke from collecting, a more beautiful scene than was then presented can scarcely be imagined. The ships, with ensigns flying from every mast-head, seemed decked for a holiday; the river glittering in the early sunlight, its dark, date-fringed banks contrasting most effectively with the white canvas of the sailing-vessels; the sulky-looking batteries, just visible through the grey fleecy cloud which enveloped them; and groups of brightly-dressed horsemen, flitting at intervals between the trees where they had their encampment—formed altogether a picture from which even the excitement of the heavy cannonade around could not divert the attention.”†

The cannonading commenced from the vessels and batteries about seven, and was continued with unabated zeal and vigour till 9 A.M., when the intenseness of the discharges from the shore was greatly reduced; and the small steamers taking the boats in tow (the *Pottinger* towing a transport, the *Golden Era*), passed up, and landed the troops above the northern battery, “without a single casualty, although they had to run the gauntlet of both gun and musket fire: two or three native followers only

were killed, in consequence of their unnecessarily exposing themselves. By half-past one o'clock the troops were landed and formed, and advanced, without delay, through the date-groves, across the plain, upon the intrenched camp of the enemy, who, without waiting for their approach, fled precipitately, after exploding their largest magazine, leaving all their tents standing, with nearly the whole of their property, public and private, all their ammunition, and seventeen guns,”‡ with immense stores of grain. Their loss in killed was between 200 and 300. The Scinde horse were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, under Captain Malcolm Green. He came up with their rear-guard; but found further pursuit useless: on his return, he reported, that the road was strewed with property and equipments. The British loss was only five soldiers killed and eighteen wounded; on board the ships, five were killed and sixteen wounded; but the vessels were much damaged by the Persian fire.

On the night of the 26th, the men bivouacked in line of battle where they stood. The weather was bitterly cold, and occasioned some suffering to both officers and men. Before morning, an alarm, utterly groundless, took place; but it caused the outlying pickets of two regiments to fire into each other, by which five men were wounded. The next day, Sir James Outram took possession of Mohammerah; and guards being posted in the town, and strict orders issued for the protection of private property, confidence was soon established. These precautions being taken, Sir James Outram organised a small expedition to follow up the enemy, and trace his route along the banks of the Karoon river. This expedition consisted of three small river steamers (the *Comet*, *Planet*, and *Assyria*, the first only being armed), one gun-boat, and three cutters, under the command of Acting-commodore Rennie, of the Indian navy; and 300 men from her majesty's 64th and 78th, under the command of Captain Hunt, of the latter. Several of the staff of the commander-in-chief accompanied this little force, which numbered about 300 men, and left Mohammerah on the 29th of March.§ On the 1st of April, the steamers were off Ahwâz, a town situate about 100 miles up the Karoon; and a numerous body of Persian troops was discovered, occupying a strong position on the right bank of the river. The town stands

* Captain Hunt.

† Sir James Outram's despatch.

‡ Captain Hunt.

† *Ibid.*

on the left bank; and there, at half-past 10 A.M., Captain Hunt landed his small force—the steamer opening its fire upon the camp on the right bank, and the gun-boat and cutters theirs on the town. The Persians on the right bank scarcely waited for the first discharge from the steamer, but took flight, retreating in the direction of Dizful, a town in Khuzistan, on the Coprates: they were followed by hordes of Arabs, hurrying on their rear, ready to plunder or harass them. On the other side of the stream, Ahwâz, in less than an hour and a-half, was in Captain Hunt's possession, with one brass 14-lb. gun, 154 stand of arms, 56 mules, 230 sheep, besides an enormous quantity of wheat and barley. The expedition remained two days at Ahwâz, and reached Mohammerah, on its return, on the 4th of April; and the same day intelligence was received, that, just one month previously, peace had been concluded between Great Britain and Persia. The treaty was negotiated at Paris, between Earl Cowley and Ferokh Shah. It was signed on the 4th of March; and by its conditions, the previous demands of England, except for the dismissal of the Persian minister, were conceded; the evacuation of Herat, and the abstinence of Persia from all interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan, were stipulated; and the invitation of Mr. Murray to return to Teheran, his reception "by persons of rank deputed to escort him to his residence in the town," with the withdrawal of offensive letters written by the Sadr Azim, and by the shah himself, were the subject of a separate note attached to the treaty.

Thus ended the war with Persia, in which, if we gained little else, we achieved fresh military renown. It was followed by the public thanks of the Indian government, published in a general order, to Sir James Outram, Brigadiers Havelock, Honner, and Wilson; Lieutenant-colonels Sheppard, Stisted, Tapp, Trevelyan, J. S. Ramsay, and Lord Dunkellin; Rear-admiral Sir H. Leake; Captains Jenkins, Adams, Young, and Rennie; and all the officers and men of the army and navy, "for the bravery, endurance, and good conduct which they displayed during the several operations in which they had been engaged;" and the governor-general added, that it would give him and the council "the highest gratification to recommend the arduous and successful services of the military and naval

forces on the coasts and in the interior of Persia, to the most favourable consideration of the honourable court of directors and her majesty's government."

The troops at Mohammerah were the first to leave Persia, to the great regret of the inhabitants; and more especially of the Arabs in the neighbourhood, who had sent in their submission from all quarters, their cry being—"Never leave us; never let the Persians return." One article in the treaty stipulated "for a full and complete amnesty, absolving all Persian subjects who might in any way have been compromised by their intercourse with the British forces, from any responsibility for their conduct in that respect:" and it is to be hoped, that these poor people did not suffer for the attachment they displayed towards us.—When the expedition started for Mohammerah, Brigadier Jacob had been left in command at Bushire; and owing to some doubts about the evacuation of Herat by the Persians, autumn arrived before that town was evacuated. The troops appear to have spent their time pleasantly, and the inhabitants evinced their attachment in various ways. At length—the evacuation of Herat having taken place, and the sincerity of Persia being no longer doubtful—in September the troops began to depart; and the following extract of a letter from a British officer who remained till the last, will be read with interest. It was dated "Bushire, September 30th, 1857."

"We are now at the close of the last Persian expeditionary scene of 1856-'7, all our force having departed for India, with the exception of a wing of a native regiment, and the general [Brigadier-general John Jacob] and his party, who possibly may embark to-morrow, and sail on Saturday [Oct. 3.] A portion of the Persian force, intended to occupy Bushire on our departure, is on its way in; and on arrival, the Persian flag will be rehoisted under a salute of twenty-one guns from an Indian navy vessel of war, the same number of guns being returned by the Persians, in honour of our queen, and in acknowledgment of the compliment. The townspeople and inhabitants in the neighbourhood are generally very sorry to lose us, for a more orderly camp, or better-behaved troops than those so long located at Bushire have been, could not be conceived. Dealers in everything have been scrupulously paid, and at their own prices, and justice has been rendered to all of every degree. Of course the Persian lieges regret us under such circumstances; but we leave a good name behind us; and they must hold a higher opinion of British power and resources than was formerly the case, when they had no means of judging of them to so full an extent."

Simultaneously with the Persian war, a

quarrel took place with China, arising out of the following circumstances.* It is the custom, when a Chinese vessel comes into the possession of a British owner, to issue a certificate of register, which entitles it to bear the British flag, and, as a British vessel, to navigate those Chinese rivers, and trade with those ports, which recent treaties have opened to foreigners. Sometimes these certificates are granted to Chinese vessels which are only hired by Englishmen, and sometimes, no doubt, they are issued to vessels that are entirely, not merely in build, but in ownership, Chinese. A vessel, it would appear, of the latter description—one of the class called lorchas, and named the *Arrow*—received a colonial register for twelve months, in September, 1855. On the 8th of October, 1856, this lorcha was anchored off Canton, and she was, on that day, boarded by a party of Chinese soldiers, who seized twelve of the Chinese crew by whom she was manned, as pirates. If the *Arrow* were a British vessel, or entitled to carry the British flag, this was a violation of the treaty concluded in 1842; which provides, that if it is suspected that Chinese criminals are on board vessels under our flag, the Chinese authorities must make application to the nearest consul, who will authorise their seizure. There was only one British subject on board the *Arrow* when the seizure was made; he was the *nominal* master, the *real* master being a Chinese; and he alleges, that the British flag was flying on board the lorcha at the time the men were seized, and that the Chinese pulled it down. This the latter strenuously deny; and if it were flying, the vessel had no right to claim its protection, because, as Sir John Bowring states in one of his letters, the license had expired in the previous month, and had not been renewed. The seizure was, however, represented by Mr. Parkes, the British consul at Canton, on complaint of the nominal master, † as an insult to the British flag; and the release of the men was demanded, with an ample apology. The Chinese governor, Yeh, at first refused to do either; and treated the demand and the consul with contempt. The latter then communicated with Sir John Bowring, her majesty's commissioner

at Hong-Kong; who, through Mr. Parkes, warned the Chinese dignitary, that unless he at once gave up the men, and apologised for the insult offered to the British flag, the matter should be placed in the hands of the British admiral, Sir Michael Seymour. The men were then sent to the consulate; but Mr. Parkes refused to receive them: it was demanded that they should be publicly restored to the vessel, as they had been publicly seized; and though the men were sent back, "all appearance of an apology was pointedly avoided." ‡

Sir J. Bowring reported the circumstances to the admiral, suggesting, that the seizure of a Chinese junk would probably produce the required reparation. A junk was seized, but it led to nothing; and a consultation having taken place between the commissioner, the consul, and the admiral, they all "considered that the seizure of the defences of the city of Canton would be the most judicious" step to take; "both as a display of power, without the sacrifice of life, and of the determination to enforce redress—experience of the Chinese character having proved, that moderation is considered by the officials only as an evidence of weakness." § The admiral, accordingly, in the *Calcutta*, moved up above the Bogue Forts, and, on the 23rd of October, took possession of the Blenheim, the Four Barrier, and Macao forts, in one of which 150, and in another 86 guns, were found. The guns in the Blenheim Fort were spiked, the carriages and ammunition destroyed, and the buildings in the fort burnt. In Macao Fort, a garrison was placed by the admiral. Resistance was made at two of these forts, which caused the death of five Chinese.—On the 24th, these proceedings were followed up by the capture of the Bird's-nest Fort, mounting thirty-five guns; of another nearer the city; and of one called the Sha-min Fort, at the head of the Macao passage. The same day, barricades were erected to protect the factories; a party of royal marines and small-arm men were landed as a guard, and boats were placed to watch the approach of fire-rafts or junks by water.—On the 25th, the Dutch Folly Fort, in which 50 guns were mounted, was taken; and a body of 140 officers and men, under Commander Rolland, of the *Calcutta*, placed there. Thus, all the defences of the city were in the hands of the British, and the admiral thought that the high commis-

* For an account of the opium quarrel, and the account of that war, *ante*.

† For these facts, see Parliamentary Papers.

‡ Sir M. Seymour's despatch, Nov. 14th. § *Ibid*.

sioner would see the necessity of submission. Mr. Parkes was therefore authorised to write, and state, that when his excellency was prepared to arrange the points in dispute in a satisfactory manner, further operations would be arrested: the reply was, an attack on the factories by Chinese troops, which the royal marines repulsed. A detachment of marines then came up from the United States' man-of-war, *Portsmouth*, to take part in guarding the factories; and whilst the treasure was sent away to Hong-Kong, the European and American ladies left Canton.

By the treaty of 1842, it was stipulated, that all foreign representatives should have free access to the authorities and city of Canton—a stipulation which had never been enforced, and was formally and officially waived by Sir George Bonham in 1849, after negotiations with the then high commissioner Seu; and Sir George published a notification, that no foreigner was to enter the city. Sir John Bowring thought this a proper time to demand the enforcement of the article of the treaty; and accordingly, in the next communication made to Yeh, the admiral “demanded for all foreign representatives the same free access to the authorities and city of Canton (where all the Chinese high officials reside) as is enjoyed, under treaty, at the other four ports; and denied at Canton alone.” The reply to this letter was a proclamation, under the high commissioner's own seal, offering a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. This reward was, on a subsequent day, increased to a hundred dollars. In consequence of the obstinacy of the high commissioner, the admiral recommenced active operations on the 27th of October, having previously warned the inhabitants in the vicinity to remove their persons and property. At one o'clock p.m., the *Encounter* commenced a discharge of shot and shell upon the governor-general's fortified residence; while the *Barracouta*, having taken up a position behind the city, opened a fire upon a camp to the north of it. The bombardment was kept up on the 28th and 29th. On the former day, the governor's house took fire, and the flames spread on both sides; the conflagration continued during the night, and destroyed a great number of buildings. On the latter day, the Chinese commenced a fire from the French Folly Fort, which still remained in their possession, but only kept

it up for an hour or two. At 11 a.m. on the 29th, it was ascertained that a practicable breach had been effected in the walls, and a storming party was landed—the seamen being headed by Commodore Eliot, Captain the Hon. Keith Stewart, and Commanders Bate and Rolland; the marines by Captains P. C. Penrose and R. Boyle. They mounted the breach, the Chinese keeping up a desultory fire, by which three marines were killed, and eleven men wounded; but the resistance was very faint. One of the gates being blown down, the admiral “had the satisfaction of entering the city through it;” and, his object—which was to show the high commissioner that he “had power to enter”—being “fully accomplished,” all the officers and men re-embarked.* At night another fire broke out in the suburbs, and destroyed a large number of houses.

Further attempts at negotiation were made on the 30th, when the admiral addressed a letter to the high commissioner, again demanding free access to Canton; as he did in a subsequent despatch. Yeh replied to both, referring to the determination of Sir George Bonham; and stating in his second letter, that “there was not a Chinese, or a foreigner of any nation whatsoever, who did not know that the question was never to be discussed again.” He therefore refused to yield upon this point. On the 5th of November, the fire on the city was reopened; and as the admiral was informed that an attack on the ships and factories was menaced from twenty-three war-junks, at anchor below the Dutch Folly Fort, and protected by the French Folly, it was determined to disperse or destroy them. Commander Fortescue, in the *Barracouta*, with the *Coromandel* and ships' boats, was sent on this service; but the former vessel and the boats only were engaged. They were fired upon both from the French Folly and the junks, more than 150 guns being brought to bear upon them: but they destroyed all the junks; and having silenced the fort, a party was landed, and took possession of the guns and ammunition, spiking the former, and destroying the latter. On the 8th, the Chinese resorted to their old tactics, of sending out fire-rafts; but they did no damage, and were destroyed. On the 11th and 13th, after more fruitless attempts to procure an accommodation, the Bogue Forts were

* Sir M. Seymour's despatch.

captured. At those on the Wantung Island a stout resistance was offered, the Chinese standing to their guns till our men entered the embrasures. The Anunghoy Forts were defended very feebly. The number of guns found in the former was 200; in the latter, 210; and the forts were much stronger than they were when taken in 1841.

During all these operations, the Chinese boats continued to furnish supplies to the ships; and the admiral had copies of his letters to the high commissioner printed and circulated; Mr. Parkes also promulgated a *précis* of the whole affair in Chinese. Whether Yeh issued any similar "appeal to the people," we are not informed; but a document appeared, headed "*Remonstrance of the Chinese Gentry*," in which the origin of the quarrel was stated, and the conduct of the English officers was styled "a perverse and unreasonable infringement of the treaty."

The Bogue Forts were destroyed; and the fort at Ty-cock-tow having fired upon the *Hornet*, one of Admiral Seymour's fleet, Captain Stewart landed, took possession of the fort on the 16th of November, and spiked all the guns, 55 in number. When the British ships went down the river to the Bogue Forts, the Chinese reoccupied the Barrier Fort; and a party of their "braves" having insulted some officers of the United States, it led to the fort being bombarded by the *Portsmouth*; but nothing decisive ensued.—In December, Admiral Seymour employed his men in destroying the Barrier and other forts. Not to be behind-hand in the work of destruction, in the night of the 14th, the Chinese, with flambeaux and fire-balls, set fire to the foreign factories, and in a short time every one of them was more or less in flames. Vigorous efforts were made by the seamen and marines to arrest their progress; but in vain. At first their efforts appeared to be successful, but fresh fires burst out on every side; and all the buildings were destroyed except the English factory. The fire was at last checked by a house being blown down, by which the communication was cut off.—As a retaliation probably for this outrage, on the 12th of January, 1857, armed parties were sent on shore at Canton from the *Encounter*, the *Barracouta*, and the *Niger*, and a detachment of the 59th regiment from the Dutch Folly, for the purpose of burning the western suburbs of Canton. The buildings were speedily in a blaze, and

some of the houses in the city were set on fire by a discharge of carcasses from the Dutch Folly. Great destruction was the result of this night's work: and the parties returned to their ships with the loss of two men killed and ten wounded. Three of the 59th's men were knocked down by a discharge of stones and fire-arms from the city walls. The "braves" (as the Chinese soldiers are termed in many of the despatches) rushed down, and cut off the heads of two of them; the third escaped.

There is no glory in such acts as these: but the Chinese, by their manner of conducting the war, certainly appeared as if they wished to put themselves out of the pale of humanity. Some government emissaries got on board the postal steamer *Thistle*, which left Canton at the close of December; and on her voyage to Hong-Kong they murdered every person on board, except some Chinese passengers; one of their victims being the Spanish vice-consul. Early in January, an attempt was made to destroy the British at Hong-Kong by means of poisoned bread; and though there was not sufficient evidence to convict several parties who were apprehended, and placed on their trial, there is no doubt as to the attempt. Between 400 and 500 persons were ill from eating the bread; many of them fearfully so; and a strong feeling existed at Hong-Kong as to the guilt of the parties tried.—The Chinese also organised an insurrection at Sarawak, on the island of Borneo, then under the government of Sir James Brooke, where they had congregated in considerable numbers. Occurring just at the time it did, and as a similar conspiracy was detected amongst the Chinese at Singapore and Penang, it has been supposed, not unreasonably, as secret societies existed at all the places, that the movement took place in consequence of some instructions from the mother country. However this may be, a considerable body of Chinese dropped down the river Sarawak on the night of the 18th of February, and landed at the town, where they were joined by a number of others. They took possession of the stockaded posts, with the ammunition, treasure, opium, &c., they contained; and then attacked the three houses occupied by Sir James Brooke, Mr. Cruickshank (a magistrate), and Mr. Middleton, also a government official. Their only aim appears to have been to massacre those persons who belonged to the government, most of whom

made their escape; but the three houses were destroyed, and the gentlemen named lost all the property they contained. The movement was put down, with the assistance of the Dyaks, and the Chinese suffered great loss of life, and were put under complete restraint; but when the intelligence of the movement reached England, it excited great alarm for a time, as similar movements were anticipated in our other colonies, where the Chinese were numerous.

In England, the intelligence of these events in the East were received by different parties with very opposite feelings. The government defended the proceedings of their officials in China, whilst the opposition denounced them as infringements of the law of nations and the common rights of humanity. It was contended, that the license of the *Arrow* being expired, she had no claim to British protection; and that, if she had, Sir John Bowring ought to have consulted his superiors at home for instructions, and not have so recklessly resorted to acts which, by occasioning such a destruction of life and property, must convert the Chinese people into enemies. The claim at this time, also, of the right of *entrée* to Canton, which had been in abeyance since 1849, was decidedly condemned. The subject was brought before both houses of parliament. In the Lords, resolutions moved by the Earl of Derby, on the 24th of February, embodying the above sentiments, were rejected on the 26th, by a majority of 146 to 110. The same evening Mr. Cobden moved similar resolutions in the Commons, which, after three nights' debate, were carried by 263 votes to 247. Lord Palmerston immediately dissolved parliament; and in his address to the electors of Tiverton, the borough he represented, he appealed to the national spirit; asserting, that he and his government wished to punish "an insolent barbarian," who, "wielding authority at Canton, had violated the British flag, broken the engagements of treaties, offered rewards for the heads of British subjects in that part of China, and planned their destruction by murders, assassinations, and poisons;" whilst their opponents were "endeavouring to make the humiliation and degradation of their country a stepping-stone to power." This disingenuous (to use the mildest term) misrepresentation had its effect. Many of the popular constituencies rejected the supporters of Mr. Cobden's resolutions;

and the new House of Commons exhibited large majority of members especially returned to support Lord Palmerston. The government, in consequence, took steps vigorously to aid Sir John Bowring, and several thousand soldiers were ordered to Hong-Kong. The mutiny in India, which will form the subject of our next chapter, caused them, however, to be diverted to that country.

"The war in China" had languished since the burning of the suburbs of Canton. The admiral wanted reinforcements of ships, and there were only one or two hundred soldiers at his disposal. The vessels he had with him were withdrawn to Hong-Kong, after destroying numerous junks in the Canton river, and pretty nearly dismantling the forts. In one affair, in which the *Hornet* was attacked by junks, the Chinese displayed considerable bravery; but the English fought quite as bravely and more steadily, defeating great odds in numbers, and destroying several vessels. An attempt was also made to destroy the *Comus* by fire-rafts; and but for the coolness and steadiness of officers and men, it would have succeeded, two burning rafts running aboard at the bow and stern. The one at the stern was cleared away, and the ship instantly veering round, escaped the other. A few days after, the *Auckland* was attacked, off Toong-Chung, by four war-junks, heavily armed, which she captured and burnt.

These disasters did not induce Yeh to give the least sign of submission; and he received the support of the emperor. Early in March, an imperial edict appeared, in which the high commissioner was told, that he was "to carry on a war of extermination against the foreign barbarians who had attacked him;" that "they must receive from him exemplary chastisement;" but, "after the vengeance should have been deemed sufficient by him," and "if they manifested sincere repentance for what they had done," then "the emperor, the magnanimous sovereign, who was inundated with floods of light," would consent "that hostilities should cease, and that commercial affairs should be resumed with those foreigners, as they existed previous to their fault." Before this edict appeared, orders had been sent to the governors of all the ports with which the British have permission to trade under the treaty of 1842, to prohibit the inhabitants from trading with the subjects of her majesty, the queen of Great Britain. It was,

at the same time, announced, that the opium markets were provisionally closed; that cordons of troops were placed round the five ports open to Europeans, to prevent strangers from obtaining access into the interior; that the treaties with the English were superseded; that the imperial fleets and troops were to attack the English wherever they met them; and that any Chinese violating the provisions and instructions of the decree, would be punished with death. Many Chinese, however, did violate them; in fact, they were a dead letter, except at Canton, where all trade with England, and intercourse with the English, ceased.

The little *Hornet*, whose affair with the junks in the Canton river we have alluded to in the previous page, had, on the 19th of March, as gallant a *rencontre* with a fleet of pirate junks at St. John's island. Those vessels draw little water, and were anchored in a bay of the island too shallow to permit the *Hornet* to approach them. Her boats were therefore sent into the bay; and Captain Forsyth, landing with a party of marines and some guns, ascended an eminence, from whence he kept up an effective fire on the pirate vessels. The crews fought, for some time, with great desperation; but at length they left the junks, and took to the hills; seventeen boats were captured and destroyed; only one man of the *Hornet's* crew being hurt; he was severely burnt by an explosive machine, thrown from one of the junks.

From March to May nothing occurred in China, or the Chinese seas, worth mentioning in these pages; but, on the 25th and 27th of the latter month, and the 1st of June, there were a series of engagements with the Chinese fleets, stationed in various creeks in the Canton river, which not only inflicted great damage on the enemy, but displayed, very conspicuously, the daring courage of the British sailors.

On the east or left bank of the Canton river are four creeks, running into the interior, called (naming them from the north) Escape Creek, Tszekee Creek, Second Bar Creek, and Sawshee Channel. In the first creek it was known that a fleet of mandarin junks had been moored for some time; and Admiral Seymour having been reinforced by a number of gun-boats, adapted for the shallow waters of the Chinese rivers, it was resolved that, on the 25th of May, an attack should be made upon them. The

vessels engaged were the *Hong-Kong*, *Bus-tard*, *Staunch*, *Starling*, and *Forbes* (gun-boats); which, towing the boats and boats' crews of the *Inflexible*, *Hornet*, and *Tribune*, steamed into the creek till they encountered forty-one mandarin junks, moored across the stream, each armed with a long gun, carrying a 24-lb. or 32-lb. shot, and four or six cannon of smaller calibre. The *Hong-Kong* was leading; and the junks opening their fire as soon as she came in sight, when she got within range the shot fell thick and fast aboard of her. The other boats soon got alongside, and for some time the fire was kept up with spirit. At length confusion was visible on board the junks, and they soon after got under weigh, turned, and fled up the creek. For a time the advantage was all with the gun-boats, as the stern-guns of the junks were 9-pounders, or less, and were, besides, in the hurry of flight, ill-served. But the water soon got too shallow for the gun-boats, though deep enough for the junks. The former grounded, and then the men in the ships' boats pulled gallantly on, and the crews of the gun-boats swarmed into their own pinnaces, manned the guns in their bows, and joined in the pursuit. As soon as any of the boats came up with a junk, out jumped the crew of the latter, and, wading ashore, were lost in the paddy-fields. None stood to fight at close quarters; and, before the pursuit was arrested, thirty junks were taken and burned.

The next day Commodore Eliot, who had the chief command of these operations, placed vessels to guard the other three creeks; and, on the 27th, he himself, with gun-boats and ships' boats, twenty in number, entered the Sawshee channel, with the intention of exploring it. For twelve miles nothing was met with but water; but then the commodore caught sight of a remarkable pagoda, which he had seen on the previous day, when he had ran some distance up Escape Creek. This convinced him that the creeks were all in communication; and, abandoning his steamers, for which there was not sufficient water, he took the ships' boats and proceeded for twelve miles, between paddy-fields, till he found himself close in with a town, which he afterwards ascertained was called Tung-Koon. Of this town the pagoda was the principal building; and there lay a numerous fleet, under a battery, one of them a mandarin junk of great size and splendour. The Chinese were astounded at seeing the English; and

on receiving a regular volley from the boats, and hearing the cheers of the men, as the latter prepared for a rush, they jumped overboard without firing a shot. They did not immediately disperse, but got into the houses of the town, from whence they opened a fire of *jingals* upon the English. Whilst the sailors destroyed the junks, the marines formed and cleared the streets. It was intended to carry off the mandarin junk; but she had powder on her deck, and trains communicating between her and the streets. A house close to her was set on fire, and she blew up, nearly carrying an English pinnace up with her. There was sharp work in clearing the streets; one man out of every ten of the British being hit—a large average, even in European warfare. Twelve large junks were destroyed; and the English constructed sails for their boats of the mats and other spoils of the Chinese vessels, and sailed down the Sawshee channel in such a guise, as might have puzzled the master of each ship to recognise his own. The number of wounded in these two expeditions was thirty-one, most of the casualties occurring on the 27th.

The battle of Fatshan, which took place on the 1st of June, 1857, was the most desperate cutting-out affair that had, up to that time, ever taken place in the Chinese waters: and the admiral himself commanded. He hoisted his flag, on the 29th of May, on board the *Coromandel*, a small paddle-wheel steamer, which was commanded by Lieutenant Douglas, of the *Calcutta*. The admiral was accompanied by Commodore Keppel, and further by Commander Rolland, Flag-lieutenant Fowler, Acting Signal-lieutenant Somerset, and staff-surgeon, Dr. Anderson, all of the *Calcutta*. The *Coromandel*, with the *Haughty*, *Opossum*, *Forrester*, and *Glover* (gun-boats), made its way through the archipelago of islands which lie in the mouth of the great estuary called Canton river, and by the Blenheim passage, to a channel on the right or west bank of that river, known as the Fatshan Branch, as it leads to the city of Fatshan; but the channel was passed, and the vessels went as far north as Macao Fort, for the purpose of reconnoitring the position; the object being to attack a fort, situated on a steep hill, on Hyacinth Island, which lay two miles from the mouth of the Fatshan Branch, and to destroy two fleets of junks moored beyond it: nineteen guns of large calibre were mounted on the fort.

The *Hong-Kong*, *Plover*, and several other gun-boats joined the admiral, with a number of ships' boats; and all were moored on Sunday, the 31st of May, below the Fatshan Branch. On that day, "there was a large congregation on board the flag-ship; and the solemn words of prayer before battle, fell heavily on every ear."

The crew of the *Coromandel* were aroused by three o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 1st of June; and as she prepared for starting, the admiral's last words were—"Let no one up-anchor till I am well-in with the fort. Respect private property, and do no harm to unarmed people!" The *Coromandel* then steamed into the Fatshan Branch, steering for Hyacinth Island, towing several boats, filled with marines, who were to land and take the fort. She had proceeded a mile up the Fatshan before any notice was taken of her approach: then rockets were thrown up from each side of the river, and from the junks; and directly after, a shot from the fort, well-aimed for the *Coromandel*, fell about 200 yards ahead. When she got within range, the fort opened upon her in earnest; and soon her course was arrested by a line of junks sunk in the channel. Then the shot fell thicker and faster; but the boats were cast off, and ordered to row quietly under the land, while the fort was thus occupied in firing at the *Coromandel*. The marines were soon on shore, and ascended the hill on which the fort stood, by a precipitous side, which the Chinese never supposed they would attempt. There were several officers with the red-jackets—Commodore Eliot, Captains Boyle, Corbett, Forsyth, Leckie, and Major Kearney, assistant quartermaster-general of the army, who having been dispatched to reconnoitre and report on the military character of the country, had joined the expedition. The admiral, who had left the *Coromandel* in his own boat, and his flag-lieutenant, Fowler, were also there. When the Chinese found on which side the marines were advancing, they endeavoured to bring their guns to bear on them, in vain; and then they hurled down upon them three-pronged spears, 32-lb. shot, and other missiles. But the crest of the hill was gained with difficulty, several Chinese falling from the fire of the assailants; and when the latter were within fifty yards of the fort, the garrison discharged their guns, and then walked down at the back of the hill. "It required many shots from the



RETREAT OF THE FRENCH FROM PORTUGAL.

marines to make them run." Thus the fort was in the possession of the British; and the marines took to the paddy-fields, to search for the fugitives, and to aid the attack on the junks.

Whilst this was passing, Commodore Keppel, thinking he had waited quite long enough to obey the admiral's orders, took his place on the paddle-box of the *Hong-Kong*; and there he stood, "his blue trowsers tucked-up to the top of his Russian boots, his white pith-hat, his small, active, springy figure, his constitutional, good-humoured, devil-may-care laugh—there he stood—a man who, without the least ostentation, was ready to go into any fire that gunpowder and iron could get up; and around him were men who were quite ready to follow him." He made for the mouth of the Fatshan, followed by the *Haughty* and *Plover*, "towing the boats of the *Fury*, *Inflexible*, and *Cruiser*—large steamers, which could only send their captains and crews into those narrow channels." The boats of the *Raleigh** were also a part of this force. As it advanced up the stream, the boats attracted the fire from the *Coromandel*, which was struggling to get free. Commodore Keppel took the channel to the left of the island, where a barrier had been thrown across, which the *Hong-Kong* and *Haughty* were some time in forcing. In the meantime, the *Opossum* dashed through the channel on the right, at full speed, and took her part in attacking the junks forming the first division of the Chinese fleet, and with which some ships' boats, that had passed the *Hong-Kong* and *Haughty*, were spiritedly engaged. Several gun-boats got ashore in the right channel; but the course of the ships' boats in that direction was not arrested. "Crowded with men and cheering heartily, galley and gig, pinnace, launch, and barge, went racing up. The scene was like a regatta; but Death picked his victims as they passed." Thirty junks were "blazing away their twelve guns each at the intruders;" and "how any mortal men could live in that hell of flying iron it seemed impossible to conceive. The secret," no doubt, "lies in the resolution of our men. They pulled directly up alongside, and, from the elevation of the guns,

* This was the ship Commodore Keppel had commanded; and which had been lost, a week or two previously, by running on a rock.

† He had joined Commodore Keppel after the capture of the fort.

the inevitable broadside of grape passed over their heads." When the boats closed with the junks, the strife was soon over. As our men jumped on deck on one side, the crews rushed over on the other: the junks deserted—"first came a rush of fire and a loud explosion. A pillar of white smoke rose high into the air, and swelled at the top like a Doric column. Then another and another, and the guns ceased, and the cannon-smoke blew away, and the boats' crews were seen rowing from junk to junk, which lay in two long lines, almost as far as the eye could reach—some kindling, some in full blaze; but all stranded and abandoned. In one of them, the sailors rescued an old man and a boy chained to a gun, and left to burn. In another a woman and child were tied with wisps of straw to a 32-pounder! There were many which the sailors could not board; and perhaps these, also, had their victims."—Right and left these vessels lay: they covered an immense extent of narrow water; and, seventy-two in number, all were either in possession of the English or in flames.

And where, all this while, was Keppel? Shortly after the *Hong-Kong* and *Haughty* broke through the barrier, the former grounded. We will let the gallant commodore tell the rest in his own words.

"When the *Hong-Kong* grounded, I led on the boats in my gig; but, as the tide was rising, she kept following us as fast as she could, to attack the second division of the Chinese, which was three miles higher up the river, in a well-selected place, and evidently the *élite* of their fleet. They numbered exactly twenty, in one compact row—mounting from 10 to 14 guns each, two of them, in stern and bow, being heavy 32-pounders. I saw that I had all the *Raleigh's* boats well-up, and determined to push on. They fired occasional shots, as if to ascertain our exact distance, but did not open their heaviest fire until we were within 600 yards, and then I soon saw how impossible it would be to force our way until I had reinforcements. Nearly the first poor fellow, who had his head knocked off, was an amateur—Major Kearney.† I had known him many years. We cheered, and I tried to get on, when a shot struck my boat quite amidships, cut one man in two, and took off the arm of another. Prince Victor [of Hohenlohe], who was with me, jumped forward, to bind the man's arm up with his neckcloth. While he was doing so, another round shot passed through both sides of the boat, wounding two others of the crew. The boat was filling with water, and I got on one of the seats to keep my legs out of it: just as I stepped up, a third round shot went through both sides of the boat, not more than one inch below the seat on which I was standing. Many of our boats had now got huddled together, the oars of most being cut away. A boat of the *Calcutta* being nearest, we got in,

pulling our wounded men with us. My dog 'Mike' refusing to leave the body of the seaman who had been his favourite, we were obliged to leave him. I then gave the order to retire on the *Hong-Kong*, and re-form abreast of her." * * * "When I reached the *Hong-Kong* the whole of the enemy's fire seemed to be centred upon her. She was hulled twelve times in a few minutes; her deck was covered with the wounded who had been taken on board from the boats. I was looking at them, when a round shot cut down a marine, and he fell among them. From our paddle-box I saw that our heavy firing was now bringing up a strong reinforcement. The account of my having been obliged to retire had reached them, and they were pulling-up like mad. The *Hong-Kong* had floated, and grounded again. I ordered a bit of blue bunting to be got ready, to represent my broad pennant. I called out, 'Let us try the row-boats once more boys;' and went over the side into our cutter (the *Raleigh's*), in which was Turnour; the faithful Spurrier bringing the bit of blue flag. At this moment, there arose from the boats, as if every man took it up at the same instant, one of those British cheers so full of meaning, that I knew, at once, it was all up with John Chinaman. They might sink twenty boats, but there were thirty others which would go ahead all the faster. On we went. It was indeed a lovely and exciting sight. I saw the move among the junks. They were breaking ground, and moving off, the outermost first. This manœuvre they performed in beautiful order. They never ceased to fire. Three more cheers, and then began an exciting chase for seven miles. As our shot told on them, they ran on shore, and their crews forsook them. Seventeen were come up with, and captured in this way; three only escaped.*

The pursuit extended to the town of Fatshan, where twelve junks having already been taken, three got into a small creek, and the other five were headed by the English boats. The people of Fatshan had a desire to prevent them from being captured; and the bells of the town were heard to ring, and the gongs to sound; whilst a body of men marched out, and filed down a fosse, "so covered from view, that only their waving banners and their brandished swords and shields were visible." The commodore immediately landed his marines, drew them up at a short distance from the advancing party as it emerged from its fosse, and poured such a volley of Minié balls into their ranks, that they soon retired to their fosse again, and back to the town. He proposed to land his howitzers, and pass the night in the city; but the admiral recalled him; and he returned, the five junks towed before him. They were

destroyed; for as the English could make no use of them, they were not worth preserving. Eighty-nine was the number of junks captured; and, in the events of the day, three officers and ten seamen and marines were killed, and four officers and forty seamen and marines wounded.

Thus closed an arduous and a glorious day. "At sundown, the view from the deck of the flag-ship was a mixture of the grotesque and the sublime. The boats were all adorned with barbaric spoils; banners of every amplitude, some of them adorned with colossal pictures of the fat god Fo, flaunted upon the breeze. Mandarins' coats and mandarins' breeches were freely worn. Commodore Eliot's crew were equipped each with a mandarin's hat and fox's tail. They had dutifully reserved one for the commodore; but he was not seen to put it on. Around, far as the eye could reach, following the windings of the maze of creeks, eighty-nine war-junks were smouldering or blazing; and every five minutes an explosion shook the air." * * * "Next morning, the fleet of gun and ships' boats, and the steamers, passed down the river. Two war-junks appeared three miles astern, and fired a gun. They were," no doubt, "chasing the barbarian fleet."†

After this brilliant affair, Admiral Seymour returned to Hong-Kong, entrusting the command in the Canton river, from Chucupepe Fort (which he took possession of on the 16th of June) to Macao Fort, to Commodore Keppel, who hoisted his flag in the *Hong-Kong*; but was soon after recalled to England. Up to this time, the arrival of troops had been anxiously looked for, with a view to more decisive operations being undertaken against Canton; the occupation of that city being considered necessary before the Chinese could be brought to reason. Several regiments were ordered to China from England; but they were diverted, as already stated, to India. General Ashburnham was sent to China to take the command; but when he arrived at Hong-Kong he found no troops; and after remaining there a month or two, he first went to Calcutta, and then returned to England. The government also dispatched Lord Elgin to Hong-Kong, as

* From a private letter, written by Vice-admiral Keppel to his friends in Norfolk.

† The account of the actions of the 25th and 27th of May, and of the 1st of June (with the exception of Vice-admiral Keppel's letter), is abridged from

the narrative of those engagements, furnished to the *Times* by Mr. Wingrove Cooke its correspondent, who was an eye-witness of the last; partly from the paddle-box of the *Coromandel*, and partly from the hill on Hyacinth Island.

special envoy and plenipotentiary from her majesty to the emperor of China, with full power to negotiate a fresh treaty with the imperial authorities. The French emperor—who took a similar view of the Chinese question to that so generally entertained amongst commercial men, and by some politicians and statesmen in England, and was, like them, in favour of new treaties, which would give to Europeans greater freedom of intercourse in China, and preserve them from the interested cupidity or antiquated prejudices of the Chinese people—appointed M. the Baron Gros his commissioner-extraordinary, to co-operate with Lord Elgin. The baron left France in the frigate *Audacieuse*, and arrived at Hong-Kong shortly after his lordship, who disembarked at Victoria on the 2nd of July. His lordship had landed at Singapore on his way; and there the Chinese merchants presented him with an address, expressive of the blessings they enjoyed from dwelling “in peace and safety under the wise and just laws of Great Britain;” their regret for “the serious misunderstandings at Canton which had led to the present warlike proceedings between the British and the Chinese;” and their hope that his excellency would be “guided by compassion, and not by rigour, in overthrowing the monster confusion now prevailing, for the mutual benefit of both nations.” His lordship’s reply was short: saying nothing about Chinese affairs, he merely expressed his pleasure at learning “that they were duly sensible of the advantages they enjoyed under the protection of the wise and just laws of Great Britain;” and his “trust that the conduct of their countrymen at Singapore would always be such as to entitle them to a continuance of such blessings.” The British subjects at Hong-Kong addressed his lordship in a different tone. They assured his excellency, that “the satisfaction with which his acceptance of his difficult and peculiar mission was hailed in England, had found a ready echo there.” They offered no advice respecting the readjustment of the relations of England with the empire at large; but with respect to “the Canton difficulty,” they declared, “that any compromise of it, or any sort of settlement which stopped short of the complete humiliation of the Cantonese”—a humiliation which would “teach them a wholesome respect for the obligations of their own government in its relations with

foreign powers,” and “lead them to accord a more hospitable reception to the foreigners who resorted to their shores for the peaceable purposes of trade,” would “only result in further suffering to themselves, and further disastrous interruptions to” the addressers. In his reply, Lord Elgin expressed his concurrence in the sentiments of the address; and alluded to the powerful fleet already assembled, and to the adequate military force by which it would soon be supported, as “a pledge of her majesty’s determination to afford protection to her faithful subjects in that quarter, and to maintain the rights to which they were by treaty entitled.”

Lord Elgin went to Calcutta in August. He returned to Hong-Kong early in October; and it soon became known that an attack on Canton would be made, as soon as a force sufficiently numerous to take and hold that city was collected. The news reached the Cantonese; and whilst many of the citizens removed into the neighbouring villages, not a few took their families to Macao, and some even to Hong-Kong. Steamers and gun-boats continued to arrive in October and November; and at the close of the latter month the fleet moved up to the Canton river. There were several French vessels of war in the river, to co-operate with the English; and also United States and Portuguese armed vessels, for the protection of their merchants and their property. A large reinforcement of marines, and a part of the 59th regiment, had also arrived at Hong-Kong. On the 15th of December, there were in the Chinese waters forty-nine English vessels of war—sailing-vessels, paddle and screw steamers, and gun-boats—carrying, together, 413 guns. The French had twelve vessels, carrying 195 guns; the Portuguese two, with 26 guns; and the United States four, bearing 97 guns. The Russians and Dutch had also each one vessel; the former at Macao; the latter at Hong-Kong.

On the 12th of December, it was announced, that an “effective blockade was established of the river and port of Canton, and its tributaries,” by the naval forces of Great Britain and France. On the same day, the Earl of Elgin wrote to high commissioner Yeh, referring to various infractions of the treaty, and telling him, that the governments of England and France had united “to seek, by vigorous action, explanation for past, and security against future

wrongs." The following conditions were required to be "absolutely and unreservedly conceded;" and till they were, the progress of hostile operations against Canton could not be arrested:—"1. The complete execution, at Canton, of all treaty engagements, including the free admission of British subjects to the city. 2. Compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection, for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances." If those conditions were granted within ten days, the high commissioner was informed, that the blockade would be raised, and commerce permitted to resume its course; but the English and French forces would retain the island of Honan, as a "material guarantee," till a treaty was concluded. If, on the contrary, they were met "by a refusal, by silence, or by evasive or dilatory pleas," the naval and military commanders would be directed to prosecute, with renewed vigour, the operations against Canton; and his excellency, in that case, "reserved to himself to make, on behalf of the British government, such additional demands on the government of China as the altered condition of affairs might seem, in his eyes, to justify." The high commissioner replied on the 14th, to the effect, that the commercial intercourse of Canton was conducted on the same principles as at the other ports, and could not be altered; and that, in the case of the lorcha, "justice and equity were on the side of the Chinese." The threatened military occupation of Honan was treated lightly; and the letter concluded with great compliments to his excellency, by a correspondence between whom and himself, Yeh observed, "the continuance of trade between natives and foreigners, on its accustomed footing, could, of course, be satisfactorily arranged." Lord Elgin, who by that time had arrived in the *Furious* at Whampoa, replied to this communication on the 24th of December, stating, that he saw in the document "no disposition to accede to the moderate demands of England, and consequently, he had called upon the naval and military commanders to prosecute, with renewed vigour, operations against Canton." Yeh replied on the 25th, at some length, but only defending the course hitherto pursued by the Chinese; and retorting, upon the claim for indemnity, the repeated applications from the gentry and people of Canton for compensation for their sufferings, by "Mr. Consul Parkes having, without any cause, com-

manded hostilities, attacked the forts along the different approaches, and thrice sent troops to fire buildings and dwellings in various directions." The following day, Lord Elgin wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, forwarding the correspondence and remarking, that Yeh "conceded nothing, either on the question of indemnity, or on that of the right of entrance into the city;" and therefore, he "thought it better, as the imperial commissioner had been fully apprised that the matter was now in the hands of the naval and military authorities, that he should abstain from replying to his last communication." Those authorities, on the matter being turned over to them, addressed a letter to the high commissioner, informing him, that they were now the arbiters of the position; and that "if, at the end of a further term of forty-eight hours, the city should be peaceably surrendered into their hands, life and property would be respected; but that, if the terms were not accepted, the city would be attacked."

The island of Honan lies at the top of the Canton river, having that city immediately in front of its north-west extremity, the river flowing between the two being about as wide as the Thames at London-bridge. On this island Major-general Van Straubenzee, who, after the departure of General Ashburnham, had succeeded to the command of the troops in China, and Admiral Seymour took up their head-quarters; as did Rear-admiral Sir Rigault de Genouilly, the commander of the French naval force in the Chinese waters. The brigade of royal marines and royal marine artillery were comfortably quartered in the large storehouses on the island; the troops (the 59th Queen's regiment and the 38th Madras native infantry) remained on board the *Lancashire Witch* and another transport, at Whampoa; and the French contingent on board their own ships, except a small party in conjoint occupation at Honan.—On the 21st of December, the commanding officers held a conference with Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros; and the diplomatists formally handed over to the former the further arrangement of affairs. Several days were spent in reconnoitring the position; in placing batteries on the island; in converting the Dutch Folly into a mortar battery; in throwing up another mortar battery on the peninsula on which the French Folly stands; and in arranging the plan of attack. No opposition appears to have been offered

by the Chinese—a strange oversight, as they were in considerable force. The vast river population gave way before our vessels, retreating as we advanced—displaying no signs of hostile feeling; and a party of the sappers and of the 38th Madras native infantry, who were put on shore about two miles to the east of the city, to make a landing-place for the artillery, found the natives rather friendly than otherwise. At first the villagers were excessively frightened; but finding that no harm was intended them, they gradually came from their houses, and seemed willing enough to treat with the English on reasonable terms. Two companies of the 59th landed on the 27th of December, for the purpose of protecting the working parties; and the officers found no difficulty in procuring additions to their camp rations. The doctor obtained a fine fowl; Major Burmester, who commanded the party, purchased a couple of chickens, at the rate of sixpence each; and, in addition, received a quantity of sweet potatoes as “Kumshaw,” or a present. All kinds of vegetables were plentiful around them. The men resorted to these; and evinced great culinary art in the manner in which they made stews with their salt pork, in combination with a variety of the green delicacies. The officers formed themselves into two messes, and there was considerable rivalry as to which should prove themselves most worthy of the mantle of Soyer.*

Everything was ready for the attack on the evening of the 27th; and orders were given that the troops and marines should be in motion the next morning by day-break. The admiral issued an order that day, calling the “serious attention of the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron, to the necessity of carefully protecting the lives and the property of the peaceable and unarmed inhabitants;” and announcing “his determination to discountenance and prevent all ‘looting,’ or plundering:” at the same time, expressing “his warmest thanks to the commodore [Eliot], captains, and commissioned officers, seamen, and royal marines, for the patient endurance they had evinced during the past twelve months, in the monotonous and frequently harassing duty of keeping open the navigation of the river;” and assuring “them, that, whatever might be the nature of future operations, he should enter upon

* Military correspondent of the *Morning Post*.

them with the fullest confidence in their ready and gallant co-operation for the maintenance of the honour of the British flag; and the success of their arms.”—In the evening a general order was issued, detailing the plan of operations to be adopted the next day. The land forces, under Major-general Van Straubenzee, were formed in two divisions: the first, under Colonel Holloway, comprised the 1st and 2nd battalions of the royal marine light infantry; the second, commanded by Colonel Graham—the royal engineers, and volunteer company of sappers; the royal artillery, and royal marine artillery; provisional battalion of royal marine light infantry; the 59th European, and the 38th Madras native infantry regiments. There were also English and French naval brigades; the former, under Commodore Eliot, being formed in three divisions, under Captains the Hon. Keith Stuart, A. C. Kay, and Sir R. Maclure. In this general order, the stations for the steamers and gun-boats were pointed out; and it was directed, that the bombardment should be in very slow time, continued day and night, and not to exceed sixty rounds during the first twenty-four hours, except from the gun-boats stationed between the French and Dutch Follies (whose fire took in the south-east angle, and the east walls of the city): these were to fire a hundred rounds. The number of men employed was—soldiers, 800; royal marines, 2,100; naval brigade, 1,829; French naval brigade, 950: total, 5,679.†

At daylight on the morning of the 28th, a signal, previously arranged, was simultaneously hoisted at the mast-heads of the *Actæon* and *Phlegeton*; and immediately a slow fire was opened, from steamers and gun-boats, upon the south-west and south-east angles of the old and new city walls, along the east wall, and on the south wall, opposite the viceroy’s residence; the mortar battery on the Dutch Folly playing on Magazine-hill, the city heights, and Gough Fort. This fire came from the gun-boats placed on the far east; next them were the French steamers; next the *Niger*, *Hornet*, *Cruiser*, *Surprise*, and *Nimrod*; then came the Dutch fort (to the westward of the islet on which it stands, were two large French gun-boats); and then the *Phlegeton* and *Actæon*. The forces intended to operate on shore landed in what is called “Kuper’s Island Passage”—a channel running between an island of

† Admiral Seymour’s despatch.

that name, laying to the north of Honan Island, and to the east of French Folly. No opposition was made to the landing; but after all were on shore, Brigadier Graham, having to send an order to the commander of the marines, dispatched Lieutenant Hacket, of the 59th, on that mission. He had reached within 200 yards of their advanced party, when some Chinese, in the dress of villagers, rushed upon him, and in an instant he was dead, and his head taken off, with which they made towards the gate, no doubt to claim the reward. The marines fired, killed two, and a third was taken, who was instantly hanged. Each division, as it landed, marched in the direction of Lin's Fort, on the east of the city; and long before the landing was completely effected, twenty-five gun-boats, mounting in all about sixty guns, and six 13-inch mortars, with the broadsides from the large steamers, were all directing their fire upon the devoted city.

Several hours were occupied in landing the forces. The French, on getting on shore, passed through the camp of the 59th, who had landed on the previous day, and were cheered lustily by the English; and the cheering was returned, with equal vigour, by our gallant ally. In a few minutes the latter were engaged with the enemy. As soon as the firing was heard, the grenadiers of the 59th, under Captain Burke, and a part of the light company, under Lieutenant Joy, also pushed on; the remainder of the latter company, under Captain Clarke, remaining to protect the landing. At this time, every place that commanded a view of the scene of conflict was covered with dense bodies of Coolies and villagers, and orders were given not to fire upon them; but a sharp attack was made on the Chinese and Tartars, who were without the city walls, covering the heights that surround them, except on the south. The main body of the 59th having landed, they advanced and gained height after height; the enemy retreating as they approached. The Chinese stood the heaviest fire without giving way an inch; but as soon as they caught the glitter of the bayonet, off they ran—they could not stand the cold steel. The first fort to be taken was Fort Lin, or the East Fort, on which there were twelve guns in position. The French passed round this fort on the left—the English advanced in front; and the fort, which had kept its guns masked till this

period, now opened a brisk fire of round shot, accompanied with a discharge of rockets. "None of our men were hit, the whole of the ground about Canton being one huge graveyard; and the peculiar build of Chinese graves gave all our men shelter. They are circular pits, with the mound facing the city, and opening out on a level, in the other direction; so that each hill, as it were, became an enormous staircase,"* up which the 59th made their way—the marines, to the number of 1,500, soon joining them on the right, as well as a party of artillery. Having cleared the heights, they prepared to storm the Lin Fort; but the Chinese, as usual, would not remain for a hand-to-hand struggle, and made off at the back. They were seen by the French, though not by the British; and the former rushed forward, got into the fort by the way the Chinese retreated, and planted the tricolour on the walls just as the British reached them. Our artillery now took possession of the fort which the French evacuated, and turned the guns—one of them "a long brass gun, with a touch-hole as big as the bowl of a table-spoon"†—upon the city.

Whilst the French, the 59th, the marines, and the artillery thus cleared the enemy away from this quarter, and occupied Lin Fort, a party of the naval brigade, under Captain the Hon. A. A. Cochrane, established themselves in a joss-house, or temple, having expelled the Chinese troops; and the possession of this post protected the British right from annoyance during the night. This brigade had also a smart brush with a party of Chinese, "who issued from the city, with numberless flags, flashings of swords, and other demonstrations of bravery. The blue-jackets, perceiving their advance, hurried forward to meet them; and there the best stand was made by the Chinese. In charging a wood, which they occupied in great force, our blue-jackets lost a number killed and wounded; but, before the operations had lasted twenty minutes, the enemy retired, and did not again venture to the attack, though they made demonstrations at a respectful distance in the plain."‡ The enemy was found to be in considerable force in this quarter, and also on the hill to the north of the city; and from that position, Gough's Fort, and the city walls, they kept up a constant and brisk fire of cannon and *jingals*,

* *Morning Post.*† *Ibid.*‡ *Ibid.*

with repeated discharges of rockets, upon the assailants. The English and French had landed several howitzers, which they brought to the front, and considerably checked the enemy's fire. During the day several conflagrations took place in the city, which must have done very extensive damage: they burned several hours; but at midnight appeared to have expended themselves; still, every now and then the flames shot up with a frightful glare, dying away again nearly as rapidly.

The land force bivouacked for the night round Lin's Fort; the head-quarters being established in a Bhuddist temple to the rear. The 59th were in the centre; the French on the left, whose camp-fires showed that they had made themselves comfortable for the night. In the rear and to the right were the marines; and on the extreme right, stretching a long distance away, was the camp of the naval brigade. The soldiers bivouacked in the pits behind Fort Lin. "The Chinese continued to fire both round shot and rockets, and, having got the range, they fired at the marines in an extremely accurate direction; but from the peculiar nature of the ground, no casualty was heard of." The shot passed over the troops in the pit, and their constant whizzing created "a most uncontrollable desire to 'bob;' but fatigue made them forget all this, and in a few minutes, wrapped in their cloaks, all but the sentinels were fast asleep."* The bombardment was continued during the night; and it was a night "never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The fire from the various ships was kept up only at intervals, but, from their number, it appeared incessant. During the brief pauses everything was still as death in the city—no shouting, or screams, or sounds of confusion; not a human being was to be seen, either on the city side, or on Honan; but it seemed as if the stern form of the destroying angel were crouching over the fated and unhappy city, and aweing its victims into silence. The shells were whistling through the air, their tracks marked by the fizzing of their fiery fuses, twinkling like stars during their revolutions—till at last, arriving at their destinations, there was a flash and an explosion, which showed how accurately and how fearfully these engines of destruction did their work."†

* *Morning Post.*

† Correspondent of the *Overland China Mail.*

The commanders having, on the 28th, had an opportunity of viewing the east wall, it was decided to take it on the following morning by escalade. At daylight the 59th were thrown out in skirmishing order, to engage and drive back the Chinese "braves," who kept up an incessant fire; and though the ground, like that which was passed over on the 28th, afforded considerable shelter, "there were large open spaces to be crossed, where the men experienced the full force of the heavy fire of the Chinese." There was a kind of village between the British and the city, "with a long large building, like a storehouse, capable of covering upwards of 1,000 men. As the 59th advanced, the villagers fired at them from the cottages, but they were immediately hunted out, and many were shot down." After about an hour's fighting of this description—in which the skirmishers received the enemy's fire, and knocked them over with their rifles as they showed their heads above the walls—"Captain Burke and Captain Kean's companies were ordered to make a further advance; and rushing forwards, they took possession of a ditch within forty yards of the walls."‡

General Van Straubensee, as soon as daylight permitted the passage of the guns over the uneven and unknown ground, ordered the field batteries to breach the parapet where the British division expected to escalade; and the French guns were also actively engaged on the position assigned to them. The troops, as they advanced, were exposed to a sharp fire from the *jingals* on the wall; and whilst Captain Bate, of the *Actæon*, and Captain Mann, R.E., were reconnoitring for the purpose of selecting a fitting spot for planting the scaling-ladders, the former was mortally wounded; as was Mr. H. Thompson, midshipman of the *Sans-pareil*, who accompanied Commanders Hamilton, Fellowes, and Slight, and Lieutenant Viscount Guildford, in charge of the scaling-ladders. The men bearing the ladders pressed forward whilst the shot fell around, covered by the Madras rifles and the marine light infantry; and they were speedily planted against the walls: so were those of the French naval brigade. The excitement to be first on the walls was very great. Colonel Graham was first on the ladder; but it was too short for him; and Major Luard passed him. At the same time, a dare-devil young Frenchman had

‡ *Morning Post.*

taken off his shoes and gaiters, and was trying to work himself up the southern angle of the bastion, aided by Major Luard, who propped him up with his own firelock. Eventually, Luard was the first on the wall, followed by the Frenchman; then the band-master of the 59th, and Colonel Graham. At a little distance, Captain Stuart, R.E., was in the act of mounting the wall, when the ladder he was upon broke, and two or three Frenchmen sprung past him. Corporal Perkins and Daniel Donovan, two sappers, kept pace with the Frenchmen, and were amongst the first on the wall.* Soon the rest of the force followed; and, "amidst the hearty cheers of the whole army, the French and English colours were floating over the battlements of Canton. Division after division rapidly clambered up the ladders, and advanced along the wall to the northward, taking gate after gate (which form the principal defences of the city) in rapid succession. The enemy, completely surprised and confounded at the impetuosity of the attack, offered but trifling opposition."†

The marines, naval brigade, and the French, took the direction to the north; and the 59th cleared the wall to the south-east and the south, the enemy frequently making a stand, but invariably retiring when charged with the bayonet, and then keeping up a desultory fire in the distance. "Before ten o'clock the flags of the allied powers floated over a red-bricked barrack, five stories high (called the "Five-storied Pagoda"), the city heights, including two forts mounted with heavy guns, and the other defences of the city as far as the north gate." There the Chinese made a stand, and kept up a very hot fire; and there Lord Guildford, Lieutenant Butler, and many others were wounded, and a seaman of the *Sybill* killed. The Tartars had collected there, and had several field-pieces on the walls; but they were driven back by a spirited charge of a part of the second division of the naval brigade; while the first division captured Gough's Fort and the Marine's Fort, on the north side of the city; the former mounting four, and the latter twelve guns. The guns and carriages were destroyed, and the magazines blown up. The enemy were still in

considerable force on the west side of the city; and, from the direction of the west gate, kept up a sharp fire; and, notwithstanding the fire from the *Calcutta's* field-pieces, landed under Lieutenants Goodenough and Beamish, advanced — being sheltered by a wall and some brick guard-houses—to within fifty yards of the gate. There they were met by a party of marines and sailors under Captains Sir Robert Maclure and Cochrane, routed, and driven back. The covering buildings were then destroyed, and the guns found there spiked. As large bodies of armed men had been seen to enter the west gate during the afternoon, all the houses that would give them any shelter, so as to enable them to annoy the troops who had taken up their position at the east side and at the north gate, were destroyed; and about 9 P.M. the firing ceased for the day. In all these operations the French took a conspicuous share—Rear-admiral Genouilly showing a noble example, which was gallantly emulated by the officers and men. As in the Crimea, however, they took care to secure the best places for themselves. They occupied, on the night of the 29th, the five-storied building, while the British were exposed to the open air.—The city was still on fire in several places; the flames illuminating everything around. The Chinese were seen exerting themselves most energetically to extinguish the fires, which they were not permitted to do where the flames had been kindled by the British or French for the purposes of self-protection. "Many poor wretches, consequently, fell victims to their own determination and infatuated desire to save, perhaps, all they were possessed of."‡

"On the morning of the 30th, the enemy sent in a flag of truce, begging permission to bury the dead, which was granted. In the afternoon, the commanders-in-chief, with their staff and a force, proceeded to capture the west gate. The guns on the parapet were loaded, and turned on the position of the allies; but all the defences were abandoned, and not the slightest opposition was offered. All the guns, as far as that gate, were spiked and thrown over the walls. The force then made the circuit of the city;"§ all the exterior of which

* The French accounts say, "the second master of the *Capricieuse*, Pellissier arrived first in the breach, and displayed our colours on the wall." The above account is given from a comparison of the narratives of the correspondents of the *Morning Post* and the

Times, the former of whom was in the engagement, and the latter an eye-witness of it and is, we have no doubt, correct.

† Admiral Seymour's despatch. ‡ *Morning Post*.

§ The admiral's despatch.

was in the possession of the allies. They do not appear to have penetrated into the interior for several days, except individually, or by small parties; and then the Chinese showed themselves excessively friendly. The officers endeavoured to prevent plundering; and British escorts paraded daily, who had strict orders to make prisoners of any persons, whatever corps or nation they might belong to, who were discovered in the act of "looting." Captain Morrison, the provost-marshal, had to punish several privates for that offence; but drunkenness was unknown.—The loss of the British, in the three days' fighting, had been only seven killed, about 120 wounded, and seventeen severely burnt by the accidental explosion of a magazine. The French had thirty-four killed and wounded. The paucity of the casualties, the surgeons attributed to the want of propulsive power in the Chinese weapons. Where the Minié ball would have crushed the bone, the Chinese bullet glanced, and lost its energy among the surface tissues.

The next six days were occupied in blowing-up Gough Fort, and another of those external defences which the allies, on account of the paucity of their numbers, could not garrison; in forming a road through that portion of the suburbs immediately above the French Folly, which they occupied; and in constructing a new landing-place at the south-east part of the city. This, in a few days, assumed such a smart appearance, that it was called "Hall's Terrace," from Captain Hall, of the *Calcutta*, under whose superintendence the work was carried on. The wounded had also to be attended to; and nothing could be more promptly or tenderly done than was their removal. "Large hospital-ships' boats, previously fitted for even a greater emergency, were near at hand; and in those capacious floating houses they were all placed, as swiftly as could be safely done."* For several days great confusion—exceeding even that at Balaklava—prevailed on the beach; and little would have been effected without the Coolies. "Oh, those patient, lusty, invaluable Coolies!" exclaims Mr. Wingrove Cooke.

cried, 'Eh yaw!' and laughed, and worked away as merrily as ever. Their conduct has throughout been admirable; and Captain Temple, the 'King of the Coolies,' deserves credit for the manner in which he has handled them. Well-dressed, and well-fed, wearing the cotton uniform of a Chinese soldier—except that the Chinese characters on the jacket of the imperial 'ping' are replaced by an English number, and that the words 'Army Train,' are written in conspicuous characters round their conical caps—these stout fellows, with their bamboo poles, are at once the envy and the terror of the Chinese populace."

From the 30th of December to the 5th of January, 1858, the allies remained in position on the heights and walls, the plain of chimneyless roofs lying impervious at their feet. They expected that the Chinese would come in with offers of submission; but nothing of the kind took place. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, who landed from the ships, made an imposing promenade round the walls, accompanied with great military display; but it only attracted a few gazers of the lower orders of the populace. The mandarin soldiers had all been driven off, but they had been succeeded by robbers, with whom our men had more trouble. As to Yeh, he lived much as usual; cutting off the heads of 400 Chinese one morning, and sticking them up in the south of the city, where his *Yamun*, or palace, was situated. But his reign was rapidly drawing to a close. On Tuesday, the 5th of January, an expedition into the interior of the city was planned and carried out; for as no communication had been received from the Chinese authorities, it was resolved to attempt their capture. At eight in the morning, the city was suddenly entered at three different places. A strong division of the French, headed by their admiral, proceeded to the west gate; and leaving a guard there, they hastened to the residency of the Tartar general, Tseang-Kean, who was captured by Captain Jules Collier. Admiral Seymour and General Van Straubenzee, with the royal marines under Colonel Holloway, entered the city on the north side, and marching down the north street, surrounded the residence of Pequi, or Peh-Kwei, the governor, who was taken prisoner by the marines. Commodore Eliot, with Captain Key's division of the naval brigade, proceeded to the south-east, and the most important prize fell into their hands. Consul Parkes joined this party; and they having obtained some clue to his retreat, resolved to search for Yeh. A Chinese, whom they found in an empty building, called the

* It was a valuable legacy which Colonel Wetherall left us—that Coolie corps. They carried the ammunition on the day of the assault close up to the rear of our columns; and when a cannon-shot took off the head of one of them, the others only

* *The Times*.

“Imperial Library,” and the Tartar governor, who had fallen into the hands of the marines, were compelled to be their guides, and they took the small naval force through such a maze of narrow streets, that some of the officers thought they were acting very imprudently. Captain Key, however, resolved to go on. “If the worst come to the worst,” he said, “we know the direction of the walls by this compass, and can fight our way to them.” So on they went. “At last the guides called a halt at the door of a third-rate yamun, which appeared closed and deserted. The doors were forced open, and the blue-jackets were all over the place in a moment. It was evident they were now on the right scent. The place was full of hastily-packed baggages. Mandarins were running about—yes, *running* about; and at last one came forward, and delivered himself up as Yeh. But he was not fat enough. Parkes pushed him aside, and, hurrying on, they at last spied a very fat man contemplating the achievement of getting over the wall, at the extreme rear of the yamun. Captain Key and Commodore Eliot’s coxswain rushed forward. Key took the fat gentleman round the waist, and the coxswain twisted the august tail of the imperial commissioner round his fist. There was no mistake now; this was the veritable Yeh! Instinctively the blue-jackets felt it must be Yeh; and they tossed up their hats, and gave three rattling cheers.”*

At first Yeh evinced great cowardice, and trembled violently, denying that he was the high commissioner. But when assured of his personal safety, he became arrogant and assuming. His capture was soon known; and as all the prisoners were transferred to head-quarters (a collegiate building, before a great joss-house, on Magazine-hill, to the north of the city), everybody that could, thronged to see them. There was a consultation as to how they should be treated. “Let the governor and general return under conditions. Let Peh-Kwei re-establish his court under the authority of, and in co-operation with, a European tribunal; and let Tseang-Kean disband his troops, and deliver up their arms,” was the advice of Lord Elgin, which the military and naval commanders adopted. The Tartars hesitated at first, but ultimately accepted the conditions, being put in confinement till they did. Yeh was questioned

as to the fate of some foreign prisoners whom it was known he had had in his possession: his reply was, that he would show their graves, as they were all dead: he had taken care of their graves. After some deliberation, it was resolved that he should be sent on board ship. To this he objected, saying, that “he could do everything that required to be done, just as well on shore:” but the admirals were firm.

While these arrangements were making, Mr. Parkes was securing the records and official correspondence, of which a large quantity was found; and Colonel Lemon was sent to look after what cash there might be in the treasury. And, though there had been ample time to have conveyed everything away, a large quantity of silver was found. There were fifty-two boxes, each too heavy for a single man to lift; and sixty-eight packets of solid ingots; with a room-full of copper cash. A storehouse of the most costly mandarin dresses was also found, lined with sable and other rare furs. Nothing, however, was touched but the bullion. Hands were wanted to remove it; and one of the officers offered “a dollar’s worth of cash to every Coolie who would help to carry the silver to the English camp.” The offer was eagerly accepted; the Cantonese rushed forward and volunteered to obtain the reward; and in as short a time as it was possible for them to get the boxes on their shoulders, away they trudged; their stipulated strings of cash round their necks, and they conveying their own city’s treasure to the enemy’s camp.†

Yeh was detained some time at head-quarters, and then was removed on board the *Inflexible*. He conducted himself with propriety, except that he assumed to be very merry. The correspondent to the *Overland Mail for China* says, that “he closely resembles what Harry the Eighth is said to have been.” Mr. Wingrove Cooke describes him as having a “huge, sensual, flat face. The profile is nearly straight from the eyebrow to the chin. He wore his mandarin cap, his red button, and his peacock’s tail; but, in other respects, had the ordinary quilted blue tunic and loose breeches, the universal winter wear of that part of China.” No one, the same gentleman remarks, could look upon his face without feeling that he was in the presence of an extraordinary man. There was a ferocity about that restless roving eye.

* Wingrove Cooke.

† *Ibid.*

which almost made you shrink from it; but it was the expression of a fierce and angry, not a courageous animal.

On the 9th of January, Peh-Kwei was solemnly installed as governor of Canton; Colonel Holloway, Captain Martineau, and Mr. Parkes, being nominated as his council. Till that time, he and the Tartar governor had been detained as prisoners: from some mistake, the order for their liberation had not been left at their prison; and the sentries, of course, refused to give them up. It was five o'clock, therefore, before the ceremony, which was somewhat imposing, took place. The Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros were seated on a *dais*: the naval and military commanders were on chairs, forming a right angle with the *dais*; and the Chinese were to have sat on chairs opposite. French and English officers, a band of music, and several standards, filled the hall of the governor's *yamun*, where the installation took place. When the Chinese arrived, they objected to sit below the *dais*, and were at last admitted upon it; one on each side of the plenipotentiaries. Lord Elgin then addressed them—his speech being interpreted by Mr. Wade. He told them, that it was the intention of the allies to hold Canton till new treaties had been made with the court

of Peking, when it would be at once evacuated. It was their desire that peace should be maintained in the meantime—hence the proposal of reappointing them to their offices; and during the period of the military occupation, the feelings of the people should be respected, life and property protected, the good rewarded, and offenders, whether native or foreign, punished. The allies were desirous of co-operating with the reappointed authorities to produce this effect, and, with that view, had appointed a tribunal, composed of three officers of high character, to act in concert with them. Baron le Gros made a similar address. In reply, Peh-Kwei made some remarks, the gist of which was, that "that man Yeh had been the cause of all the troubles." The Tartar general signified his approval of the steps taken by the plenipotentiaries; and, after some shaking of hands, the parties separated.

The admiral, the next day, proceeded to Tiger Island, in the Bocca Tigris, where he deposited the treasure taken at Canton; and then returned to that city, to await the course of events, and ascertain the determination of the emperor, now that Canton was no longer in his hands. The same day, the blockade of Canton was raised; and Yeh, soon after, sent prisoner to Calcutta.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INDIAN MUTINY; THE INDIAN ARMY; CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION; SYMPTOMS OF THE COMING STORM; EVENTS AT BARRACKPORE, BURHAMPORE, AND OUDE; OUTBREAK AND MASSACRE AT MEERUT; FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS TO DELHI; GALLANT CONDUCT OF LIEUTENANT WILLOUGHBY; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS, AND PLUNDER OF THE CITY; PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF DELHI; STATE OF FEELING AT CALCUTTA; WANT OF FIRMNESS AND DETERMINATION IN THE GOVERNMENT; PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND; REINFORCEMENTS SENT TO INDIA; BRITISH TROOPS ADVANCE ON DELHI; DEATH OF GENERAL ANSON; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS AT BADLEE SERAI; VARIOUS RENCONTRES WITH THE REBELS BEFORE AND NEAR DELHI, AND REPULSE OF THEIR SORTIES; THE POWDER-MAGAZINE BLOWN UP; ARRIVAL OF A SIEGE-TRAIN AND REINFORCEMENTS; VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE SIEGE; THE STORMING; HEROISM OF SALKELD, HOME, CARMICHAEL, AND BURGEES; OCCUPATION OF THE CITY; SUCCESSFUL CAREER OF THE MOVABLE COLUMN, UNDER LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GREATHED; TRIAL OF THE KING OF DELHI; HIS BANISHMENT TO THE ANDAMAN ISLES.

Our narrative has, we regret to say, to assume a very different character from that which has hitherto distinguished it. We have, in the previous pages, recounted the gallant deeds of the native troops of India, when combating the enemies of England, side by side with European soldiers: deeds

which reflect the greatest credit on the disciplined sepoys. We have now to tell of the mutiny of a part of those troops; of the cruelties they practised upon those who were unfortunate enough to fall into their power; and of the heroic fortitude and daring with which they were met, and finally subdued.

Our limits will only enable us to give a chronicle of the minor events of this mutiny; with brief *résumés* of the important and striking scenes at Delhi, Arrah, Cawnpore and Lucknow. But those who read even this outline history of the mutiny, its rise and suppression, will find much to ponder over, and food for reflection of various kind; for no where is a more comprehensive lesson taught than in the great mutiny of 1857.

The native Indian army had—from the time when Clive first employed the Hindoos against their countrymen—assumed the most gigantic proportions, as compared with the number of European troops stationed in Hindostan. It was composed partly of regular troops, raised in the provinces subject to the East India Company; partly of irregulars, raised and recruited from the protected states: and, when required, the regular troops of those states were summoned to march under the British flag. They were all termed *sepoys*—a word derived from *sipahi* (their original designation); which came, according to Bishop Heber, from "*sip*," the bow and arrow—the original projectile weapons of the Hindoo. They had acquired a high character for their gallantry; but, at the same time, many evils had sprung up, which timely care might have checked. The government at Calcutta was not without councillors, who forcibly pointed out the evils, cautioned them as to their inevitable result, and gave them advice as to the means of counteraction, which, if taken in time, might have prevented the terrible events we are about to narrate. But it was neglected and disregarded; and now the magnificent Bengal army is a thing of other days. That army, when the mutiny broke out, was composed of the following corps:—

Native regiments.—Three battalions of foot artillery; ten regiments of light cavalry; seventy-four regiments of infantry; one regiment of sappers and miners; twenty-three regiments of irregular cavalry; twelve regiments of irregular infantry; one corps of guides; one camel corps; sixteen regiments of local militia. *Europeans.*—Six battalions of foot artillery; one corps of royal engineers; two regiments of fusiliers. *Europeans and natives.*—Three brigades of horse artillery. *Contingents.*—Those of Gwalior, Jhodpore, Malwa, Bhopal, and Kotah.*

The complement of Queen's troops for the Bengal presidency, was two regiments

* This was the state of the Bengal army in 1855, as given by Captain Rafter. The number of regiments, &c., remained unaltered in 1857.

of light cavalry, fifteen regiments of infantry, and one battalion of rifles; but it had been greatly reduced, and when the mutiny broke out, there were fewer European troops in the province than there had been for many years.

There had previously been several mutinies in the native army, as our readers will recollect; but they had been suppressed with little difficulty. There is no doubt, however, that for several years dissatisfaction had been growing up in its ranks, from various causes. An order issued during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, to enlist the *sepoys* for general service only, had caused discontent; for the old soldiers were afraid, that, if men could be obtained on those terms, they would be obliged also to assent to them, or that they would be discharged without pension. The Bengal *sepoys* also complained greatly of the abolition of an extra allowance which had been made them for their services in Scinde. Both Hindoos and Mohammedans entertained vague apprehensions that their religious faith was to be in some way undermined; and the latter had never been the same men since the Affghan war which they were previously. The annexation of Oude, whose king was the last independent Mohammedan sovereign in India, was a great "grievance" to the *sepoys* connected with that province; and shortly after the annexation, two mysterious circumstances took place. *Chupatties*—a species of unleavened cake, which forms the food of the lower classes and of the soldiers—were circulated amongst the people; and the lotus-flower—a Hindoo symbol—was passed from hand to hand amongst the troops. There is little doubt, that these were signs of a secret conspiracy amongst the men; which, on the introduction of the greased cartridges to use with the Enfield rifle, suddenly broke out.

The Hindoo's abhorrence of those cartridges arises from his veneration for the cow; whilst the Mohammedan shrunk from them because he detested the pig. The fat of these two animals was used in their manufacture; and the *sepoys* were taught to believe, that their introduction was intended to carry out the long-cherished design, which they had been told the "Feringhee" entertained, of subverting the religion of both the Hindoo and the Mohammedan. Those who were at the bottom of the conspiracy, and the movers of the secret organisation, intimated, that

“it was determined to render their military service the means of their degradation, by compelling them to apply their lips to a cartridge saturated with animal grease—the fat of the swine being used for the one, and that of the cow for the degradation of the other. If the most astute emissaries of evil who could be employed for the corruption of the Bengal sepoy, had addressed themselves to the task of inventing a lie for the confirmation and support of all his fears and superstitions, they could have framed nothing more cunningly devised for their purposes.”*

It appears, from the parliamentary papers, that the greased cartridges had been sent to India as early as 1853, for the purpose of being tested in that climate, as they were of four different kinds of manufacture; and the object was, to ascertain which would answer best in India. The commander-in-chief, however, aware of the native prejudices, distinctly stated, that “unless it was known that the grease employed in the cartridges was not of a nature to offend or interfere with the prejudices of caste, it would be expedient not to issue them for test to native corps, but to Europeans only.” We hear nothing of the objection of natives to the cartridges till January, 1857; we may conclude, therefore, that this order was, up to that time, scrupulously observed. They were tested; and the consequence was, the adoption of a cartridge for India, manufactured according to a plan suggested by Captain Boxer, of the royal laboratory at Woolwich, where they were made up; but the greasing process was left to be gone through in India. Low-caste Hindoos were employed to perform it; and on the 22nd of January, one of these men, who was in the government service at Dumdum (a town a few miles from Calcutta, being half-way between that city and Barrackpore, where ordnance-works are established), asked a Brahmin, of the 2nd grenadiers, to give him a drink of water from his “lota,” or bottle. The Brahmin was one of the high-caste, and he indignantly refused, as the touch of the workman would have defiled his utensil. The workman retorted, that he need not be so particular, as he would soon lose caste, for he would have to bite cartridges greased with the fat of cows. This alarmed the Brahmin, who spread the report among the sepoys, and the men also took alarm, as they were afraid the conse-

* *Edinburgh Review.*

quence would be, that their friends at home would refuse to eat with them, on account of their degradation. The officers soon learned what was passing among the privates, and they were paraded for the purpose of hearing their objection to the cartridges. This was stated; and the result was, that the men were allowed to use wax and oil; and it was also ordered, that no more cartridges should be imported from England, but that the materials being sent over, they should be entirely made up in India. It was thus hoped the difficulty was got over: but it was only a temporary calm before the storm.

On the 24th of January, whilst the agitation was proceeding at Dumdum, some of the sepoys of the 34th burnt down the telegraph station at Barrackpore, a military cantonment, sixteen miles from Calcutta; and early in February there were such symptoms of discontent evinced at that station—the greased cartridges still being the pretence—that on the 6th, a court of inquiry was held to investigate the matter. The troops then at Barrackpore were the 2nd grenadiers, the 34th and 70th native infantry, and the 43rd native light infantry. Several witnesses were examined from these regiments, who stated their objections to the paper of which the cartridges were made; the general feeling being, that they did not like it because it was greased: one or two of the men distinctly stated, that they had no objection to the paper themselves, but they could not use the cartridges, because their companions objected to it. One sepoy deposed to circumstances which, if he spoke truth, showed that there was an organised system of resistance to authority; for he described a meeting of a body of troops, composed of deputies or representatives of the different regiments, who attended with their faces muffled up to prevent detection. He said there were 300 present, who pledged themselves to die for their religion, and whose object was to murder the Europeans, and then leave the cantonment. The evidence of this man, and other circumstances, led Major-general Harsey, who commanded at Barrackpore, to form an opinion, which he put upon record, that “the sepoys had been tampered with by designing villains;” and Fort William and Calcutta were pointed out as the places where these machinations were principally carried on. This impression was imbibed from its “having been frequently

noticed by old military residents at the station, that, after absence on detached duty at those places, the men, many of them, had returned to the lines with strange ideas, and unsettled minds." Nothing appears to have been done at the time to ascertain how far the disaffection extended, or to take steps to counteract it, though subsequent discoveries brought to light the fact, that communications were set on foot, in February, between the troops at Barrackpore and those in other parts of the presidency, the object of which was to urge the sepoys generally to mutiny and revolt. —The inquiry at Barrackpore ended in a recommendation to tear off the end of the cartridge-paper with the left hand, as that mode had been tried, and found to answer. This recommendation was sanctioned by the governor-general, who issued a general order, commanding it to be followed throughout India.

One historian of the "Mutiny," who "served under Sir Charles Napier," and was at Calcutta when it broke out, describes the ex-king of Oude—then residing at that city as the pensioner of the British government—as fomenting the discontent of the sepoys, through his agents. He says, that the minds of those "at Barrackpore were hourly worked upon, and with such effect, that letters were dispatched in shoals to every regiment in the service, giving full details, often amplified and exaggerated, of the cartridge business. Agents were also dispatched, well supplied with money, to every station in India: these men were directed to prepare the native army for an immediate rise, and to adopt every possible means to bring about the revolt without the cognizance of the authorities."* There can be little doubt that this active correspondence was carried on, or that the 34th were active agents in it. At all events, they caused what may be considered as the first overt act of decided mutiny which was committed. This took place at Burhampore, another military cantonment, 118 miles from Calcutta, at the latter end of February. A small guard of the 34th arrived there from Barrackpore on the 24th; and the account they gave of their "grievances," and the details connected with the noxious cartridges, so worked

upon the men of the 19th native infantry then stationed at Burhampore, that, on the 25th, when cartridges were served out to them (and they were, we are informed, "of the very same description as those which, for a century past, had been used by the Bengal army"), they at first refused to receive them: when threatened with a court-martial, they took them in "gloomy silence;" and at night they all seized their arms, and stood forth in open mutiny. Colonel Mitchell, who commanded, at once moved down upon them with a detachment of native cavalry, and a battery of native artillery, the only other troops he had at hand; and, after addressing the mutineers, they agreed to return to their duty if the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn. This Colonel Mitchell at last consented to; and the men then gave up their arms, and returned to their lines.

As soon as the Indian government heard of this movement, which was not till the 4th of March, orders were dispatched to Rangoon for her majesty's 84th regiment to proceed to Calcutta with the utmost dispatch. It arrived on the 20th, and was immediately forwarded to Chinsurah, six miles from Barrackpore, as a preparatory step to the disarming the 19th, which regiment was ordered to march from Burhampore to the last-named cantonment. While they were on the march, on the 29th, the first outrage on a European officer was committed. Mungul Pandey, a private of the 34th (from whom the mutineers were subsequently called "Pandies"), loaded his musket, and threatened to shoot the first European he came across. It was no idle threat. Lieutenant Baugh, the adjutant of his regiment, hearing of his conduct, rode towards the parade-ground, and, as he approached, Pandey fired at him, wounding his horse, bringing both horse and rider down; and although Lieutenant Baugh had loaded pistols with him, he would certainly have been killed, had not assistance come up. Sheikh Pultoo, a Mohammedan (an orderly), who had followed Lieutenant Baugh, in fact saved his life, by seizing the mutineer just as he had succeeded in reloading his musket, but not till the lieutenant was seriously wounded. A guard of the 34th, near the spot, had taken part with Mungul Pandey: they beat their officers, who came to assist Lieutenant Baugh; and did not disperse till Major-general Harsey rode up, and threatened to shoot the first man who re-

* The brochure from which this extract is taken is generally known as the *Red Pamphlet*. When we quote it in future, we shall therefore adopt that title.

fused to obey orders. The major-general promoted Sheikh Pultoo to the rank of havildar (sergeant), for which act, not strictly *en règle*, he was rebuked by the governor-general in council. This outbreak was followed by the arrival, on the 30th, of the 19th at Barraset, eight miles from Barrackpore, where they were met by a deputation from the 34th, who proposed to them that they should "kill all their officers, march at night into Barrackpore, where the 2nd and 34th were prepared to join them; fire the bungalows, surprise and overwhelm the European force, secure the guns, and then march on to, and sack, Calcutta."* The sepoy of the 19th, however, appear to have repented of their previous conduct, and refused. They marched quietly into Barrackpore the next morning, and—the 84th having been ordered up from Chinsurah on the 3rd of April—coolly gave up their arms, "many of them showing signs of deep contrition:" they were then marched from the cantonments, and discharged.—This was the first native regiment disarmed and broken up on account of the mutiny.

Mungul Pandey was tried and executed, as was a jemadar (native lieutenant) of the 34th, who had commanded the guard on the 29th of March. No steps were taken against the men who composed the guard, culpable as they were; and certainly, during the entire month of April, the government at Calcutta were either bewildered with their position, and did not *know* how to act; or they were in a state of ignorance of what was going on around them. In the course of that month there were frequent acts of incendiarism in the neighbourhood of Agra, the residence of the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, and in other localities; and at various stations, the sepoy evinced the most unmistakable signs of insubordination.—It was in Oude, however, that the next overt act took place. The 7th native irregulars quartered at Lucknow, on hearing of the disbanding of the 19th native infantry, showed signs of discontent; and they, as well as the other native troops, were informed by the brother of the ex-king, that "he was prepared to give service at a similar, or even an increased rate of pay, to all who might be discharged by the Company."† Fortunately, at that period, the good Sir Henry Lawrence was British commissioner at Lucknow. On the 3rd of

May, he had a letter brought to him, addressed by the 7th irregulars to the 48th, of which the following was the purport:—"We are ready to obey the directions of our brothers of the 48th, in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist either actively or passively." The 7th had already threatened the lives of several of their officers, and Sir Henry resolved, on reading this letter, which had been brought to him by some native officers of the 48th, to disband them. He therefore ordered the 48th, with the 13th and 71st native infantry, the 7th native cavalry, her majesty's 32nd foot, and a battery of eight guns, manned by Europeans, to proceed to the lines of the mutineers, and form in front. The 7th were then summoned to lay down their arms: seeing the artillery with their portfires lighted, they obeyed at once; and the ring-leaders were seized, to await their trial; the rest were discharged. Sir Henry followed up this act by rewarding the sepoy of the 48th (who had furnished information of the proceedings of the 7th), in the presence of all the troops then at Lucknow, whom he addressed in the most spirited terms. Thus, for the time, peace and order were preserved in Oude.

The commissioner telegraphed to the governor-general the intelligence of these events; and this information appears to have induced Lord Canning to determine upon disbanding the 34th regiment, whose members had shown no symptoms of regret for their past conduct; but who continued to evince the most confirmed determination to persist in it. The 84th regiment had been ordered to return to Rangoon, but this order was countermanded; and that corps, with a wing of the 53rd and two batteries of artillery, were paraded at Barrackpore, with all the native troops, early on the 6th of May. When the men were assembled, an order of the governor-general was read to them, in which the conduct of the regiment, their outrage upon their officers, their sympathy with Pandey, and the sullen apathy subsequently displayed, were dwelt upon; and they were told they would be punished by being paid and disbanded! The order (which was directed to be read at the head of every native corps in the service) concluded by calling on other regiments to do their duty, and trust in their officers; if not, their "punishment would be as sharp and certain" as that which had fallen on the 34th.—If the overt

* *The Red Pamphlet.*† *Ibid.*

offenders in that regiment had been promptly and adequately punished, this disbandment might have had some effect: but as, after the delay which took place, they were only *paid* and sent about their business like the rest, this act of Lord Canning and the council failed in having the effect they no doubt anticipated from it; though it was accompanied by a proclamation, warning "the army, that the tales by which the men of certain regiments had been led to suspect that offence to their religion, or injury to their caste, was meditated by the government of India, were malicious falsehoods."

The events we have narrated created surprise in England; but it was not supposed that they were merely the precursors of a movement in which the entire Bengal army was to be involved. This will not be wondered at, when we recollect, that the public here had reason to think that the conduct of the sepoys was regarded without any anticipations of serious danger by the government at Calcutta. However, both were speedily and rudely awakened to a sense of the real nature of the movement, by the terrible occurrences at Meerut. That town is the principal place in the district of the same name, which is a part of the Doab enclosed between the Ganges and the Jumna. Meerut (the town) is situated 930 miles from Calcutta. In the neighbourhood was one of the pleasantest military cantonments in the north-west provinces; and the hospitality of the inhabitants, both civil and military, was proverbial: the place was also noted for its amusements, and varied social enjoyments. In April, 1857, the troops stationed there, under the command of Major-general Hewitt, were about equally divided—the natives (the 11th and 20th Bengal infantry, and 3rd Bengal cavalry) very slightly outnumbering the Europeans, consisting of the 60th rifles, the 6th carabiniers, two troops of horse artillery, and a light field battery. The sepoys had, early in 1857, like those in other parts of the north-west provinces, shown themselves unruly and discontented. Emissaries had mixed amongst them, who spread the rumour that government intended to outrage and degrade them by the use of cartridges greased with obnoxious materials; and it was in vain that General Hewitt and the other officers laboured to disabuse them, and to convince them that no such idea had ever been entertained by the govern-

ment, or by any other of the authorities. As the cartridges were the avowed pretence for the discontent of the troops, on the 23rd of April, Colonel Smyth, who commanded the 3rd cavalry, held a parade for the purpose of instructing them in the manner of loading without biting the cartridge; he also had the native sergeant-major and his orderly at his house, for the purpose of detailing the operation more minutely. The latter twice loaded a carbine, and discharged it; and at night his hut was burnt down. A veterinary hospital close to the magazine was also burnt.

As the officers were informed that the men would not use the cartridge, it was deemed necessary to bring the matter to a test; and a parade of the 3rd cavalry was ordered for the 6th of May. On the evening of the 5th, cartridges were served out to them. They "were of the kind which they and their fathers had always used;"* but eighty-five men refused to take them. They were at once put under arrest, tried by court-martial on the 8th, when they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from six to ten years; and at a general parade on the 9th, were stripped of their clothes and accoutrements, and every man was ironed, preparatory to being sent to hard labour on the roads. As soon as they were ironed, they were taken back to gaol; and the sepoys, too much cowed by the number of Europeans present, and by fear of the artillery, to make any resistance, retired sullenly to their lines. This was Saturday; and "there can be no doubt, that on that afternoon they matured their plan for a rising. Messengers were dispatched to Delhi, to inform the regiments there of the projected move, and to warn them to be ready to receive them on the 11th or 12th. They resolved to rise on the evening of the following day, whilst the Europeans should be at church, to release their imprisoned comrades, fire the station, and slaughter every man, woman, or child belonging to the Christian community. The originators of this plan were the men of the 3rd cavalry; but they found the men of the 20th as eager as themselves to join in any insurrection. Not so, however, with the 11th. This regiment had but recently arrived at the station; and whether sufficient opportunity had not been afforded for corrupting them, or for some other unexplained reason, they hung back, and ex-

* *The Red Pamphlet.*

pressed a decided disinclination to join in any attack on the officers. They did not, however, betray the secret.*

The cantonment, two miles from the town of Meerut, was very extensive. In the shape of a parallelogram, it was five miles long from east to west, and two miles broad, and was divided into two parts by a small branch of the Kalee Nuddee, over which were two handsome bridges, one built by the East India Company, and the other by the Begum Sumroo—a female who attained some notoriety in Meerut at the commencement of this century. On the northern side of the stream were lines for the accommodation of a brigade of horse artillery, a European cavalry corps, and a regiment of European infantry, respectively separated from each other by intervals of several hundred yards. In front was a fine parade-ground, a mile in width, and four miles in length, having ample space for field battery practice, and the manœuvres of horse artillery. Upon the extreme right was the heavy battery. Facing towards Delhi, and at the rear of the parallelogram, on the left, on the opposite side of the stream, were the lines of the native regiments, forming three sides of a square; close to these lines was the road to Delhi, about thirty miles distant. The bungalows of the officers, both European and native, were in the rear of their respective regiments; those of the former were each surrounded by a garden, about a hundred yards square. At the rear of the officers' quarters was a very large bazaar, in which, at the time of the mutiny, some of the worst characters in India were congregated. Such was the scene of the mutiny and massacre of Sunday, the 10th of May.

That day had been spent as Sundays usually are. "There was no sign of the coming storm:" nothing had been noticed by the officers, nor by the sergeants who lived in the native lines, to call for remark. As the time for evening service approached, the 60th rifles were turning out with their side-arms only, to proceed to church; and the officers were dressing, either to attend divine service or take their evening ride. All was calm and still, when a previously agreed-upon signal having been given, at five o'clock the 3rd native

cavalry saddled and mounted their horses, and galloped off to the gaol. There was no force there which could offer them the slightest resistance; and they immediately liberated the eighty-five sepoy who had been imprisoned the day before, and all the other prisoners, said to be about 1,300. This was the work of a few minutes. As soon as it was completed, they joined the 20th infantry, who had already murdered several of their officers; and the two corps hastened to the lines of the 11th infantry, whose officers had just arrived, the noise and shouting having alarmed them whilst engaged as we have before described. Colonel Finnis (brother to the then lord mayor of London), who commanded the 11th, was haranguing his men, and urging them to remain firm to their duty, when the 20th approached; and from some of the latter a discharge of fire-arms took place, aimed at that officer, whose horse was first struck, and he received several wounds immediately after, which proved mortal. As soon as the colonel fell, the English officers of the 11th made for the lines of the artillery and the carabinieri; others went to get the 60th rifles together. A considerable time was occupied in assembling these troops; but as, in the confusion, no one at first knew which way to go, perhaps this was unavoidable. Whilst they were being collected, the work of destruction was going on. The buildings in the mutineers' own camp were first fired, then the officers' bungalows; and very soon, every house and building near the lines was in flames. The *canaille* of the bazaar, and the prisoners, joined the sepoy; and plunder and murder were going on on every side. "The inhabitants of the Sunder Bazaar and city committed atrocities far greater than those of the sepoy. They pursued the wife of Captain Macdonald, of the 20th, some distance, and frightfully mutilated her; though her children were all happily saved by the ayahs; and they also murdered Mrs. Chambers, wife of the adjutant of the 11th: she was killed in her garden, during Mr. Chambers' absence on duty, her clothes having been set on fire before she was shot and cut to pieces."† In an almost incredibly short space of time, "the part of Meerut in which the insurrection principally raged, was a miserable wilderness of ruined houses, and some of the residents escaped miraculously from the hands of their pursuers, by hiding

* *The Red Pamphlet*.

† Letter from the Rev. Mr. Smythe, chaplain at Meerut.

themselves in the gardens and outhouses of their ruined bungalows, and, in some cases, by disguising themselves as native servants.* The servants generally proved faithful. Mr. Greathed, the commissioner at Meerut, with his wife and family, were saved by an ayah, who secreted them, and when the house was searched, declared they had gone away. Of those who escaped, however, not one owed his or her safety to the mercy of the assailants.

This work of slaughter and destruction had been going on for some time; and night had set in, says an officer, writing from Meerut, before the 6th carabiniers arrived on the parade-ground of the 11th. The 60th rifles and the artillery were already there, and an immediate move was made towards the scene of desolation; but the mutineers, satisfied with their work, had taken the road to Delhi. They were pursued a short way by the Europeans--the cavalry taking one road, and the rifles and artillery another. The cavalry do not appear to have seen any of the fugitives, and soon returned to the cantonment; the rifles and artillery came in sight of their rear, and the former gave them a few volleys, whilst the artillery, coming to the front, unlimbered, and opened upon a copse or wood, where they had apparently found cover, with heavy discharges of grape and canister, which tore and rattled among the trees; and all was quiet.† No further pursuit was made, though the moon rose brightly; but all the Europeans took their way to the cantonment, where they bivouacked for the night, heavy patrols being appointed to give an alarm in case the sepoy should return. It was a fatal error that a more determined pursuit was not kept up; and what General Hewitt says on the subject is very unsatisfactory. He states, in his despatch, that the troops were got under arms; "but, by the time they reached the native infantry parade-ground, it was quite dark." This confirms the account of the officer; and as the attack began at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th of May, when the sun does not set till half-past seven, more than three hours must have been occupied in this preliminary movement. This darkness, the general continues, rendered it impossible "to act with efficiency in that direction; consequently the troops retired to the north of the nullah." The general bivouacked

with his officers and troops; but we cannot imagine that either got much repose. All the correspondence from the spot describe the scene as one of the most fearful that can be imagined. After the mutineers disappeared, various outrages were committed by the "gaol-birds" who had been set free. They were prowling about during the entire night, and the horrors of that night "could scarcely have been surpassed. The rebels, it is true, had been driven away; but the liberated prisoners and the rabble continued their fearful work. It is true that European sentries were posted, with all possible celerity, in the different parts of Meerut; and the constant fire of their rifles showed that their presence was necessary. Still, in spite of all precautions, foul deeds were even then perpetrated; and to every one it was a night of agonising suspense. Husbands had missed their wives, and wives their husbands; infants had been separated from their mothers, and mothers from their children:"—"but at length day dawned, and the sun shone on dismantled Meerut. Their worst sufferings were over; the houseless were sheltered, and order in some degree restored. Henceforth they were safe from further attack, and could watch the progress of the avalanche by which they had been almost overwhelmed."‡

The number of persons murdered was not so large as might have been expected. The Rev. Mr. Smythe, in the letter which we have just quoted, says—"I have buried thirty-one; but there are others whose bodies have not yet been brought in." The number, probably, did not exceed forty. Many of the murdered men left widows and children; and the School of Instruction, near the artillery laboratory, was fitted up to receive them. That place was much crowded; and one of its inmates, a lady, writes thus:—"We are in a small house at one end of the place, which consists of one large room, and verandah rooms all round; and in this miserable shed—for we can scarcely call it anything else—there are no less than forty-one souls." * * "Ladies who were mere formal acquaintances, now wring each other's hands with intense sympathy: what a look there was when we first assembled here! All of us had stared death in the face."

General Hewitt, if he was not sufficiently energetic in directing the pursuit, exerted

* Letter from the Rev. Mr. Smythe, chaplain at Meerut.

† Letter from an officer at Meerut.

‡ *The Red Pamphlet.*

himself to restore Meerut to something like order and tranquillity. He was in his sixty-eighth year; yet, for fourteen nights, he bivouacked with his men. Though the mutineers did not return, a set of Pindarrie robbers collected in the neighbourhood, and kept the inhabitants in constant alarm, whilst nearly the whole of the cantonment and Zillah police deserted. Some few of the 3rd native cavalry, and the 11th and 20th infantry, who did not go to Delhi, made their appearance, and were taken into the cantonment; and a battalion of Ghorkas, 1,000 strong, soon arrived, and joined the European troops. Major Fraser was also sent with six companies of native sappers and miners, from Roorkee, a town about eighty miles from Meerut. They did not arrive till after the proclamation of the king at Delhi; and immediately on their arrival, they killed their commanding officer, and set off for that city; but this time the carabiniers were on the alert: they set out in pursuit; and most of that body of mutineers were killed or taken.

The great object of the mutineers at Meerut appears to have been to get to Delhi. It was subsequently ascertained, that they made a forced march during the night, the cavalry supporting the infantry, and aiding them as much as possible; and they reached the neighbourhood of the ancient Mogul capital on Monday morning. This city, founded in 1631, by the emperor Shah Jehan, afforded a fine specimen of Oriental architecture and Eastern magnificence. It stands on the Jumna, 500 miles to the north-west of Allahabad, and upwards of 900 from Calcutta. It is seven miles in circumference, and had nine gates on the land side, named the Lahore, Ajmeer, Turkoman, Delhi, Moree, Cashmere, Faraskhana, Cabool, and Agra gates. It looked formidable for its strength, as the walls had been substantially repaired not many years before, and martello towers were erected at intervals, for the purpose of flanking the defences. In this city, in the palace built by Shah Jehan, resided in mimic pomp the padishah, Mohammed Bahadur, who had succeeded to the empty title on the death of Shah Akbar, in 1837. Though the power of the Great Moguls had passed away for so many years, the name still had a *prestige* in the East; and hence was Delhi made the head-quarters of the mutiny.

In May, Mr. Simon Fraser was the com-

missioner at Delhi, and Brigadier Graves commanded the garrison. He had under his orders the 38th, 54th, and 74th regiments of native infantry, and a battery of native artillery; but except the officers and sergeants of those regiments, he had not one European soldier in the city. There was a telegraphic communication between Delhi and Meerut; Brigadier Graves was therefore made aware of what had taken place at the latter, and of the mutineers being on their way to Delhi, before they arrived. He had no means of opposing them, except by the sepoy's of his garrison, of whose fidelity he was more than doubtful; but he was obliged to trust them nevertheless. He gallantly determined to do his best; and his first step was to send intimation of the approach of the mutineers to the non-military European inhabitants, advising them to repair to the Flagstaff tower, a fort of solid brickwork, a mile and a-half north of the Cashmere gate, and well capable of defence. This intimation never reached many for whom it was intended; by some it was received too late: still, a goodly number of both sexes availed themselves of the brigadier's thoughtfulness, and repaired to the fort. That officer, in the meantime, ordered the regiments to get under arms, the guns to be loaded, and every preparation made to receive an enemy. When the brigade was assembled, the sentence passed upon the mutineers at Barrackpore was read to them;* and the brigadier harangued the men in a spirited address, telling them that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, and were approaching the city, and that now, therefore, was the time for them to evince that fidelity they had sworn to observe. His address was received with cheers; and the 54th were loud in their demands to be led against the rebels. The latter advanced by the main road, which ran to the little river Hindun, a contributory to the Jumna, and which was crossed by a bridge of boats, nearly opposite the Cashmere gate. The 54th issued from that gate, the brigadier at their head, as the mutineers were approaching from the river.† They moved on at a rapid pace. "In front, and in full uniform, with medals on their breasts (gained in fighting for British supremacy), confidence in their manner, and fury in their gestures, galloped on about 250 troopers of the 3rd cavalry: behind them, at no great distance, and

* Letter from an officer of the 38th. † *Ibid.*

almost running in their efforts to reach the golden minarets of Delhi, appeared a vast mass of infantry, their red coats soiled with dust, and their bayonets glittering in the sun. No hesitation was visible in all that advancing mass; they came on as if confident of the result.* Nearer and nearer they approached—they were almost on the bayonets of the 54th—when the brigadier gave the word to the latter to fire. They did fire; but it was in the air, and instantly they were fraternising with the mutineers!

Then began a scene of horror and confusion, which no one has been able to describe except by piecemeal. The 3rd cavalry fired upon the officers of the 54th, killing Colonel Ridley (who shot two of them before he fell); and Captains Smith and Burrows, Lieutenants Edwardes, Waterfield, and Butler, were either killed or wounded. Then the mutineers and the 54th rushed into the city together, where they were soon joined by numbers of the 38th and 74th; and a party of the 3rd cavalry made for the palace, to communicate with the king. Every Christian these men encountered was cut down; the commissioner, and Captain Douglas, commanding the palace guard of the padishah, being murdered in the very precincts of the palace. The Rev. Mr. Jenkins, chaplain to the residency, his daughter, and another lady, were also killed near the same spot. Brigadier Graves succeeded in rallying a few men—for *all* were not faithless—and retreated to the Flagstaff tower, where he found many ladies and gentlemen had arrived before him: a company of the 38th were also there, with two guns; but they refused to take any steps for the defence of the tower. Major Abbott, of the 74th, endeavoured to get some of his men to follow him: for a time, a party of them did so, and they took possession of the main-guard at the Cashmere gate. There they remained till a tremendous explosion was heard, the cause of which was at the time unknown; but it originated in as heroic an act of self-devotion as any on record.

Delhi had two magazines; one at the cantonments, which were a short distance from the walls; the other in the interior of the city. At the former there were about 10,000 barrels of powder. The latter, which stood between a work, called the Selimghur Fort, and the Cashmere gate,

* *The Red Pamphlet.*

contained a vast number of cartridges (900,000 it is stated in some accounts), two complete field trains, a large number of field guns and mortars, 8,000 or 10,000 muskets, and an abundance of shot and shell. The leaving such a vast collection of the *matériel* of war, under any circumstances, entirely in the hands of native troops, was one of those acts which it is impossible to account for, or to defend: and making Delhi—the residence of the prince whom, in his fallen state, the natives were known to regard with veneration—its *dépôt*, was, in the highest degree, injudicious. The magazine was in the charge of Lieutenant Willoughby; and that morning Lieutenant Forrest, assistant-commissary at Delhi, was with him; also Lieutenant Raynor, of the artillery; Conductors Shaw, Buckley, and Scully; Sub-conductor Crow; Sergeants Edwards and Stewart—nine Europeans in all. Early in the day, when it was known that the mutineers were on the road to Delhi, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, one of the civil servants of the Company, went to the arsenal, to suggest that two guns should be placed upon the bridge of boats, for the purpose of barring their passage. However, at that time they were too far advanced, and it was found that this suggestion could not be carried out. Lieutenant Willoughby then resolved that the magazine should not fall into their hands. He ordered the gates to be closed and barred; placed two 6-pounders, doubly loaded with grape, under Crow and Stewart, to command the entrance: four other guns were loaded, and stationed so as to overlook different accessible points; and a train was laid to the magazine—the lieutenant knowing that resistance could only be maintained for a short time. If he had had more Europeans with him, he might have protracted it; but the native servants connected with the ordnance department, like the sepoy, were all disaffected.—The young hero had scarcely completed his arrangements, when the palace guards appeared, and demanded possession of the magazine, “in the name of the king of Delhi.” They got no answer, and the gates remained closed. Soon a large body of the mutineers came up, and scaling-ladders were placed against the walls. No sooner were the ladders in position, than the native artillerymen, to a man, availed themselves of them to leave the magazine, and join with the mutineers outside. The loaded guns were then dis-

charged upon the mass—reloaded, and fired again and again, till the grapeshot at hand was exhausted. To have quitted the guns, for the purpose of procuring more from the storehouses, would have left the passage free for the mutineers, who began to throb the walls; and Lieutenant Willoughby gave the signal to fire the train. This was done by Conductor Scully, who sacrificed his life in his devotion to his duty. The shock was terrific; and the confusion enabled the surviving Europeans to get to the sallyport, and make their escape. Lieutenant Willoughby was severely wounded, and subsequently died; Lieutenant Forrest was also wounded, but he reached Meerut in safety; as did Lieutenant Raynor and Conductor Buckley; but none escaped unhurt.* Many of the mutineers perished; the number has been variously stated, from 500 to 1,000 and 1,500: probably the smallest number is nearest the truth. The magazine works were laid in ruins, but all the ammunition was not destroyed; and many of the arms were afterwards rendered available by the rebels.

When the explosion was heard at the Cashmere gate, Major Abbott ordered Captain Gordon to proceed with a company of the 74th, to see if he could render any assistance; but his troops refused to move. He himself was urged by the commandant, on the one hand, to send two guns to the protection of the cantonment; and by Major Paterson and the treasurer, on the other, to guard the treasure. He could comply with neither request. The men would not obey orders; and when shots were heard on all sides, the major was told by his corps, that the sepoys were murdering their officers; that they had protected him as long as they could; and they urged him to follow some of his comrades, who were seen in two or three carriages, going forward on the road to Kurnaul. The major, finding remonstrance and command alike useless, took the colours, and he and Captain Hawkey, mounting one horse, set off after the carriages. The officers in the latter were Captains Tytler, Nicoll, and Wallace; Lieutenant Aislabie, Ensign Elton, and Farrier-sergeant Law. They were overtaken by Major Abbott and Captain Hawkey; and all reached either Kurnaul or Meerut in safety: Captain Gordon and Lieutenant Reveley

were killed before any of the officers left.† The party at the Flagstaff tower also heard the explosion, and the company of the 38th immediately took possession of the guns; then Brigadier Graves saw that his last hope was gone. He therefore advised all to make their way towards Kurnaul or Meerut as fast as possible, he remaining till the last. Conveyances were at hand, in which the ladies were placed; the gentlemen following on horseback: and after encountering many hardships (several having narrow escapes), most of the unhappy fugitives reached one or other of the above places in safety.‡

While this was taking place at the outworks, withinside the city all was confusion, plunder, and massacre; the ruffians of Delhi and from the neighbouring villages having joined the mutineers. One party went to the bank, seized the money, and murdered Mr. Berresford, the manager, his wife, and five children. Others plundered the government treasury, and sacked the church: the office of the *Delhi Gazette* was also destroyed, and the workmen hacked to pieces. The sub-editor, Mr. Wagentreiber, escaped, with his wife and child, and a young lady, his step-daughter, in an open carriage, to Kurnaul; he owed his life to his rifle, with which he disabled several assailants on the road, his wife or step-daughter reloading it for him after it was discharged. All the Europeans who could, made their escape; and many passed the night in the fields, concealed in the long jungle or grass. Others hid themselves in the city: all that were met with—men, women, and children—were murdered. Many horrible tales were told of the mutilation and violation of the females before they were killed. The truth of these stories has been questioned; but without these enormities, the horrors of the sack of Delhi baffle description. Our readers may imagine what they would feel if thousands of ruffians were murdering, destroying, and plundering all around them: this was the state of Delhi during the night of the 11th of May, 1857; and the thrilling interest of the narratives of some of the survivors cannot be surpassed. They would fill a large volume; but we have no room for the details. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was one who escaped, after being concealed in Delhi three days.

The mutineers appear to have taken their instructions, in the first instance, from the king; and all the Europeans who, on the

* Abridged from Lieutenant Forrest's narrative.

† Abridged from a letter of Major Abbott's.

‡ The *Delhi Gazette* (extra), published at Agra.

11th, claimed the protection of the palace, were given up to their mercy. On the 12th, the aged padishah was proclaimed through the city as "King of Delhi;" and a park of guns, two regiments of infantry, and one of caval., (the notorious 3rd Bengal light troop), with £100,000 of the money plundered from the bank and the government treasury, were placed at his disposal. On the second day after his proclamation, his "majesty" rode in state through the city, for the purpose of restoring confidence, and persuading the traders to reopen the bazaars. He appointed Lall Khan, a subahdar of the 3rd cavalry, his commander-in-chief; and placed Mirza Abu Bukur at the head of the cavalry. Under their orders measures were taken for the defence of the city, as it was naturally expected that an effort would be soon made by the British to reobtain possession of it. A proclamation to the sepoys was also issued by the "officers of the Delhi and Meerut armies;" the most important part of which was the following:—

"It is well-known, that, in these days, all the English have entertained these evil designs;—first, to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostan army, and then to make the people, by compulsion, Christians. Therefore we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms, and thus act in obedience to order, and receive double pay. Hundreds of guns, and a large amount of treasure, have fallen into our hands; therefore it is fitting, that whoever of the soldiers and people dislike turning Christians, should unite with one heart, and act courageously, and not leave the seed of these infidels remaining. For any quantity of supplies delivered to the army, the owners are to take the receipt of the officers, and they will receive double payment from the imperial government."

This proclamation was very extensively circulated; and the rapid spread of the mutiny is a proof that there had been previous concert and arrangement. We can only enumerate the outbreaks in their order: a thick volume would scarcely suffice for the details. On the 13th of May, the 45th and 57th regiments* mutinied at Ferozepore; but the 10th light cavalry were faithful, and joined her majesty's 61st foot in putting down the revolt. Several of the mutineers were executed; some being blown from the cannon's mouth. The same day, at Umballah, a mutiny of the 5th was put down by her majesty's 75th foot: a few days after, the sepoys fled to Delhi. On the 14th,

* It is unnecessary to repeat the words "native infantry."

the 16th, 26th, and 40th regiments, and the 8th light cavalry, were disarmed at Meean Meer; as were the 21st, 24th, 27th, and 51st foot, and the 5th light cavalry, by Major Edwardes, at Peshawur, on the 22nd. At Murdaun, Nusseerabad, Agra, Phillour, Lucknow, Seetapore, Morahabad, Shahjehanpore, and Bareilly, there were also insurrectionary movements before May expired; and June was ushered in with a proclamation from Nana Sahib, and a mutiny and massacre at Indore. Before the month closed, the native troops at Azimghur, Aboozai, Neemuch, Benares, Hansi, Mehidpore, Allahabad, Jhansi, Mooltan, Cawnpore, Fyzabad, Jullundur, Banda, Aurrangabad, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, Jaunpore, Seetapore, Dinapore, Futteghur, Saugor, and Nowgong, had all mutinied, and were either disarmed or had fled to Delhi. In July, the flame spread to Mhow and Sealkote; and by that time the Bengal army might be said to have ceased to exist. Many of the European officers had been murdered; and there had been repeated engagements between the mutineers and her majesty's troops; the latter, whatever odds were against them, always, except in two or three instances at most, coming off victorious. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the north-west provinces; and every means were taken by Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab, Sir Henry Lawrence in Oude, and Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces at Agra, to sustain the honour of the Queen's and the Company's arms, and to restore tranquillity. The native chiefs—Scindia, Holkar, and Ghoolab Sing—remained faithful, and proffered assistance; so did Jung Bahadour, in Nepal. The latter would have sent several thousand Ghoorkas, in the first instance, to aid the European troops; but Lord Canning declined his assistance, though he was glad, subsequently, to accept it.

The spread of the insurrection caused, at first, great alarm at Calcutta, as it was not known how far the loyalty of the native troops there could be depended upon. The inhabitants were very anxious that they should all be disarmed, and pressed that measure upon the government, offering to enrol themselves as volunteers for the public service. The government at first refused to disband the sepoys, or to organise volunteers; and certainly, in the early stages of the revolt, Lord Canning and his council did not display either the firmness or the

capacity of statesmen. Their measures were vacillating, their policy tame; and they were either impressed with the conviction that the mutiny was a mere series of isolated outbreaks, without concert, preparation, or purpose; and that the movement must soon be put down, if it did not expire of itself; or they felt that their policy was to temporise till more European troops arrived. Lord Canning, very early, had sent a messenger to Lord Elgin, to request that the troops destined for China might be diverted to Calcutta; and also wrote to the governors of Ceylon, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope, to send him all the men they could spare. The inhabitants of Calcutta were very indignant at the conduct of the government, and their discontent was increased by the measures taken with respect to the press, a censorship of which was established. They gave vent to their feelings in a petition to the Queen, praying for Lord Canning's recall, which was signed by three-fourths of the European inhabitants of that city. About the middle of June, the governor-general received information of the complicity of the ex-king of Oude in the movement; and, on the 16th, his ex-majesty, and five of his ministers, who resided with him, were seized, and placed in Fort William. The next day, the 25th and 43rd regiments at Calcutta were disarmed, and the Europeans called out as volunteers: and from that time the Indian government appear to have acted with a more confirmed sense of the impending danger; and whilst more decided steps were taken in India, the most urgent requests were sent to England for reinforcements.

In England, the intelligence of the events in India spread mingled feelings of horror and indignation, and an ardent desire to avenge their murdered countrymen and countrywomen. The most energetic representations were made to the government, both from parliament and the public (by the expression of opinion at public meetings), to send out troops without delay; and there was a general expression of dissatisfaction that her majesty's ships were not employed to convey troops to India, that sailing-vessels were engaged instead of steamers, and that the overland route was not made use of. The debates in parliament were very warm on this subject; but, though other modes of proceeding were strongly advocated, every support was given to the government when they applied for troops to send to the East,

and for the "ways and means" to pay the expenses. The ministers asked only for 10,000 men in the first instance; though Lord Derby and Lord Ellenborough in the Lords, and Mr. Disraeli and others in the Commons, contended that much more numerous reinforcements ought to have been sent. Ultimately the number was increased; and, before October, 19,994 troops had been shipped for Bengal, 2,213 for Madras, and 4,615 for Bombay; making a total of 26,822 men of all arms. In England another feeling was evinced, in connection with indignation at the mutineers, and a desire to send out a force to crush the mutiny—one of deep commiseration for the sufferers. The lord mayor of London, directly after the intelligence of the sack of Delhi was received, called a public meeting at the Mansion-house, at which resolutions of sympathy with their fellow-subjects in the East, who had been the victims of the mutiny, were passed, and a fund was opened for the relief of those—no small number—who were left quite destitute by the destruction of their property. This fund was liberally contributed to, both at home and abroad; being much increased by collections made at the churches on Wednesday, the 7th of October, which was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation by the members of the English church. At the commencement of the next year, the committee in London had received from subscribers in the United Kingdom, £332,682 11s. 7d.; from the colonies, £2,605 19s. 11d.; and from foreign states (the emperor Napoleon, the sultan, and the shah of Persia being subscribers), £15,187 8s. 2d.: making a total of £350,475 19s. 8d.

We must now return to the north-west provinces, and trace the steps which were taken to recover Delhi from the mutineers.

When the mutiny broke out, Sir George Anson, the commander-in-chief, was at Simla. The intelligence of the events at Meerut and Delhi was received by telegraph, on the 12th of May, at Umballah, about fifty miles to the south of Simla; and this news caused that mutiny of the 5th native infantry, which, as we have already stated, was put down by her majesty's 75th. There were other manifestations of disorder in that district which the commander-in-chief had to guard against before he could march to Delhi; and he had many other difficulties to contend with. "The number of available troops was small;

very little carriage, and hardly any dhooly-bearers were procurable; the artillery had only ammunition in their waggons, which might be expended in one action; even the infantry had very little ammunition with which to commence a campaign; and without some heavy guns, it seemed useless to attack Delhi. However, the commander-in-chief decided, that an advance must be made as soon as practicable;* and a force having been left to preserve the peace of the district, the remainder of the troops stationed at Simla, Umballah, &c., set out *en route* for Delhi, by Kurnaul and Rhye. The column marched in two brigades: the 1st, under Brigadier Halifax, comprised two squadrons of the 9th lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, the 1st Company's European regiment, and the 3rd troop of the 3rd brigade of horse artillery, with six guns. The 2nd, commanded by Brigadier Jones, comprised the 2nd European regiment, the 60th native infantry, two squadrons of the 9th lancers, one squadron of the 4th lancers, and the 2nd troop of the 3rd brigade of horse artillery, with six guns. Four companies of the 1st, and six of the 2nd, fusiliers, one squadron of the 9th lancers, and two guns, had preceded the column to Kurnaul. On the 25th, the commander-in-chief reached Kurnaul, where, on the following day, he was attacked by cholera, and died on the 27th. Sir Henry Barnard, who had arrived on the 26th, assumed the command; and on the 6th of June, the little army reached Allipore, ten miles from Delhi, where it was joined on the 7th by a small force under Brigadier-general Wilson, who had left Meerut on the 27th of May, with 400 of the 60th rifles, 200 of the 6th carabiniers, one horse field battery, half a troop of horse artillery, two 18-pounder guns, and the head-quarters of the sappers and miners; the latter about 100 strong. On their route, at Guzeeoodeen Nugger, where the little river Hindun is crossed by an iron bridge, this force was attacked, on the 30th, by a body of the rebels with siege guns, sent to take possession of the bridge. It was the first time the mutineers had met the British in the open field, and the attack was very determined; the heavy guns opening upon Brigadier Wilson's force. They were replied to by the two 18-pounders; and a company of the 16th rifles being sent to occupy the disputed

bridge, four guns of Major 'Tombs' horse artillery, supported by a squadron of carabiniers, moved along the river, to outflank the enemy: the remainder of the force attacked the centre of the rebels, the fire of whose artillery soon paled before that of the British guns. The rifles were then ordered to advance, which they did in dashing style; and the enemy fled, but not till they had actually crossed bayonets with our troops, leaving their guns, ammunition, and stores. The next day the rebels appeared again in force, on the ground from which they had been driven on the 30th: they were once more soundly beaten; but the British were so exhausted by the heat of the sun, that they could not, this time, prevent the enemy from carrying off their guns.

When the forces of Sir H. Barnard and Brigadier Wilson were united, they scarcely amounted to 4,000 men; though the latter, before he arrived at Allipore, had been joined by the Sirmoor battalion of Ghoorkas, 600 strong. The first movement made by this force—so inadequate in numbers to the work it had to perform—was to attack, on the 8th of June, a position in which the rebels had intrenched themselves, at Badlee Serai, four miles from Delhi. They held the Serai (the Mohammedan name for a *choultry*, or rest-house—a place of refreshment for travellers), which was on the right of the trunk road to Delhi, as the British advanced; and their camp was grouped round it, on a natural elevation. About 150 yards in front of the serai, they had thrown up a sand-bag battery of four heavy guns and an 8-inch howitzer. The attack was made on three different points—the main attack being in front, where Brigadier Showers, with the 75th foot and 1st fusiliers, operated on the right; and Brigadier Graves, with the 60th rifles, 2nd fusiliers, and the Sirmoor battalion, on the left. Brigadier Grant, with ten horse artillery guns, under Major Turner, three squadrons of the 9th lancers, under Lieutenant-colonel Yule, and about fifty Jhind horsemen, under Lieutenant Hodson, was ordered to cross a canal which ran near the enemy's station, and attack it in flank. The artillery, consisting of eight guns, was attached to the 1st and 2nd brigades. Those brigades started at the same time, but Brigadier Showers and the guns came first into action. They were received by a heavy fire from the enemy's battery, under

* *Campaign of the Delhi Army*; by Major H. W. Norman.

which Colonel Chester, the adjutant-general, and Captain Russell, fell. The fire from the British guns made no impression upon those of the enemy, which were sheltered behind a parapet: and after witnessing the cannonade for a short time, Sir Henry Barnard ordered the 75th to charge, and take the battery. This they did "with heroic bravery,"* led by Brigadier Showers and Colonel Herbert, and supported by the 1st fusiliers. This gallant feat was just completed, when Brigadier Graves came up on the left, and Brigadier Grant in the rear. The rebels could not withstand this combined attack; and they retreated, leaving the camp and several guns in possession of the British.

General Barnard resolved to pursue the flying foe; and the troops pushed on till they came to two cross-roads, one of which led to the city, through the Subzee Munde suburb, and the other to the cantonments. The force was divided; Brigadier Wilson, with one column, taking the former, and General Barnard, with the remainder of the army, the other. Brigadier Wilson had to fight his way through lanes and gardens, some of the latter being enclosed by high walls, to the extreme right of a ridge, called "Hindoo Rao's ridge," which sheltered the cantonments, and on which the rebels were posted. General Barnard's column had to cross a canal, make its way through the huts of the sepoys' lines, and the ruined bungalows of officers, to the Flagstaff tower, where the insurgents had posted three guns. The Sirmoor battalion was ordered to extend between the columns. Both movements were successful. General Barnard's column made its way, driving the enemy before it, and capturing the guns at the Flagstaff tower; then, ascending the ridge, the men moved along to what is called "Hindoo Rao's house," where they were met by Brigadier Wilson, who had cleared the suburb, defeated a force which attempted to stop him, and captured an 18-pounder gun. The enemy were completely driven from the ridge, which with the cantonments, was left clear for the British.—The two victories of the day had been attained with the loss of four officers, six non-commissioned officers, forty-one rank and file, and thirty-three horses, killed; and thirteen officers, one native officer, fifteen non-commissioned officers, 103 rank and file,

* Sir H. Barnard's despatch.

and nineteen horses, wounded; two men and eleven horses were missing. The loss of the rebels was not known. The result of the last success was, that the victors were enabled to occupy the old cantonments, which lay behind the ridge. The camp was ordered to be pitched on the cantonment parade-ground; its rear being protected by a canal-cut or small river, that joined the Jumna, a few miles above Delhi: this stream could only be crossed by bridges at certain points. The ridge was held by the Sirmoor battalion; Hindoo Rao's house was made the head-quarters, and two companies of the 60th rifles were stationed there. That point formed the extreme right of the British position, and faced the Moree gate and bastion, the most salient point opposed to it. The Subzee Munde suburb was in the rear of Hindoo Rao's house; and here the British position was defended by a field battery, placed on an elevated position, and called the "Mound Battery."

When the city was reconnoitred, it was seen, at once, how futile would be the attempt to carry it till considerable reinforcements were received. General Barnard resolved, therefore, to maintain the position on the ridge; and in this determination he was supported by Major-general Reed, the provincial commander-in-chief, who had arrived at Allipore just as the troops were leaving it, on the 8th of June: he would not, however, take the command out of Sir H. Barnard's hands. This delay before Delhi created some disappointment in England; but little or nothing was known of the strength of the place. Its defences enclosed, before the work of destruction commenced, an area of three square miles. The fortifications consisted of a series of bastions, connected by long curtains, and the martello towers before-mentioned. The bastions rose sixteen feet from the ground; and the masonry was twelve feet thick. The curtains were also of masonry, and about the thickness and height of the bastion. Running round the base of the bastions and curtains was a berm or terrace, varying in width from fifteen to thirty feet, and having on its exterior edge a wall eight feet high, loopholed for musketry. That wall was a continuation of the escarp wall of the ditch, which was twenty feet deep, and twenty-five feet wide. The counterscarp was an earthen slope of easy incline; the

glacis was about sixty yards wide, and covered scarcely half the walls. The river Jumna ran on the east side of the city; and on its banks stood the palace of the king, and the old fort of Selimghur. On each bastion eleven guns were mounted.* No wonder that the small force before Delhi was weeks and months before it could make any impression on such a position, which was, on the 8th of June, defended by at least 7,000 men; and as the small force of the British could only intercept the communication just where they were posted, this number was augmented almost every day by the mutineers, who, as they were disbanded or beaten, flocked to Delhi.

On the 9th of June, General Barnard was joined by a corps which did good service in the subsequent operations, called "The Guides." This corps was raised at the close of the Sutledj campaign of 1849; and the members, who are intended to act as guides or spies, are selected as much for their sagacity and intelligence as for their courage and hardihood. Each man is taught to rely upon himself, but, at the same time, to co-operate with others; and the result of their discipline is, that they are inspired with the most perfect confidence, in either isolated or combined action. Before entering the British service they were, for the most part, inhabitants of the Punjab; but they belong to no particular race or creed; indeed, it is said, that "there is scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which has not contributed recruits to this corps." Its original strength was limited to one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry—in all, 284 men; but Lord Dalhousie raised the force to 840 men, divided into three troops of horse and six companies of foot. Their uniform is of a drab colour, so nearly resembling the aspect of the country, that the men are scarcely distinguishable at the distance of 180 yards. Their pay is eight rupees a month for a foot soldier, and twenty-four rupees for a trooper; and certainly, the Indian army cannot boast of a braver or more useful corps.

On the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of June, attacks were made upon the British positions, which were repulsed, though with some loss; and on the latter day, Sir H. Barnard yielded to representations made to him, and gave orders to attempt the capture

* The Red Pamphlet; Part II.

of Delhi by a *coup-de-main* on the 13th. "Early in the morning of that day, corps were actually formed to move down to the assault, when the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets (without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons), forced the plan to be abandoned, as daylight was coming on; and it was felt, that success was impossible," if the intended process of blowing in two gates by powder-bags, "was not effected by surprise." Subsequently, the opinion became general that it was well the attempt was not made, "as defeat or partial success would have been ruin, and complete success would not have achieved for us the results subsequently obtained."† The position was strengthened by placing strong pickets at the ruins of a house close to the river, which was known as Metcalfe House, having been occupied by Sir T. Metcalfe; also on a mound to the right of Sir T. Metcalfe's compound, and close to the road leading from the Cashmere gate to the cantonment Sudder Bazaar; between that mound and the river bank; and in stables close to the river. The Flagstaff tower was occupied by 100 men and two guns. Three 18-pounders were placed in battery, on the mound to the right of the camp, to check any attack from the side of the Subzee Munde sub-urb; and to impede attacks on the rear, another battery, in which two 18-pounders were mounted, was constructed behind the camp; and the rear picket of cavalry and infantry were posted at it.

From the time the British first established themselves before Delhi, "almost daily attacks took place: the losses in consequence were not heavy; yet the troops were much harassed. Though our investment was only on one side of the city [the north]—happily securing our left flank, and the communication with the Punjab in our rear—very nearly half the effective force at this period was on picket; and when the 'alarm' sounded, and all the pickets had been reinforced, there merely remained a few companies of infantry, besides some cavalry and guns in reserve, to sustain any point seriously attacked, or to make a forward move against the insurgents."‡ The artillery fire was kept up throughout the day, scarcely an hour passing without some shots; and in perusing the accounts of the siege, the civilian is inclined to

† Major Norman.

‡ *Ibid.*

wonder how our little force was enabled to hold its ground at all. We cannot even detail all the separate attacks that were made upon it; and must confine ourselves to a few of the most important.

On the 23rd of June, the anniversary of the battle of Plassy, "the day predicted by Hindoo seers for our downfall," a combined attack was made on the British position by a cannonade from the city walls, and also from some guns which had been brought into the suburb on the right of that position, enfilading the Hindoo Rao's ridge. The suburb of Subzee Mundeewas also occupied in force; and the battery on the mound was threatened by the rebels posted there. The 1st, and a part of the 2nd fusiliers, were sent to drive them from the Subzee Mundeewas. This attack failed at first; Colonel Welchman, of the 1st fusiliers, who led the attack, being seriously wounded, and Lieutenant Jackson of the 2nd, killed. The apprehended effects, however, were too serious to suffer the rebels to remain in this suburb; and the remainder of the 2nd fusiliers, with the 4th, or Rothney's Sikh infantry, who had only arrived at the camp that morning, after a night-march of twenty-two miles, were ordered to make a second attempt to dispossess them. This was successful. The mutineers were driven from all their posts back into the city; and it is supposed that they must have lost at least 1,000 men. "In one enclosure, 150 were bayoneted, so desperately did they cling to cover."* The loss to the British was one officer, thirty eight men, and four horses, killed; three officers, 118 men, and eleven horses, wounded; and one horse missing.—From that time, "an advanced picket was kept in the Subzee Mundeewas, of 180 Europeans, divided between a serai on one side, and a Hindoo temple on the other, of the Grand Trunk-road; both of which were immediately strengthened, and rendered defensible by the engineers. These posts were only between 200 and 300 yards from the right battery at Hirdoo Rao's ridge, the pickets from which communicated with them; and eventually, a line of breast-works, running up the ridge, connected these pickets with the right battery. Our position was thus rendered much more secure, and the enemy were unable to pass up the Trunk-road to attack our right rear."†

* *The Red Pamphlet*; Part II. † Major Norman.

On the 28th of June, the army was reinforced by 1,000 men from the Punjab; and, on the 1st of July, the head-quarters, and a wing of her majesty's 61st, from Ferozepore, arrived. On that day and the next, the Rohilcund mutineers arrived at Delhi; and the British had the mortification of watching the long train of men, guns, horses, and beasts of burden of all kinds, streaming across the bridge of boats into the city, without the possibility of preventing, or in any way annoying them.—On the 5th of July, Sir Henry Barnard was attacked by cholera, and expired early in the afternoon, much regretted by the whole force. Major-general Reed, though in infirm health, then took the command.

On the 9th, one of the most serious affairs that took place during the siege, occurred. The rebels, it is supposed, had spies in the camp, where they reckoned upon some assistance; and there was treachery, it is also suspected, amongst the picket of the 9th irregulars, in the rear of the British position. The enemy showed in great force outside the city in the morning; an unceasing cannonade being kept up from the walls, and from the field artillery outside. About ten o'clock they increased in numbers in the suburbs on the right of the camp; and a body of sowars, supposed to be not more than a hundred in number, charged directly into the latter. Their dress was white, the same as that of the 9th irregulars, and their advance appears to have attracted little notice. Their irruption caused some confusion; and about thirty-two carabinieri, who formed the advanced picket, mostly young and untrained soldiers, turned and fled, except the officer and two or three men, who remained with Lieutenant Hills, of the artillery—two guns being stationed there. That officer alone rode amongst the enemy, killing several, and was only saved himself, after being severely wounded, by the arrival of Major Tombs, who shot a man just on the point of dispatching him. The main body of sowars do not appear to have been arrested by the struggle of Lieutenant Hills with three or four of their number; but they pushed on for the guns of the native troop of horse artillery, which were on the right, calling on the men to join them. The men, however, stood to their guns; and there was a short skirmish, in which Major Tombs, and Captain Fagan, of the artillery, distinguished themselves; and the sowars

were driven out of the camp, thirty-five of them being killed. The fire from the city, from the field guns, and from the rebels in the suburb, continued after the repulse of the sowars, for the entire day; and sunset came on before the suburb was cleared by a British column, comprising Major Scott's horse battery, the available wings of the 8th and 61st foot, the 4th Sikh infantry, and the head-quarters and two companies of the 60th rifles, under Lieutenant-colonel J. Jones. Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., commanded the infantry brigade, and Brigadier-general Chamberlain directed the operations. "The insurgents were driven out of the gardens without difficulty, though the denseness of the vegetation made the mere operation of passing through them a work of time. At some of the serais, however, a very obstinate resistance was made, and the insurgents were not repulsed without considerable loss. Eventually, everything was effected that was desired;" the movement being "greatly aided by Major Scott's battery, under a heavy fire—eleven men being put *hors de combat* out of its small complement."* The British loss was one officer and forty privates killed; eight officers and 163 privates wounded; eleven privates missing. "The enemy must have lost 500 men, most of whom were killed on the spot."

On the 22nd of July, Major-general Reed, on account of ill-health, was obliged to surrender the command before Delhi into the hands of Brigadier Wilson, and retire to the hills. There was no cessation in the labour of the troops. The enemy still kept up their sorties and attacks; and by the 31st, no less than twenty-three battles had been fought, in which 22 officers and 296 privates had been killed, and 72 officers and 990 privates wounded. On the 8th of August, some shells thrown by the British fell into one of the rebels' powder-magazines, and 500 of them lost their lives. The disbanded regiments and the fugitive mutineers, however, who arrived almost daily, greatly increased their number, notwithstanding all their losses in battle, and other ways; and by the end of August, there were not less than 30,000 men within the walls of the Mogul city.—On the 11th, Brigadier Nicholson and some additional forces arrived in the British camp, and brought intelligence that a siege-train was on its way. This news also reached the rebels; who, on the

24th, sent a large force, with thirteen guns, to intercept it. At daybreak of the 25th, Brigadier Nicholson was dispatched with a strong detachment, to endeavour to overtake this force, and bring it to action. His column comprised 420 of her majesty's 61st, under Lieutenant-colonel Rainey; 380 of the 1st European fusiliers, under Major Jacob; 400 of the 1st Punjab rifles, under Lieutenant Lumsden; 400 of the 2nd Punjab infantry, under Captain Green; one squadron of the 9th lancers, under Lieutenant Sarel; a squadron of the guides cavalry, under Captain Sandford; a squadron of the 2nd Punjab cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson; 200 Mooltanee horse, under Lieutenant Lind; sixteen horse artillery guns, under Major Tombs; and thirty sappers and miners. A difficult march was before them; but about 4 P.M. they came up with the rebels, 7,000 strong, who were then in position at Nujffgurh; their lines extending from a bridge over the Nujffgurh canal to the town, about a mile and three-quarters in length. Their left centre rested on an old serai, where they had four guns; and between that point and the bridge, their remaining nine guns were posted. "After a hasty *reconnaissance*, Brigadier Nicholson determined upon attacking their left centre, which seemed the key of the position; and then changing his front, to take their line of guns in flank, and drive the enemy towards the bridge. Reserving 100 men of each of the corps, he sent her majesty's 61st and 1st fusiliers, and 2nd Punjab infantry, with four guns on the left flank, and ten on the right, to carry the position. This was done in the most brilliant manner, with scarcely any loss; and the brigadier following out his previously arranged movement with perfect success, the enemy were soon in full flight over the bridge, leaving the whole of their guns," with a large quantity of ammunition, "in our hands. The column bivouacked that night at the bridge, without food or shelter of any kind; and, after blowing up the bridge, marched back to the camp the next day, which it reached in the evening."† The loss was two officers, twenty-three privates, killed; two officers, sixty-eight privates, wounded; sixteen horses killed, and four wounded. The enemy attacked the camp the same day, supposing that only a few men were left there; but were repulsed, with the loss of eight killed and thirteen wounded on the side of the British.

* Major Norman. † *The Red Pamphlet*; Part II.

There was now quite a mixture of nations in the British camp; and the following is the picture it presented, drawn by an officer writing from the spot:—

“What a sight our camp would be, even to those who visited Sebastopol! The long line of tents, the thatched hovels of the native servants, the rows of horses, the parks of artillery; the English soldier in his grey linen coat and trowsers (he has fought as bravely as ever without pipe-clay); the Sikhs, with their red and blue turbans; the Affghans, with their wild air, and their gay head-dresses and coloured saddle-cloths; and the little Ghoorkas, dressed up to the ugliness of demons, in black worsted Kilmarnock hats and woollen coats, the truest and bravest soldiers in our pay. There are scarcely any Porbeas [Hindoos] in our ranks, but of native servants many a score. In the rear are the booths of the native bazaars, and further out on the plain, the thousands of camels, bullocks, and horses, that carry our baggage. The soldiers are loitering through the lines, or in the bazaars. Suddenly the alarm is sounded, and every one rushes to his tent. The infantry soldier seizes his musket, and slings on his pouch; the artilleryman gets his guns harnessed; the Affghan rides out to explore; in a few minutes every one is in his place. If we go to the summit of the ridge of hills which separates us from the city, we see the river winding along to the left, the bridge of boats, the towers of the palace, and the high roofs and minarets of the great mosque, the roofs and gardens of the doomed city, and the elegant-looking walls, with batteries here and there, the white smoke of which rises slowly up among the green foliage that clusters round the ramparts.”

On the 4th of September, the siege-train from Ferozepore arrived at the camp. It consisted of thirty-two pieces, 24 and 18-pounders, and 10 and 8-inch mortars and howitzers. By the 6th, more reinforcements of troops reached head-quarters, including detachments of artillery, of the 8th foot, and the 60th rifles; the 4th Punjab rifles, and a wing of the Belooch battalion. Independent of 2,977 wounded and invalids in hospital, the number of “effective rank and file of all arms, artillery, sappers, cavalry, and infantry, and including lascars, drivers, newly-raised Sikh sappers and artillery, and recruits of Punjab corps, was 9,866. The strength of the British troops (the European corps being mere skeletons) was 580 artillery, 443 cavalry, and 2,294 infantry.”* This force appears to have been independent of the “Cashmere contingent of 2,200 men and four guns, and of several hundred of the Jhind rajah’s contingent (which had previously been most usefully employed in keeping up our communication with Kurnaul”), and “were now, at the rajah’s

particular request, brought in to share in the credit of the capture, the rajah himself accompanying.”†

Hitherto the British had been rather the besieged than the besiegers: but constant preparations had been carried on for taking the offensive part; and the engineers, assisted by some companies of Muzbee Sikhs, and a body of Coolies, had collected materials for, and made, 10,000 fascines, 10,000 gabions, and 100,000 sand-bags, besides scaling-ladders, and platforms. On the arrival of the siege-train, it was resolved that regular siege operations should be commenced; and ground may be said to have been first broken before Delhi on the 7th of September. In the night of that day, the first siege battery was commenced, and it was in two divisions; in one, four 24-pounders were directed against the Cashmere bastion, distant 850 yards; and in the other, five 18-pounders, and one 8-inch howitzer, were destined to demolish the Shah bastion, distant 200 yards. These guns were got into position by the morning of the 9th, when they opened a most destructive fire on the enemy’s works. No. 2 battery was constructed in the night of the 10th, and opened its fire on the morning of the 11th, upon the curtain of the Cashmere bastion: and on the morning of the 12th, two more batteries, Nos. 3 and 4, came into play, the former being thrown up within 180 yards of the Water bastion. To arm these batteries, the heavy guns were withdrawn from the ridge, and added to the siege-train; and to work them, the horse artillery were united to the foot; and the carabinieri and 9th lancers furnished a quota of volunteers, “whose intelligence and good-will rendered their services most valuable.”‡ Some newly-raised Sikh artillerymen also took their share; and all did their work well; the “batteries opening fire with an efficiency and vigour which excited the admiration of all who had the good fortune to witness it. Every object contemplated, was accomplished with a success even beyond expectation; and while there are many noble passages in the history of the Bengal artillery, none will be nobler than that which will tell of its work on this occasion.”§

On the 13th two breaches near the Cashmere and Water bastions were reported. Lieutenants Medley and Lang, and Lieutenants Greathed and Home, examined them in the night, and, reporting them to be

* Major Norman. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Colonel Baird Smith’s despatch.

practicable, orders for an assault the next morning, at daybreak, were issued; and the arrangements for the storming were made. The force was divided into five columns; and the troops composing them, and the services to which they were destined, were as follows:—

1st Column.—Brigadier-general Nicholson. Her majesty's 75th regiment, Lieutenant-colonel Herbert, 300 men; 1st Bengal fusiliers, Major Jacob, 250 men; and 2nd Punjab infantry, Captain Green, 450 men.—To storm the breach near the Cashmere bastion, and escalate the face of the bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Medley, Lang, and Bingham.

2nd Column.—Brigadier Jones, C.B. Her majesty's 8th, Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, 250 men; 2nd fusiliers, Captain Boyd, 250 men; 4th Sikh infantry, Captain Rothney, 350 men.—To storm the breach in the Water bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.

3rd Column.—Colonel Campbell. Her majesty's 52nd, Major Vigors, 200 men; the Kumaon battalion, Captain Ramsay, 250 men; 1st Punjab infantry, Lieutenant Nicholson, 500 men.—To assault by the Cashmere gate, which was first to be blown open with powder-bags.—Engineers attached to this column: Lieutenants Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

4th Column.—Major Reed. The Sirmoor battalion, the Guide infantry, such pickets (European and native) as could be spared from the Hindoo Rao's ridge (860 men), and the Cashmere contingent, strength not known.—To attack the suburb Kissengunge, and enter the Lahore gate.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Maunsell and Tenant.

5th Column.—(The reserve), Brigadier Longfield. Her majesty's 61st, Lieutenant-colonel Deacon, 250 men; 4th Punjab infantry, Captain Wilde, 450 men; wing Belooch battalion, Lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, 300 men; Jhind auxiliaries, Lieutenant-colonel Dunsford, 300 men.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Ward and Thackeray.

Two hundred of the 60th rifles, under Lieutenant-colonel Jones, were to cover the advance of the storming party, and then join the reserve.

All these men were in their places at 4 A.M.; the head of columns 1, 2, and 3, being kept concealed till the moment for the actual assault arrived. The signal for the advance was to be the passing of the rifles, in skirmishing order, to the front. Then the explosion party was to blow in the Cashmere gate, and the assault was to commence. Lieutenant Salkeld had the dangerous but honourable duty entrusted to him, of exploding the gate; and Lieutenant Home, and Sergeants John Smith and Carmichael, Corporal F. Burgees, Bugler Hawthorne, of her majesty's 52nd, fourteen native and ten Punjab sappers and miners, were associated with him. Covered by the fire of the rifles, this party advanced,

in double-quick time, towards the gate, Lieutenant Home, the two sergeants, and Havildar Madhoo, one of the native sappers, carrying the powder-bags, and leading; followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgees, and a section of the remainder of the party. The advanced party reached the gateway unhurt; they found the draw-bridge destroyed, and there was no passage for them, except along the detached beams which remained. The wicket of the gate was open, and as they were advancing along the dangerous footway, the enemy opened fire upon them. Sergeant Carmichael was killed as he was laying down the powder-bags, Havildar Madhoo being wounded at the same time. The bags were, however, laid, and the remainder of that party slipped down into the ditch, to make way for Lieutenant Salkeld and his followers, who were to apply the light. "While endeavouring to fire the charge, Lieutenant Salkeld was shot through the leg and arm. He handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgees, who fell, mortally wounded, just as he had successfully performed his duty. One of the sappers and miners was killed, and another wounded, during this operation. The demolition having been most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily unwounded, caused the bugle to sound the regimental call of the 52nd, as the signal for the advance of the column: fearing that, amid the noise of the assault, the sound might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced,"* the gateway was stormed with a cheer, and triumphantly carried, the entire column entering the main-guard, where it re-formed, and clearing the Water bastion, St. James's church, and the "Gazette Press" compound, proceeded through the Cashmere-gate bazaar, and arrived within a hundred yards of the Jumma Musjid—the arches and gates of which had been bricked-up, and could not be forced without powder-bags or artillery. The houses in the vicinity were occupied by rebels, who poured an unintermitting fire upon the column, and Colonel Campbell retired to a large enclosure, called the Begum's Bagh, or garden, which he held for an hour and a-half under a galling fire of both artillery and musketry. The Kumaon battalion, which had deviated from the other two corps, and held the Kotwallce for some time, then joined; and the column fell back on the church.

* Colonel Baird Smith's despatch

The other columns advanced to their appointed places of attack, under a tremendous fire from the British batteries. "Columns 1 and 2 made for the Cashmere and Water bastions; a perfect hail-storm of bullets met them from the front and both flanks, and officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. For ten minutes it was impossible to get the ladders down into the ditch to ascend the escarp; but the determination of the British soldier carried all before it, and Pandey declined to meet the charge of the British bayonet. With a shout and a rush the breaches were both won, and the enemy fled in confusion."* The first column then re-formed, and moving rapidly to the right, carried the Cashmere and Moree bastions, and the Moree gate; and cleared the way up to the Cabool gate. On reaching the head of the street at that gate, the enemy made a resolute stand, but were soon driven back. Pushing on along the rampart road, the column was checked by a heavy fire from two guns commanding that road, which was so narrow at that point as scarcely to admit of four men abreast. After endeavouring for two hours to effect a passage, the column retired, and was met by Brigadier Jones's column, which had not been able to advance to the Lahore gate; but as far as the Cabool gate the city was secured. While the troops were endeavouring to pass down the rampart road, Brigadier Nicholson was, unfortunately, mortally wounded.—The fourth column made a gallant effort to carry the Kissengunge suburb and the Lahore gate; but the Cashmere contingent, overpowered by numbers, retreated to the camp; and Major Reed, being severely wounded, the remainder of the column was withdrawn to the Hindoo Rao ridge. A party of guide infantry attached to this column was surrounded in an inclosure; but the wing of the Belooch battalion, which had been detached from the reserve to support them, came up, charged the rebels, dispersed them, and led off the guides.

The result of the day's operations was, that the defences of Delhi, from St. James's church to the Cabool gate inclusive, were in possession of the British, who had lost seven officers and 276 privates killed; 57 officers and 830 privates wounded. On the 15th and 16th, the magazine was bombarded and taken; 171 guns and howitzers being found there. On the two next days various

* Letter in the *Lahore Chronicle*.

other posts in the southern part of the city were occupied; and on the 20th, the Lahore gate, with the other defences, were either evacuated, or the enemy were driven from them. The palace and the old fort of Selimghur, which had been bombarded since the 15th, fell into our hands; the gates of the former having been blown up: and the head-quarters were established there. On the evening of the 21st, Brigadier Wilson proposed the health of her majesty Queen Victoria, in the Dewan-i-Khas, the beautiful white marble dhurbar hall of the former residence of the Moguls—where once stood the famed peacock throne. Loud cheers welcomed the toast, which were taken up by the gallant Ghoorkas, who formed the body-guard of the general.—The ex-king and his family had made their escape on the first day of the assault; but on the 21st, they were captured by Captain Hodson and his cavalry, near the Kootub Minao, about fifteen miles from Delhi. His chief wife, Zeenat Mahal, and several other members of his seraglio, were with the padishah; and a large quantity of royal property, consisting of elephants, horses, camels, carriages, &c. Two of his sons and a grandson, who were known to have been leaders of the rebellion, were also captured by Captain Hodson, at the tomb of Humayoon, about five miles from Delhi. They were executed. The old ex-monarch, said to be ninety years of age, was brought back to Delhi, and placed in the palace; but in a very different position, and under widely contrasting circumstances, to those which marked his former residence there. The part of the palace where he was confined was approached by a flight of steps. From them a small door opened into a room, half of which was partitioned off with a grass matting, called *chitac*. One part was used for cooking; in the other "was a native bedstead—i.e., a frame of bamboo on four legs, with grass rope strung across it. On this was lying, and smoking a hookah, an old man with a long white beard. No other article of furniture whatever was in the room and the one which the begum occupied was even smaller, dirtier, and darker than that where the king was placed. Zeenat Mahal is described as "a dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual-looking woman;" she had eight or ten companions, all "coarse, low-caste females, as devoid of beauty as of ornament."†

† Letter from Mrs. Hodson.

When the city was completely in the hands of the British, the mutineers, in the night of the 20th, abandoned their camp outside in such haste, that they left their sick and wounded, their band instruments, bedding, clothing; in fact, all that they possessed. They fled, some to Rohilcund, some to Muttra, some towards Oude. Delhi itself was a picture of desolation, being completely abandoned. No mercy had been shown to the men during the storm; but women and children were everywhere protected. On the 21st and 22nd, the soldiers did pretty nearly as they liked; but, as there were few people to be seen, if disposed to take vengeance for the cruelties practised on their countrymen and countrywomen, they had no opportunity of doing so. Mr. Greathed, formerly commissioner in the Meerut division, and who had recently been special commissioner in the camp, died of cholera on the 20th; Mr. Saunders, therefore, became civil commissioner at Delhi. He applied himself to the restoration of order, and held out inducements to the population to return. Sir T. Metcalfe also resumed his former position. Very shortly after the city came into our hands, Brigadier-general Wilson's health obliged him to give up his command, and he was succeeded by Brigadier-general Penny.

It was some time before the casualties of the siege were ascertained; but it appears from a return given in the *Narrative of the Campaign of the Delhi Army*, by Major H. W. Norman (who was deputy adjutant-general to the force), that 2,163 officers and men were killed, wounded, and missing, from the commencement of the siege to the 8th of September; 327 were put *hors de combat* from that date till the morning of the assault; 1,170 were killed and wounded on the 14th of September, and 177 subsequently: making a total of 3,837. Of these, 2,151 were Europeans, and 1,686 natives: of the horses, 139 were killed, 186 wounded, and 53 missing. The following table shows the specific number of men killed, wounded, and missing, and their rank:—

	Eng. Off.	Nat. Off.	Non-com. Off.	Drum.	R. & F.	Total.
Killed . .	46	14	80	7	865	1,012
Wounded	140	40	207	10	2,389	2,795
Missing . .	—	—	1	—	29	30
	186	63	288	17	3,263	3,837

Two movable columns were dispatched from Delhi on the 24th of September, in

pursuit of the rebels.—One of these bodies moved down by the western bank of the Jumna towards Agra, and, on the 28th, overtook the rebels at Muttra, where they were attacked and defeated with heavy slaughter.—The second column, under Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, of her majesty's 8th (King's) regiment, consisted of about 2,600 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. They took the direction of Allyghur, by Dadree, Secunderabad, and Bolundshuhur, where the rebels had thrown up a breastwork, from which they were driven, and two guns were captured. They occupied the town in considerable force, and an action took place, that continued for three hours and a-half. The rebels were completely defeated, losing not less than 300 men, with a vast quantity of baggage, two 9-pounder ammunition waggons, and three carts laden with powder and small-arm ammunition. Amongst the baggage were found many articles plundered from Englishmen and Englishwomen. The British lost six rank and file, and twenty horses, killed; six officers, four non-commissioned officers, thirty-one rank and file, four camp-followers, and thirty-eight horses, wounded; and three horses missing. The column advanced, on the 29th, to the fort of Malagurh, which the rebels had occupied; it was found to be evacuated, and was destroyed. The rebels had taken this road in considerable numbers, and they were defeated again at Allyghur. Leaving a detachment there, Lieutenant-colonel Greathed proceeded to Agra, an attack being expected on that city from a large body who had left Dholpore. He arrived on the 10th of October. The Agra authorities thought the rebels were then ten miles distant, beyond the Karee Nuddee; they were, however, much nearer; and before the column from Delhi had pitched their tents, they were attacked. The men were soon under arms: the Punjab cavalry beat back a body of horse on the right; and a large body of the 1st native light irregular cavalry was charged and overthrown by the 9th lancers; Captain French being killed, and Lieutenant Jones dangerously wounded. The insurgents had brought some artillery, which was soon silenced by the British guns, and three of the enemy's guns were captured in a charge of the Punjab cavalry. A pursuit was ordered, and at the fifth mile the rebel camp was taken, with twelve guns, and a quantity of

baggage, &c.—more than the captors could convey away. They took what they could, and burned the rest. In this affair the enemy lost 500 men, the rout being complete; the British had twelve killed, fifty-four wounded, and two missing; fourteen horses were killed, ten wounded, and thirty-five missing. Soon after, Brigadier Hope Grant, of her majesty's 9th lancers, took the command of the column, which marched to Cawnpoor, where it arrived on the 24th and 26th of October.

At Delhi and its neighbourhood, quiet was soon restored when it came into the possession of the English. The fortifications of the city were destroyed. Many mutineers were taken prisoners, tried, found guilty, and a goodly number of them executed. On the 27th of January, 1858, the trial of the ex-king of Delhi commenced, in the Dewan Khas of the palace (where he had so long resided), and continued into

the month of March. The charges against him were, of conspiring against the English authority; of sanctioning the murder of fifty-two English, chiefly women and children, at his palace on the 16th of May; and of ordering or sanctioning other enormities. The result of the trial (in the course of which evidence was given, that the circulation of the *chupatties** was intended to bring together a large body of men, for some purpose to be explained to them hereafter) was, the conviction of the ex-king on all the charges. As the conspiring and levying war against England were, under the engagements into which he had entered, acts of treason, he was liable to the penalty of death. The court, however, sentenced him to be transported, for life, to the Andaman islands: but he was ultimately sent to Rangoon; and there he ended his days, towards the close of 1862.

CHAPTER XXV.

MUTINY AT DINAPORE; THE MUTINEERS ATTACK ARRACH; SITUATION OF MR. WAKE AND A SMALL PARTY DISASTROUS RESULT OF AN EXPEDITION SENT TO RELIEVE THEM; THEIR RELIEF BY MAJOR VINCENT EYRE; CAWNPOOR; THE MILITARY FORCE THERE; MEASURES TAKEN BY GENERAL WHEELER; MUTINY OF THE NATIVE TROOPS; TREACHERY OF NANA SAHIB; SIEGE OF THE INTRENCHED BARRACK; AGREEMENT WITH NANA; HORRIBLE MASSACRE; NANA DECLARES HIMSELF INDEPENDENT; ADVANCE OF HAVELOCK; DEFEAT OF THE MUTINEERS, AND FLIGHT OF NANA; TERRIBLE SCENE AT CAWNPOOR; LUCKNOW; SIR HENRY LAWRENCE'S STEPS FOR ITS DEFENCE; HIS DEATH; POSITION OF THE OCCUPANTS OF THE RESIDENCY; THEIR RELIEF BY GENERAL HAVELOCK; ADVANCE OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL; EVACUATION OF THE RESIDENCY BY THE WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND WOUNDED; DEATH OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; SIR C. CAMPBELL AT CAWNPOOR; FINAL RELIEF OF LUCKNOW; THE GHOORKAS; "GENERAL ORDER" OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

WHILE the British forces, and their faithful allies the Sikhs and the Ghoorkas, were engaged before Delhi, in the manner narrated in the last chapter, other gallant bands were involved in struggles, even more arduous, in different parts of the north-west provinces. With brief accounts of three of those events which attained the most celebrity, and present the most striking features of heroism, fortitude, and endurance, we shall convey to our readers a correct idea of the great rising in India in 1857 and 1858, and its suppression. The three important episodes in the history of the mutiny which we select, are the defence of Arrah; the defence of, and massacre at,

Cawnpoor; and the siege and relief of Lucknow.

One of the stations which we have mentioned as the scene of mutiny Dinapore, is a town in the district of Patna, situate about ten miles from the town of that name, on the right or south bank of the Ganges. It is an important military post, remarkable for the fine barracks built by government for the accommodation of the troops. In July, this station was garrisoned by her majesty's 10th foot, the 7th, 8th, and 40th native infantry, one company of European, and one of native, artillery. Major-general Lloyd, an officer who had been more than fifty years in the service, commanded the garrison; and the civilians, strongly sus-

* See *ante* p. 374.

pecting that the native troops were not to be depended upon, wished them to be disarmed. The question was brought before the governor-general and council at Calcutta, who would neither take the responsibility of ordering that the arms should be taken away, or that they should be retained; but left it to Major-general Lloyd's discretion to do as he pleased. The general would not resort to the last extremity of disarming; but, on the 25th of July his European force having been, on the previous day, strengthened by the arrival of two companies of her majesty's 37th regiment, he resolved to take the natives' percussion-caps. Early in the morning the caps were removed from the magazine, leaving there 300 boxes of ball ammunition. The 7th and 8th regiments, in consequence, showed signs of revolt. They should have been immediately disarmed, the Europeans being quite able to have carried out orders to that effect; but the general contented himself with ordering the native officers to take away the caps the sepoy had in their own possession, and went on board a steamer—which had arrived that morning with troops *en route* to Allahabad—to lunch. Whilst he was thus engaged, shots were heard on shore. The sepoy, instead of giving up their caps, had fired upon their officers. Then, having previously, it would appear, loaded themselves with as much baggage as they could carry, and a great part of the ball cartridges left in the magazine, they quitted the lines. The officers alarmed the 10th regiment, the men of which were soon in their ranks; but they only got sight of the rear of the mutineers, upon which they fired a few volleys. Six guns were also brought up to bear in the same direction; but as there was no one to give orders or assume responsibility, the rebels got off, with the loss of about thirty killed; except two companies, who embarked in boats, for the purpose of going to Patna. They were fired upon by her majesty's 57th from the steamer, and most of them lost their lives.

The mutineers were now suffered to pursue their course unmolested. Arrah is twenty-five miles west from Dinapore, on the opposite side of the river Soane; and as they had not the means of crossing at hand, they might have been all taken or cut off, had a pursuit been kept up. But they slept on the east bank of the river on the night of the 25th, and crossed over, the next day, in boats procured for them by

Koor Sing, a large landholder, possessing extensive estates in the neighbourhood of Arrah; who joined them, and advised them to march on that town and plunder the treasury. This they resolved to do.

At that time Mr. Wake, the magistrate of Shahabad (the district of which Arrah is the chief town), was residing there. On Sunday, the 26th of July, it was reported that the rebels were coming, and the police left the town: they were either disaffected or cowards. Mr. Wake, and the few Europeans around him, resolved not to abandon the place. They all moved into a small bungalow belonging to Mr. Boyle, the district engineer of the railway company, who had previously fortified it. There were with Mr. Wake, Mr. Littledale, judge; Dr. Hall, civil assistant-surgeon; Mr. Boyle; Mr. Tait, his secretary, and eight more Europeans; seven native assistants and servants; and fifty Sikh troops. Sufficient meal and grain were stored for several days' short allowance, and a good deal of water; but, owing to the shortness of the notice, nothing but the barest necessaries could be brought in.

The mutineers arrived on the morning of Monday, the 27th of July, about eight o'clock. Their first step was to release the prisoners; their next to go to the bank, or treasury, where they found 85,000 rupees, which, of course, they eagerly took possession of. They then charged the bungalow from every side; but, being met with a steady and well-directed fire, they changed their tactics, and, hiding behind the trees with which the compound is filled, and occupying the outhouses and Mr. Boyle's residence, the latter within sixty yards of the bungalow, they kept up an incessant and galling fire throughout the day, during which a large body of Koor Sing's men joined them; their number in all—troops, prisoners, and the landowner's followers—being not less than 3,000. Koor Sing himself was shortly amongst them, and remained whilst the siege lasted, which it did for seven days; during which discharges were constantly kept up from two small cannon, placed so as to command what the rebels considered the weakest spots of the little garrison; and incessant assaults were made on the bungalow.

Intelligence of the state of the Arrah residents being taken to Dinapore, it was resolved to make an effort to relieve them. An expedition was sent, composed of the

men of the 10th and 37th foot, about 410 in number, under the command of Captain Dunbar. There is little doubt but that this expedition, after it had landed on the west bank of the Soane, was misled by the guide, who was in league with the rebels. Captain Dunbar was urged by him to advance, being told the sepoys were gone; and though, when the troops got within three miles of the town, the more prudent advice was given to the commander, not to attempt to go any further till morning, he persisted in proceeding. All was still as they approached Arrah; but on passing through a thick tope of trees within half a mile of the town, a blaze of musketry came along the left side of the advancing column, like a flash of lightning; this was followed by a second and a third volley, and the men could see that they were surrounded. Dunbar, and a gallant young volunteer by his side, Mr. Frost, were killed, as was another volunteer, Mr. Anderson. There were 3,000 assailants of the 400 Englishmen, who availed themselves of the shelter of trees, and fought as well as they could. At last they got behind a bank, where they lay all night, and in the morning found they were a hundred short of their number; fifty of the missing, however, afterwards joined—they had made their way to a village close by, where they concealed themselves till daylight. The troops were twelve miles from their boats; but it was resolved to return to them. They had to fight all the way; and when they reached them, it was found that they were secured to the shore. It was with difficulty that they were got off; and as soon as they were afloat, and were pushed from land, they turned their heads that way again, the rudders having been tied during the night. At length some of the boats, with the remainder of the men, got on their way down the river. They were fired at for some distance; and the total loss of life by that unfortunate expedition was 300.

The siege of the bungalow was now continued with redoubled vigour, but with very little skill, or the miniature fortress must have been soon brought about the ears of its gallant defenders. The Sikhs behaved with the greatest bravery, and evinced the utmost coolness and patience, meeting and preventing every disaster by their untiring labour. Water began to run short; a well, of eighteen feet by four, was dug in less than twelve hours. The

rebels raised barricades on the top of the opposite house; those of the defenders grew in the same proportion. A shot shook a weak spot in the defence: the place was made twice as strong as before. The inmates began to feel the want of animal food, and the short allowance of grain; a sally was made at night, and four sheep brought in. It was ascertained that the enemy were undermining the bungalow; a countermine was immediately dug. Repeated offers were made to the Sikhs to desert; but they nobly refused them all, and stood gallantly by the colours under which they had sworn to serve.

Finally, the little garrison of the Arrah bungalow was relieved by a party of the 5th fusiliers, and some volunteers, with a small field battery, commanded by Major Vincent Eyre, who acquired fame in the Affghan war. This officer was stationed with a movable force in Berar, to act against the mutineers, and chivalrously resolved to go to the assistance of Mr. Wake and his friends. On the 2nd of August, he marched from Goojerajunge, about nine miles from Arrah, and encountered the rebels, ten to one in number, as he got near that place. Emboldened by their success over Captain Dunbar, they advanced to the assault with a vigour quite unexpected; and twice, with bugles sounding, first the "assembly," then the "advance" and the "double," they made determined rushes on the guns; but were, on both occasions, repulsed with showers of grape. After some time spent in cannonading and skirmishing—the British being protected by a "tope" on one flank, and by the railway-works on the other—the rebels were pouring down in large numbers, when Major Eyre ordered a charge. It was gallantly made by the 5th, who cleared the woods, the artillery pouring in grape upon the fugitives as they emerged from their shelter. They left Arrah that night, going to Jubbulpore and Delhi; and when Eyre and his brave band arrived at the bungalow on the morning of the 3rd of August, great were the congratulations on all sides.*

The Dinapore mutiny had the effect of, for a time, interrupting the communication between the districts of Allahabad, Shahabad, and Behar with Lower Bengal; and

* Despatches of Major Vincent Eyre, and Captain L'Estrange; letters of Mr. Wake, Mr. M'Douell, and the surgeon of the 10th; *The Red Pamphlet*.

also of delaying, at a period when time was most precious, the march of troops to Cawnpoor and Lucknow. General Lloyd was superseded as soon as news of the events at Dinapore reached Calcutta, and Sir James Outram appointed to command in that district, with orders to march as speedily as possible on Cawnpoor. He arrived at Allahabad on the 1st of September; and addressed himself to organising a movable column to advance to the north-west, in which he was zealously assisted by Major Vincent Eyre.

No events connected with the mutiny excited so much horror and deep sympathy in England as the Cawnpoor massacre. In May, 1857, that town was garrisoned by the 1st, 53rd, and 56th native infantry, the 2nd light cavalry, and sixty-one European artillerymen, with six guns. Major-general Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler commanded; and these sixty-one artillerymen, with the officers of the four native regiments, were the only Europeans he had to oppose to 3,500 trained soldiers; who, when they began to show symptoms of mutiny and disaffection, were backed up by the rabble of the town, at least equally numerous. His situation was most distressing, as there were from 400 to 500 women and non-combatants at the station.

The mutiny at Meerut, and the successes of the mutineers at Delhi, were known at Cawnpoor on the 16th of May. The general was struck with his own insecurity, especially as the station occupied a dead level, and possessed no fort or place of refuge. Such a place it was necessary to provide; and Sir Hugh fixed upon the hospital barrack, in the centre of the grand parade, for the purpose. He intrenched this building, armed it with all the guns of the battery, removed there the ladies, their children and servants, and all the other females and children; and then prepared himself to act, on the first sound of alarm, as circumstances might demand. On his application, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had only 600 Europeans to control the entire province of Oude, sent a small detachment of the 32nd to Cawnpoor. About the end of May, another party of Europeans, partly belonging to the 84th, and partly to the Madras 1st fusiliers, arrived. Still, the force was most insignificant; and on the 31st, the general wrote to Calcutta describing his situation, and stating, that the utmost he could do would be to defend the intrenched hospital for

two or three weeks, till reinforcements could arrive. In the first days of June, the executive, commissariat, and pay-officers, with all their records and treasure-chests, were removed from the west side of the canal into bungalows adjacent to the intrenchment. The commissariat treasure-chest, containing about 34,000 rupees in cash, and the government paper deposits, with the account-books and other important documents, were brought into the intrenchment; but there was a large sum of money in the treasury, which Nana Sahib offered to guard. This monster—as he proved himself to be—since the death of Bajee Rao,* had resided at Bithoor. He lived in a castellated palace, where Lord Dalhousie had permitted him to mount six guns; and he had collected around him a number of followers, which had been considerably augmented since the first display of discontent by the sepoys; for, having always expressed contempt for their folly in believing that any plan was on foot to deprive them of their religion, and professed the firmest fidelity to the British, Mr. Henderson, the collector of customs at Cawnpoor, had arranged with him, that he should raise 1,500 armed men, ready to surprise the sepoys, should they rise there.† He had been on visiting terms with both officers and civilians; and Sir Hugh Wheeler had no hesitation in accepting his offer to place a guard over the government treasure: had he refused, the result would have been the same. The Nana, accordingly, on the 3rd of June, had two of his guns removed to the front of the treasury, and supported them with 200 men. The same day, the 3rd Oude horse battery, sent for the assistance of General Wheeler, arrived at the intrenchments; and as more Europeans were known to be coming up, such a sense of security for the time appears to have been felt at Cawnpoor, that, on the arrival of this battery, General Wheeler sent a portion of the contingents from the 32nd and 84th to Lucknow. Unfortunately, the reinforcements were stopped on their way by the mutiny at Allahabad; which place, like Delhi, had been left, with its magazines, entirely in the custody of natives.

Thus matters remained till the 5th of June. At 2 A.M. on that day, the 2nd cavalry, who had long been endeavouring to persuade the infantry to mutiny, gathered

* See *ante*, p. 360.

† *The Red Pamphlet*. Part II.

together, mounted their horses with a ringing shout, and set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster-sergeant. They then proceeded to the commissariat cattle-yard, took possession of thirty-six elephants belonging to the government, set fire to the cattle-sergeant's bungalow, and proceeded with the elephants to Nawabgunge. There they were met by Nana Sahib, who took them to the treasury he had undertaken to guard; and they loaded the beasts with the money—about eight lacs and a-half of rupees. Some officers, who went out of the intrenchments about 7 A.M., having ascertained what had taken place, the Oude battery was sent after the rebels: fearing, however, that the little garrison might be attacked by the native infantry, which still remained in their lines, the general caused them to be recalled. The infantry did, in fact, follow the cavalry—the 53rd and 56th beginning to move about 9 A.M.; and it was not long before the 1st were also in open mutiny. They plundered all the bungalows on the west side of the canal, and set fire to them; so that nothing was to be seen but bright flames darting up in that direction. The mutineers were enabled to provide themselves with an abundance of arms and ammunition; for though a train had been laid to the magazine, and the European in charge, Mr. Reilly, had been ordered to blow it up in case of an outbreak, the sepoy on guard prevented him from executing his orders. The mutineers went there as soon as they had possessed themselves of the treasure, and halted till carts and other carriages could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages. They then loaded their baggage, and took as much small-arm ammunition as they could; and—the cavalry and infantry having been united some hours before—marched off about five o'clock in the afternoon to Kullianpore, a village seven miles from Cawnpore, and the first stage to Delhi.*

Sir Hugh Wheeler was now left in his intrenched barrack with about 350 troops. There were, besides, nearly a hundred merchants, clerks, &c.; the same number of servants and cooks; 330 women and children, and 20 sick sepoy and native officers. Had it not been for these invalids, the fe-

males and the children, the men would have left the intrenchments, and, no doubt, would have secured their own safety; but they could not take those helpless beings with them; to desert them was impossible; therefore nothing was left but to remain and perish together, if they were not relieved.—It appears to have been the original intention of the mutineers to have gone to Delhi; but Nana Sahib persuaded them to follow him. "You receive seven rupees from the British government," he said; "I will give you fourteen rupees; don't go to Delhi; stay here; and your name will be great. Kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet."† The rebels consented; and having made a native captain their commander, and he having promoted their sergeants and corporals to the rank of captains and lieutenants, the next morning they returned, and halted about two miles from the intrenchments. There Nana pitched his tent, and hoisted two standards to the honour of Mohammed, and to the Hindoo deity; to these standards he ordered all the faithful to repair. "He then sent about fifty horsemen into the town, to kill any Europeans who might be found there, as well as the native converts to Christianity. At the same time, the houses of the Cawnpore nawab, and other influential native gentlemen, were attacked and gutted, on the pretence that their owners had harboured Europeans. He himself spent the greater part of the day in mounting some heavy guns, of which he had obtained possession, and in making preparations for the attack."‡

From that day, till the 25th of June, the Europeans were beleaguered, and exposed to an almost constant bombardment. The effect may be conceived. The barracks were soon so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter; and many made themselves retreats under the walls of the intrenchments, covered over with boxes, cots, &c. "In these, with their wives and children, they were secure from the shot and shell of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat; and the mortality from apoplexy was considerable. At night, however, every man had to take the watch in his turn." The women and children slept under the walls; and "the live shells kept them in perpetual dread; for nearly all night these shells were seen coming in the air, often doing mischief when they burst.

* Narrative of Mr. Shepherd, head of the commissariat department.

† Affidavit of Mary Ann, an ayah in the service of Mrs. T. Greenway, of Cawnpore.

The Red Pamphlet.

Thus the existence of those who remained alive was spent in perpetual dread and fear." As time progressed, "the stench from the dead bodies of horses and other animals, that had been shot in the compound, and could not be removed, as also the unusually great influx of flies, rendered the place extremely disagreeable."* So time went on—husbands dying from wounds, or lingering under their agony; wives sometimes receiving injuries from the flying missiles; and more, with their children, sinking from fatigue and anxiety; whilst food ran short, and there were no signs of relief. Amidst all, however, those who were blessed with health, and those who, though wounded or suffering from illness, could move about, bore up wonderfully. They annoyed the enemy all in their power; and so resolute was their fire, and so skilful their aim when any near approach was made, that the rebels never ventured upon an assault. Captain Moore, of the 32nd, particularly distinguished himself. He was "severely hurt in one of his arms, but he never gave himself the least rest. Wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be the foremost, with his arm in a sling, and a revolver pistol in his belt, leading, and directing the men how to act."† Lieutenant Delafosse, who had been attached to the 53rd native infantry, was also active; and, on one occasion, on the 21st of June, he daringly risked his life in extinguishing a fire caused by the blowing up of an ammunition waggon. Lieutenants Ashe (of the artillery) and Halliday also took an active part in the defence; being foremost in danger, and animating the spirits of all around them. But the individual and collective bravery and zeal were of little avail. It was impossible to escape; and every day the fate of the devoted garrison seemed to be approaching nearer a crisis.

During the siege, Nana Sahib is said to have murdered two ladies and their families, who were travelling from the north-west to Calcutta; as he also did 126 fugitives, chiefly females, who had left Futteyghur in consequence of an unfounded rumour, that the 10th native infantry stationed there had mutinied; and who reached Cawnpoor in boats. He did not, however, proceed to those horrible extremities with all the females who fell into his hands. He had

kept Mrs. T. Greenway—a member of the family of Greenway (brothers), merchants of Cawnpoor—and her family and attendants in his camp; and, on the 24th of June, he sent that lady with the following note to the British intrenchments:—

"To the soldiers and subjects of her most gracious majesty Queen Victoria.—All men who have been in no way connected with the act of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall have permission and protection to return to Allahabad."

The "act" alluded to was either the annexation of Oude, or the refusal to acknowledge the principle of adoption. Whichever it was, not one person at Cawnpoor had anything to do with it; therefore there was no impediment, on that ground, to treating with Nana. Such was the state of the garrison, that it was thought best to open a negotiation. It was conducted by Captain Moore, who received full authority from General Wheeler; and Azimollah, a Mohammedan, on the part of Nana; and resulted in an agreement, on the part of the British, to surrender all the government money, and the magazine and guns in the intrenchment (only two of which were serviceable), to Nana; he, on his part, engaging to provide boats, and permit every person in the intrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. On the morning of the 27th of June, the ill-fated garrison, trusting to the good faith of the miscreant who had already been guilty of the grossest treachery, left the place they had so gallantly defended—latterly against 10,000 men—and embarked on board the boats provided by Nana; the officers having been obliged to leave much of their property in the intrenchment. The boats were suffered to get off from the shore; but had scarcely got clear, and the men, laying down their muskets, had begun to row, when a fire was opened upon them from two guns on the Cawnpoor side of the river, with discharges of musketry from the sepoys on both sides. Some of the boats took fire; some ran to the opposite bank, where, however, the rebels prevented the inmates from landing; and finally, all the boats except one were secured on one side of the river or the other, the surviving males massacred, and the women landed and placed in a brick building in the rebel camp.‡ The boat that got down the river was the

been one of those massacred on shore. The ayah whose deposition we have quoted in the text, also says, that Miss Wheeler was taken off by a sowar

* Mr. Shepherd's narrative.

† *Ibid.*

‡ General Wheeler is said, in some accounts, to have been killed in the boats; and in others, to have

largest, and most heavily laden. The sepoy's followed on both sides of the river. At one point, fourteen officers and men landed to charge the dastardly cowards, who fled before them; but, following the pursuit too far, the little band was cut off from the river; and twelve of them ultimately took shelter in a temple, where they kept a body of insurgents, who had tracked them, at bay, till they put heaps of wood round the place, to which they set fire. Compelled to leave or be suffocated, seven (all that then remained) dashed through the smoke—five of them reaching the river; two were shot. Of those five, one lost his life as he was floating down the stream; the other four, Lieutenants Mowbray, Thomson, and Delafosse, and Sullivan, of the artillery, reached the shore, and gave themselves up to a friendly Oude rajah, who ultimately enabled them to rejoin a party of British troops.* The unfortunates in the boat which the fourteen Englishmen had left, were pursued by other boats under the Nana's orders, and taken on the second day, after a short struggle. In that boat there were sixty men, twenty-five women, and four children. They were conveyed to Cawnpoor, where the men were shot, and the women and children put in confinement with the others; the total number then being about 150.

Nana followed up these atrocities by assuming the post and dignities of an independent rajah; and, no doubt, he calculated upon re-establishing a Mahratta government at Cawnpoor. He had salutes fired for himself, as sovereign; for his brother (Balla Sahib), as governor-general; and for Jowalla Pershad, as commander-in-chief. He also published a proclamation, announcing the end of British rule in India; stating, that they were defeated on all sides, and that the king of Egypt had declared war upon them, whilst he himself was prepared to drive them from the country. He broke up his camp a few days after his treachery to the garrison, and repaired to Bithoor, where additional salutes were fired; and he appeared to

invest himself with all the attributes of sovereign power.

While the siege of Cawnpoor had been going on, the advance of reinforcements to the relief of the garrison had been arrested by the mutinies at Benares and Allahabad. These were put down, and order restored, by the prompt and effective measures of Colonel Neill; but before any troops could be dispatched, Brigadier-general Havelock arrived at Allahabad, having been sent by Lord Canning to take the command in the Cawnpoor and Oude districts, directly after his reaching Calcutta from Persia. He lost no time in advancing to Cawnpoor, not having more than 2,000 men under his command. With this small force he defeated the rebels on the 12th of July, about four miles from Futteypore, a town seventy miles north-west of Allahabad, and fifty south-east of Cawnpoor; and again on the 14th of July, at Aoung, a small village six miles from Futteypore, where they had intrenched themselves. There was a second engagement the same day, in which Major Renaud was killed; the total loss, in both encounters, being twenty-five in killed and wounded. On the evening of the 15th, the detestable miscreant, Nana Sahib, hearing of these defeats, had all the prisoners, male and female, in his possession, barbarously murdered! His ruffians—apt villains to do his bidding—assaulted the English ladies confined, as already stated, in a brick building in his camp, "with every kind of weapon, from the bayonet to the butcher's knife, from the battle-axe to the club. They cut off their breasts, they lopped off their limbs, they beat them down with clubs, they trampled on them with their feet; their children they tossed upon bayonets: blood flowed like water; but they were not glutted, nor did they quit the building till they were satisfied that not a living soul remained behind them."† Nana then, at the head of 7,000 men, prepared to oppose the advance of Brigadier Havelock into Cawnpoor. He was signally defeated on the 17th, and fled to Bithoor, having blown up the maga-

and put into his house, near the church at Cawnpoor, along with his wife. "The girl," continues the deposition, "remained till nightfall; and when he came home drunk, and fell asleep, she took a sword, and cut off his head, his mother's head, two children's heads, and his wife's, and then walked out into the night air. When she saw other sowars, she said, 'Go inside, and see how nicely I've rubbed the rissaldar's feet.' They went inside, and

found all of them dead. She then jumped into a well, and was killed. From fear of what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the English women, whom Nana at first proposed to give to the soldiers."—We think this story, if it has truth for its foundation, is greatly exaggerated.

* Narratives of Lieutenants Mowbray, Thomson, and Delafosse.

† *The Red Pamphlet*; Part II.

zine. After the battle, the troops encamped, and then the officers went in search of survivors. Terrible was the shock when they came upon the charnel-house where the massacre of the 15th had been committed. "It was a flat-roofed building containing two rooms, with a courtyard between, in the manner of native houses. The floor of the inner room was found two inches deep in blood; it came over the men's shoes as they stepped. Ladies' hair, back-combs, parts of religious books, children's shoes, hats, bonnets, lay scattered about the room; there were marks of sword-cuts on the walls low down, as if the women had been struck at as they crouched. From the well at the back of the house, the naked bodies, limb separated from limb, protruded out. It was a sight sickening, heartrending, maddening. It had a terrible effect on our soldiers; and those who had glanced upon death in every form, could not look down that well a second time. Christian men, who had hitherto spared a flying foe, came out, bearing a portion of a dress, or some such relic in their hands, and declaring that, whenever they might feel disposed for mercy, they would look upon *that*, and steel their hearts."*

From that time, all that has been known of the wretch Nana is veiled in uncertainty. He appears, on reaching Bithoor, to have set fire to his palace, and blown up his magazine, and then fled into Oude; for when General Havelock and his force arrived there, after a march over a very difficult country, on the 19th of July, he found all desolate and deserted. There is reason to believe that Nana subsequently returned, re-fortified his palace, and was again defeated; but the interest which attached to his movements was now directed to Lucknow; and some reports ascribe to him the direction of events in Oude. It was to that quarter that the attention of Havelock was now especially directed.

Lucknow, the capital of Oude, is situated on the right, or south-west side of the Ghoomtee, distant 610 miles from Calcutta, 128 from Allahabad, and 53 from Cawnpoor. All the principal buildings of the city, and the British residency, were on the river's bank. The latter was a large

inclosure, situated on higher ground than the rest of the town, which it may be said to have commanded. It contained the house of the resident, those of the civil and military officers attached, all the necessary out-buildings, and many vaults, running underground to a considerable extent. To the west, between 800 and 900 yards from the residency, was a strong turreted, castelated fort, called the Muchee Bawn. The city lies to the south of the residency; and the cantonments on the other side of the Ghoomtee, to the north-east. Four miles from the residency, on the Cawnpoor road, is the Alumbagh,† formerly a winter palace of the king of Oude, now a strongly-fortified post.—It had always been the custom in the East, to preserve the Europeans as much as possible from exposure, as less able to endure the climate than the natives; hence the latter were, at every station, entrusted with the charge of the most important buildings. This was the case at Lucknow; but, after the mutiny of the 7th irregulars in May, Sir Henry Lawrence removed the magazine stores, before in the charge of the sepoys, to the Muchee Bawn, and placed that fort entirely in the hands of Europeans. The treasury was not taken absolutely out of the hands of the sepoys; but six guns were placed so that, at the first alarm, they could be brought to bear upon them. "Earthworks and defences were also thrown up; and, as far as time and circumstances would permit, the whole position was strengthened by batteries, ditches, and stockades: besides this, ammunition was collected, guns were brought in, and last, not least, grain in vast abundance was stored within the intrenchments."‡ About the 24th of May in consequence of rumours of the bad spirit prevalent in the native troops, all the ladies and their families, the sick, and the wives and families of the European soldiers, were removed to the residency; and it was made the place of general rendezvous in the event of a rise. At the same time, all the civilians were embodied as special constables, and took night duty. On the 30th, at 9 p.m., the 13th, 48th, and 71st native regiments in the cantonments mutinied. When they assembled in open revolt, the Europeans opened a fire upon them from some artillery, and a few were killed: two officers were also shot; and the officers' bungalows and the bazaars were plundered and burnt. The rebels made for

* *The Red Pamphlet*; Part II.

† "The Garden of the Lady Alum," or Beauty of the World.

‡ *Journal of the Siege of Lucknow*: by Captain R. P. Anderson.

Moodkeepore, some miles off, where there were cavalry lines, which they burnt; and then, finding they were not pursued, returned to Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence was prepared to meet them, having with him 300 Europeans, the 7th light cavalry, about 500 native troops who had not gone off with the others, and a few irregular cavalry. Though two troops of the 7th cavalry, which were sent in advance, went over to the mutineers as soon as they came in sight, the latter turned and fled, when they found preparations were making to receive them. The artillery opened upon them; and they were pursued by the Europeans as far as Moodkeepore. Several prisoners were taken; but, for the want of cavalry, the pursuit could not be continued. At Moodkeepore was found the body of a young officer, Ensign Raleigh, whom, left there from ill-health, the mutineers had surprised and murdered. No wonder that the prisoners taken were tried and hung, and that Sir Henry proclaimed martial law.

In the course of the month of June, Oude, from one end to the other, became involved in the insurrection, and the residency was nearly surrounded by the rebels. On the 29th, misled by false information, Sir Henry Lawrence marched to meet and disperse what he was told was an advanced body of the enemy, about 1,000 strong. He met them at a place called Chinhutt, six miles from Lucknow, and then found, that instead of 1,000, he had the main body of the enemy to contend with, 15,000 in number. The rebels began the fight; and, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, victory would have sided with the British, had not the artillery of the Oude battery overturned their guns into the ditches, and abandoned them, thus exposing both their flanks: nothing then was left but to get back to the residency as best they could. This they did; but not without great loss.—From that day the residency was regularly invested; and on the 2nd of July, Sir Henry Lawrence was struck by a shell, which exploded in his room. He died on the 4th; an event greatly lamented. It caused the direction of affairs to fall on Major Banks, who was unfortunately soon after killed; and Brigadier Inglis took the command.

From this time, during the months of July, August, and September, the position of the inhabitants of the residency at Lucknow rendered that of the garrison in the

intrenchment at Cawnpoor, in the previous month of June. They were closely beleaguered; an almost constant bombardment was kept up; repeated attempts were made to undermine the residency; and the utmost exertion, energy, and watchfulness, were required; whilst, as time progressed, a scarcity of food prevailed, approaching to famine: these were some of the miseries the besieged had to endure. In the early days of the siege, there appeared to be no apprehension of want, as speedy relief was looked for, and confidently expected. Then there were necessaries and some luxuries to be had; and there was not so much spare made as there ought to have been. But July passed—so did August, and the long-expected relief did not arrive: then, unsifted flour, lentils and salt, were the daily meal; every other day, a small ration of beef being served out. In September, the price of a ham was almost fabulous—£9; of a dozen of brandy, £18; and of a dozen of beer, £7. The air was pestilential; the Egyptian plague of flies was at its height; and every inmate of the residency—from the most delicately bred and highly educated female, to the rudest trooper—had, with respect to domestic and household arrangements, to put up with accommodations which the poorest inhabitant of happy England would shrink from. To these privations and sufferings were added the pain of “hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick.” From the first week in July, relief was expected; it did not arrive till the 25th of September: but the garrison never flinched from their duty; and when the enemy made their last serious assault, which was on the 5th of September, they were repulsed with as much vigour as they were when they attempted their first. On that day the enemy sprung two mines. After the first had exploded, they advanced with large, heavy scaling-ladders, which they planted against the walls. They were driven back, with loss, by hand-grenades and musketry. The second was sprung, and again they advanced boldly; but soon the corpses that strewed the ground, bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of the garrison; and the rebels fled, ignominiously leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—amongst the slain.* After this, the bombardment was continued; but there were no more assaults.

* Brigadier Inglis's official account of the siege.

General Havelock had marched from Cawnpore in July, to relieve Lucknow. He crossed the Ganges—twice he defeated the enemy—and advanced more than a moiety of the way, when, with his originally small force reduced by fighting and sickness to about half their number, he wrote, on the 6th of August, to the commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell (who had been appointed to succeed Sir George Anson, Sir Patrick Grant having filled the post *ad interim*), stating, that, with grief and reluctance, he must prepare him for his abandonment of the relief of Lucknow; as “the only three staff-officers in his force, whom he ever consulted confidentially, and in whom he fully confided, were unanimously of opinion, that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involved the loss of his men.” He returned to Cawnpore; and his little army being reinforced, on the 19th of September he again set forth, resolved to reach the capital of Oude, to relieve his countrymen and countrywomen beleaguered there, or perish in the attempt. Before the expedition started, Sir James Outram arrived, invested with the chief command of the army, and also authorised to act as the chief commissioner in Oude. He refused to supersede Havelock till the relief of Lucknow was accomplished; but chivalrously accompanied the army, in his capacity as civil commissioner, serving as a volunteer, and heading a corps of volunteer cavalry, which was attached to the regular troops.

The expedition crossed the Ganges on the 19th, the heavy guns and luggage on the 20th. On the 21st, the rebels—who, driven before the British on their former advance, again overran the country from Lucknow to the Ganges—were met with in a strong position not far from the river. General Havelock attacked them, drove them from their position, and captured four guns. The volunteer cavalry (under 200), headed by Sir James Outram, took two of these guns, and the colours of the 1st Bengal native infantry, sabring 120 of the enemy.* The British marched twenty miles that day, and fourteen the next; the enemy flying before them. The advance was continued on the 23rd and 24th, the enemy hovering about, and constantly

dropping their shells amongst the ranks of the British. They kept under the shelter which the jungle and woods afforded, from whence they could not have been dislodged without running more risk than the general thought it prudent to incur. On the latter day the firing at Lucknow was distinctly heard. General Havelock then ordered a royal salute to be fired from the 24-pounders; the grateful sound reached the garrison, and announced to them, that the hour of their deliverance was at hand. That night the relieving force halted at the Alumbagh.—On the 25th, between the Alumbagh and Lucknow, there was fighting nearly every inch of the way. The troops got fairly into action about a quarter of a mile from the camp, and the shot passed over and about them, in a perfect hum or scream. On every side men fell; the enemy firing from a garden or compound with their artillery, and from the houses of a village with their musketry. The 5th, which were in advance, were ordered to lie down, while the artillery silenced the guns. As this was not done soon enough, the 5th were ordered to charge and take them. This was bravely done; but it was still slow work clearing the villages, and making their way round the city to the residency; the small army of 3,000 men having, at the very lowest calculation, 40,000 men to contend with, who were fighting behind houses or loopholed walls, whilst the British were exposed in the streets.† At the outskirts of Lucknow, at the bridge of the *Charbagh* (“four gardens”), thrown over the canal that encircles the south side of the city, the rebels had a number of guns planted behind a strong palisade. “They did dreadful execution; but, nothing daunted at the lanes of death constantly opened in their ranks, Sir James Outram himself, with Brigadier (late Colonel) Neill and his gallant Madras regiment, and the men of the 5th, 64th, and 84th regiments, advanced and surmounted every obstacle—took the guns at the point of the bayonet, cutting down the gunners, or putting them to flight. General Havelock, with the brave 78th and 90th, dashed in after them. They had to fight for each inch of ground; but they successfully drove the enemy from one enclosure to another, from garden to garden. The captured guns they threw into the canal, after spiking them.”‡

At length the residency was reached; but at what a cost! Nearly one-third of

* General Havelock's despatch.

† Letters of a staff-officer, and of a medical officer in the relieving force.

‡ Rees' *Personal Narrative*.

the little force of 2,500 men which had left Cawnpoor, was killed; and, on the last day, some perished horribly: a few of the wounded fell into the enemy's hands, and were partly burnt alive in their hospital litters, and partly cut up! Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Captain Patrick Orr, Lieutenant Burns, and Sergeant Norton, who were taken prisoners, they subsequently murdered! Many gallant officers were killed. Sir James Outram was wounded, as were thirty-three other officers; one of them, Lieutenant Henry Havelock, being the general's son and aid-de-camp. But the object was accomplished; Lucknow was saved—and scarcely an hour too soon. If the relief had not come, the native troops, who had fought by the side of the Europeans, would have left them; and then, writes Mr. Rees—

“Nothing short of a miracle could have saved us. Cawnpoor would have been re-enacted in Lucknow, or we should, as we once talked of doing, have been compelled to blow up our women, children, and wounded, to prevent their falling into the hands of the insurgents, and to have died fighting on the ruins ourselves. Our houses had been already perforated with cannon-balls. The Cawnpoor battery was one mass of ruins; our outpost at Innes's house was partly roofless; and the other garrisons were as badly off. From one alone, the brigade mess, 435 cannon-balls that had fallen within it were actually counted. It would be, therefore, by no means an exaggerated statement, to affirm, that not less than 10,000 cannon-balls had struck our various buildings. As for musket bullets, they are only to be counted by myriads. More than 400 of the defenders of the garrison lie buried in our churchyard.”*

Still the relief was not complete; for the Europeans were not sufficiently numerous to escort the women, the sick, and the wounded, to Cawnpoor; and they were obliged to remain at the residency, where, however, the garrison felt strong enough to make almost daily sorties to annoy the rebels. Reliance was now placed on Sir Colin Campbell, who had gone from Calcutta to Cawnpoor, and who resolved himself to attempt the final relief of Lucknow. Brigadier-general Hope Grant had preceded him; and Sir Colin, quitting Cawnpoor on the 9th of November, joined that officer on the 12th at the Alumbagh, with her majesty's 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd infantry; the 2nd and 4th Punjab infantry; her majesty's 9th lancers; detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry; and Hodson's horse; three batteries of artillery; and a naval brigade, with eight guns,

under Captain Peel. On the march to the Alumbagh, the advanced guard was attacked by two guns, and a body of about 2,000 infantry. The guns were taken, and the rebels dispersed. On the 14th, having been reinforced by 600 or 700 additional troops, composed of her majesty's 83rd infantry and artillery, Sir Colin marched to the Dilkoosha, a former royal residence to the north-east, with a fine park filled with deer, and an enclosed garden, down to the banks of the Ghoomtee. It was occupied by the enemy; as was the magnificent palace of the Martiniere, about half a mile distant, on the north-west. Both being cleared, the army halted at the Dilkoosha till the 16th of November, on which day, leaving there every description of baggage guarded by her majesty's 8th regiment, the troops advanced to the Secunderbagh, a high-walled inclosure of strong masonry, on the east side of the city, near its northern extremity. This post was 120 yards square, was carefully loopholed all round, and, with a village opposite to it (at the distance of a hundred yards, also loopholed), was filled by the rebels. The fighting was very severe at both those places. Whilst the artillery played upon the Secunderbagh and the village, the 53rd and 93rd cleared the rebels away in another direction; and a part of the highlanders seized the king's barracks in the vicinity, which they converted into a military post. When the Secunderbagh had been bombarded an hour and a-half, it was stormed by the remainder of the highlanders, the 53rd, and the 4th Punjab infantry, led by Colonel Leith Hay, Lieutenant Gordon, Captain Walton, and Lieutenant Paul; and supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston. There never was a bolder feat of arms. The loss inflicted on the enemy was immense; more than 2,000 of them were afterwards carried out. The troops then made their way through the north-east part of the city to the north side of the residency, several fortified posts having to be taken, and all the men showing the greatest gallantry—the naval brigade rendering good service. Before the fighting was over, Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock came out of the residency, and a hearty greeting took place between them and the commander-in-chief.

As the result of that day's operations and those of the 17th and 18th, Sir Colin Campbell was enabled to hold the whole of

* *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow.*

the country from the Dilkoosha to the gates of the residency. Arrangements were then made for the withdrawal of the garrison; and, in the night of the 22nd—"the ladies and families, the wounded, the treasure, the guns it was thought worth while to keep, the ordnance stores, the grain in the hands of the commissariat, and the state prisoners, having been previously removed"—the garrison retreated through the lines of the pickets in perfect silence, and the Dilkoosha was safely reached by the whole force at 4 A.M. on the 23rd. In the afternoon of the 24th, the route was taken to the Alumbagh; Sir James Outram remaining at the Dilkoosha to arrest pursuit.—Just after this retreat was accomplished, and those for whom he had risked so much were placed in safety, Sir Henry Havelock, worn out with fatigue, exposure, and mental suffering, expired at the Dilkoosha on the 25th of November. Dysentery was the immediate cause of his death, which took place the day before the Queen had created him a baronet, as a mark of her high sense of his noble, skilful, and truly heroic conduct. The honour, and a pension of £1,000 per annum, which parliament intended for the sire, were then awarded to the son.

Sir Colin Campbell, after the operations just described, determined, for the present, to abandon Lucknow to the rebels, and to return to Cawnpoor, leaving Sir James Outram, with 2,000 men, at the Alumbagh; the object of the commander-in-chief being to collect a sufficient force to enable him to operate effectually in Oude, and clear it of the rebels. He reached Cawnpoor with the females, the children, the sick and the wounded, in safety; and most of the former were forwarded to Calcutta, where, on their arrival, they were most cordially received, salutes being fired in their honour. The governor-general and the commander-in-chief both issued general orders, praising, in the highest terms, all engaged in the recent events; and, when parliament assembled in February, 1858, the first business engaged in was, to pass a vote of thanks to the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, all the officers and troops, Sir John Lawrence (chief commissioner of the Punjab), Lords Harris and Elphinstone (the governors of Madras and Bombay), and Mr. Halliday, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal. Decorations were also granted to the army for the actions at Delhi, Cawn-

poor, and Lucknow; most of the commanding officers being created knights of the Bath; and the Victoria medal conferred on others, as well as on many privates.

Sir Colin Campbell remained at Cawnpoor till he found himself at the head of 20,000 men, with 100 guns. With this army, at the close of February, he again advanced into Oude, reaching the Alumbagh on the 1st of March. The gallant Outram had maintained himself at that station during the months of December, January, and February; though there were at least 150,000 men under arms within five miles of him. He was repeatedly attacked, but always repulsed the assailants with loss; and when Sir Colin Campbell arrived, he crossed the Ghoomtee to the south of the town, whilst the commander-in-chief occupied the Dilkoosha. An admirably-concerted series of operations was then undertaken, which was attended with complete success; and the enemy, pressed on all sides, and defeated at every point, finally evacuated the city on the 21st of March, pursued by the troops.—An immense amount of booty was found; and plundering was carried on to a great extent when the soldiers returned from the pursuit, as, indeed, it had been by the native troops from the first commencement of the operations. The fact was brought to the knowledge of Sir Colin Campbell, who, on the 18th of March, issued a general order, desiring, "that strong parties, under the command of European officers, should be immediately sent out from each native regiment, to put a stop to those excesses:"^a but it was of no avail.

During the last days of the operations, the Ghoorkas, a part of the Nepaulese army, under the Maharajah Jung Bahadour (whose offer of assistance Lord Canning had ultimately accepted), was associated with the forces under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. About 9,000 of these native troops had joined the English in the previous September. Soon after the junction, they rendered good service to their allies, by aiding them, on the 20th of that month, in defeating and dispersing a large rebel force, which threatened Azimghur, the capital of a British district to the south-east of Oude.—On the 6th of January, 1858, the Ghoorkas alone, commanded by their Maharajah (European officers having been, at his own request,

attached to each regiment), defeated an insurgent force at Goruckpore, and entirely cleared the district, of which it is the capital, of the mutineers.—On the 22nd of January, the advanced brigade of this force “had reached Belwa Bagur, on the Gogra” a large river, which is a considerable feeder of the Ganges, and forms the boundary-line between Azimghur and Goruckpore, “opposite to Fyzabad; and, with the brigades of General Franks and Colonel Rowcroft, formed a complete chain on the south and east of Oude, from Fyzabad to within twenty miles of Allahabad.” There the Ghoorkas remained, nearly inactive, till the advance of Sir Colin Campbell. After their junction with his army, they co-operated in most of the fighting that took place in the month of March; and, for several days, were most advantageously employed in covering the left of the attacking force; Sir Colin being obliged to mass all his available troops towards the right, in a joint attack upon the works on both banks of the Ghoomtee, carried on by the divisions under him and Sir James Outram. These works consisted, in part, of various buildings, forming a range of massive palaces and walled courts, of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, in some of the European capitals, but certainly not surpassed. Every outlet of these buildings had been covered by a defensive work, and, on every side, were barricades and loop-

holed parapets. The industry evinced by the enemy in preparing these works was unexampled: and it was only by such daring valour as was shown by the British soldiers, added to the well-known skill of the artillery and sappers, that they could have been subdued.

The last work attacked was a stronghold, held by the rebels, in the heart of the city. This was taken by a force under Sir Edward Lugard, on the 21st of March; and it then became possible for the English general to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city of Lucknow from the horrors of the prolonged contest. On the following day, the commander-in-chief issued the following general order:—

“Camp La Martiniere, Lucknow, March 22nd.

“The commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the reduction and fall of Lucknow. From the 2nd till the 21st of March, when the last body of rebels were expelled from the town, the exertions of all ranks have been without intermission, and every regiment employed has won much distinction. The attacks on both sides of the river Ghoomtee, ably conducted by the generals and commanding officers of brigades and regiments, have been sustained by the men with vigour and perseverance; the consequence being, that great results have been achieved, with comparatively moderate loss. His excellency returns his warmest thanks to the troops. Every man who was engaged, either in the old garrison of Lucknow, in the relieving forces, or at the siege, which has now been terminated, may rest satisfied that he has done his duty, and deserves well of his country.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

RETURN OF THE GHOORKAS TO NEPAUL; THE REBELS IN ROHILCUND; THE POLICY ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO OUDE; LORD CANNING'S PROCLAMATION; LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S DESPATCH; PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT; MILITARY OPERATIONS; PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF KOER SINGH; SAD AFFAIR BETWEEN JUGDESPORE AND ARRAH; CAPTURE OF JHANSIE; OF CALPFE; OF KOTAH; THE ROHILCUND CAMPAIGN; CAPTURE OF BAREILLY; DISPERSION OF THE REBELS AT SHAHJEHANPORE; “GENERAL ORDERS;” ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ROHILCUND.

IMMEDIATELY after the fall of Lucknow, it was determined, by the respective chiefs, that the Ghoorkas should return to Nepaul, taking with them the plunder they had acquired during the short campaign in which they had borne a part. The Maharajah took leave of the commander-in-chief, and, with one brigade, left Lucknow

on the 23rd of March; on the following day, the remainder set out, on their return home, taking the route to Fyzabad. They were a wild and undisciplined set of men, and their departure is said to have been “a relief to the European troops in more respects than one.” Yet their services had contributed materially to the success

of the attack on the capital of Oude; and in the despatch which he wrote to the governor-general, announcing their departure, Sir Colin Campbell said—

“I desire to take this opportunity to express my thanks to his highness [Jung Bahadour], for the assistance rendered to me, during the late operations, by him and his gallant troops. I found the utmost willingness, on his part, to accede to any desire of mine, during the progress of the siege; and, from the first, his highness was pleased to justify his words, that he was happy to be serving under my command. His troops have proved themselves worthy of their commanders; and it will, doubtless, be a happiness to them, hereafter, that they were associated with the British arms for the reduction of the great city of Lucknow.”

They formed a large body, those Ghoorkas; being, with their followers, about 15,000 in number; and they had with them 4,000 carts, laden with plunder. They were unable to make much headway; and as numerous bodies of insurgents who had escaped from Lucknow, scoured the country, they made repeated applications to Sir Colin Campbell for an English force to aid them. In compliance with this request, Major-general Sir Hope Grant, at the head of a column, composed of the 7th hussars, a battalion of the rifle brigade, her majesty's 38th regiment, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, with an ample train of artillery, left Lucknow on the 11th of April. Joining the Ghoorkas at Nawabgunge, about twenty miles to the north-east of the former city, this force cleared the road for them to Ramnugger, forty miles further; and from thence they succeeded in reaching the frontiers of Nepaul, which they crossed in safety. Sir Hope Grant returned to Lucknow, having several smart skirmishes with the rebels on his way.

The insurgent troops which escaped from Lucknow were very numerous. The greater part took a westward route, and entered the extensive province of Rohilcund, which abuts on the western frontier of Oude. Towards the end of March, the commander-in-chief was informed, that Nana Sahib—with respect to whose movements great uncertainty had prevailed*—“was at Bareilly with Khan Bahadour, and 4,000 men; that the begum of Oude” wife of Wajid Alee Shah, who was one of the principal instigators of the mutiny at Lucknow. “was at Khyzabad, with 10,000 more; that 2,000 were entrenched at Shah-

jehanpore; and that Khan Bahadour and the Nana were arranging a scheme of operations, having for their theatre the vast province of Rohilcund, the greater part of which still continued, as it had been for the previous nine months, in the hands of the rebels.”—But, before we follow the troops in their successful campaign against these rebels, the measures adopted with regard to Oude demand our attention.

The conquest of Lucknow, and the expulsion of the rebels from Oude, enabled Sir James Outram to exercise the functions of the office of chief commissioner; and his authority superseded that of the commander-in-chief. The success of the British arms not being doubted for a moment by the governor-general, he drew up a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, which was dated from Allahabad (where Lord Canning was then residing), and transmitted to Sir James Outram, with instructions to publish it, as soon as Lucknow was once more in the possession of the English. In this document, the governor-general announced his intention to reward the loyal and punish the rebel talookdars, landowners, and chiefs. In pursuance of the course his lordship had laid down, six rajahs, talookdars, and zemindars, who had been faithful to their allegiance, and had supported and assisted the British officers, were declared to be, “henceforward, the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as might be imposed upon them.” With these exceptions, the governor-general proclaimed, that “the proprietary right in the soil was confiscated to the British government, which would dispose of that right in such manner as it might deem fitting. Those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who made immediate submission to the chief commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms, and obeying his orders,” were assured, “that their lives and honours should be safe, provided their hands were unstained with English blood, murderously shed.” To obtain this indulgence, they were “to come promptly forward, and give support to the chief commissioner;” and “as participation in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen would exclude those who were guilty of it from all mercy, so those who had protected

* See *ante*, p. 40C.

English lives would be especially entitled to consideration and leniency." This proclamation was inclosed in a letter, dated "Allahabad, March 3rd, 1858;" in which Mr. Edmonstone, the secretary to the government of India, explained the views of the governor-general. The proclamation was not to be published till the British troops were in command of the city. Those talookdars and chiefs who might come in, "who had been continuously in arms against the government, and who had shown inveterate opposition to the last, but were free from the charge of murdering or injuring Europeans," were "to be required, in the first instance, to reside in Lucknow, under *surveillance*, and in charge of an officer appointed for that purpose." Others, whose rebellious propensities had been less strongly marked, might, after surrendering their arms, and giving security for their peaceable conduct, "be allowed to go to their own homes." But, "this permission" was "not to be considered as a reinstatement of them in the possession of their lands, for the deliberate disposal of which the government would preserve itself unfettered." The followers of the talookdars and chiefs were all to "be dismissed to their homes;" their names and places of residence being registered, and a warning given them, "that any disturbance of the peace, or resistance of authority, which might occur in their neighbourhood, would be visited, not upon the individual offenders alone, but by heavy fines upon the villages."

The chief commissioner—who, in a letter to Mr. J. P. Grant, written in the previous September, had recommended a policy of conciliation—did not approve of this proclamation, which, as so few of the landowners had abstained from bearing arms against the British, would, he thought, render hopeless any attempt to enlist them on the side of order. His "firm conviction was, that, as soon as the chiefs and talookdars became acquainted with the determination of the government to confiscate their rights, they would betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance." He thought "the landholders had been unjustly treated under our settlement operations;" and that (with reference to the way in which Oude was annexed)* "they ought

* See *ante*, p. 343

† Sir J. Outram's letter to the governor-general.

hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign."† The governor-general could not take this view of the question. He did not consider that the landowners had been treated with injustice; and to suffer them, after going to war with England, to retain their lands, would, in his opinion, be looked upon as a sign of weakness, which would have the most injurious effect. An additional clause was, however, added to the proclamation, assuring those who "came promptly forward to give to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order," that "the indulgence granted to them would be large; and the governor-general would be willing to view liberally the claims which they might thereby acquire to a restitution of their former rights."‡

The proclamation was published in Lucknow, after its capture; and it was known in London almost as soon as it was in the capital of Oude. The Earl of Derby was the first lord of the treasury, and the Earl of Ellenborough president of the Board of Control. Those noble lords—and the cabinet, of which the former was the head, and the latter a member, agreed with them—disapproved of the proclamation; the policy of which was at variance with that recommended in a despatch from the "secret committee" of the Court of Directors to Lord Canning, dated the 24th of March, and sent to India, on receipt of intelligence that the force under the commander-in-chief, and that under Jung Bahadour, had concentrated upon Lucknow. Its purport was, to recommend lenity, in the event of success; and open resistance having ceased, the authorities of India were enjoined, "in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice that prevails after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which might, perhaps, be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion." When a copy of the proclamation was received in Leadenhall-street, Lord Ellenborough, on the 19th of April, drew up a despatch, which the "secret committee" approved of, and sent to the governor-general. The tenor and spirit of that document were nearly identical

† Letter from Mr. Edmonstone to the chief commissioner.

with the letter of Sir James Outram, and the despatch of the 24th of March. The directors, however, did not desire Lord Canning to withdraw the proclamation, but "to mitigate, in practice, the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation issued against the landowners of Oude," as they "desired to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people." By the imprudence of Lord Ellenborough, a copy of this "secret despatch" reached the hands of a member of "the independent liberal party," and was read at the Reform Club. This led to discussions in both houses of parliament; the conduct of the government being censured, and the policy of Earl Canning defended, by the late ministers and their friends. The publication of the "secret despatch" was generally considered, even by those who approved of it, a proceeding so indiscreet and improper, that Lord Ellenborough announced it as his sole act; and he resigned his office, that the ministry might not be implicated in the censure which attached to his conduct. That despatch, it is probable, would never have been written, had not Mr. Vernon Smith, his lordship's predecessor at the Board of Control, withheld from the noble earl a private letter, addressed to him by Mr. Smith by Lord Canning, under the idea that he was still the Indian minister. In that letter his lordship stated, "that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch; but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able, then, to send it." If this information had been communicated to Lord Ellenborough, as it most undoubtedly ought to have been, he would not have written to the governor-general till his promised explanation had arrived; and, if that explanation had been satisfactory, the despatch of the 19th of April would have been unnecessary, and would never have been drawn up.

On the 14th of May, in both houses—in the Lords, by Lord Shaftesbury; in the Commons, by Mr. Cardwell—resolutions were moved, strongly censuring the publication of the secret despatch. The lords rejected the motion. In the Commons, Mr. Dillwyn, a member of the independent liberal party, moved an amendment, approving of Lord Canning's policy up to the publication of the Oude proclamation, but declining to give any opinion on that

document until further information was received of the state of Oude when it was issued, and of his lordship's reasons for issuing it. The debate on the resolution and amendment continued through the 14th, 15th, 17th, 20th, and 21st of May, and ended in both being withdrawn. At its close, Earl Derby sent a telegraphic message to Lord Canning, informing him of the resignation of Lord Ellenborough; and regretting the publication of the "secret" despatch, but expressing approval of its policy.

The debates in parliament, and Lord Derby's message, were followed by the publication of a despatch sent by the Court of Directors to the governor-general early in May. In that document, the Court impressed on his lordship, "the propriety of pursuing, after the conquest of the revolted provinces, a course of policy distinguished by wise and discriminating generosity;" exhorting him "to temper justice with mercy; except in cases of extreme criminality, to grant an amnesty to the vanquished;" and "when the disorganised provinces were no longer convulsed by intestine disorder, to set an example of toleration and forbearance towards the subject people." With respect to Oude, the directors took the same view as that expressed by Sir James Outram: that the people of that province "could not be considered as traitors, or even rebels;" that his lordship would, therefore, "be justified in dealing with them as he would with a foreign enemy, and in ceasing to consider them objects of punishment after they had once laid down their arms."

Lord Stanley succeeded Lord Ellenborough at the Board of Control. His lordship held the same opinion as his predecessor with respect to the Oude proclamation; and the principle of confiscation was generally condemned by the British public. Whether Lord Canning would have carried that proclamation out according to its literal meaning, had he not been interfered with, it is impossible to say: but it eventually became a dead letter. Mr. Montgomery succeeded Sir James Outram as chief commissioner, the services of the latter being required at Calcutta, as a member of the supreme council; and he carried out a conciliatory policy. Earl Canning, also, changed his views; and his government, whilst he remained at Calcutta, was—greatly to the benefit of India,

and, of course, of England also—administered strictly in the spirit of the despatches of the 19th of April and the 5th of May; and he succeeded, before he retired from the governor-generalship, in creating, amongst the native Indians, a spirit of sincere attachment to the British rule.

We must now return to the military operations, which were carried on in various directions, the rebels being very widely dispersed.

The most important places then remaining in the possession of the insurgents, were Kotah, in Rajpootana; Jhansie, in Bundelcund; and Calpee, in the district of the Pergunnahs. Operations against Calpee were carried on by a force under Sir Colin Campbell; against Kotah, by one under Lieutenant-general Roberts; and Lieutenant-general Rose was at the head of a division before Jhansie; whilst Major-general Sir Hope Grant was dispatched to disperse a body of rebels under the moulvie of Fyzabad, Mohammed Surfraz Alee (who had been an active supporter of the begum); and a brigade, under Sir Edward Lugard, marched to drive the insurgents from Azimghur.—The expedition under Sir Hope Grant failed in its object; the moulvie making his escape; and the begum of Oude, reported to have joined him when she first left that province, also getting clear into Rohilcund. The brigade under Sir E. Lugard advanced upon Azimghur, where Koer Singh, who had been a distinguished leader of the rebels since the previous July, had taken up his position, having 4,000 men and four guns under his command. He defended himself against a small force, which occupied intrenchments near the town, under Colonel Milman and Colonel Dames; and being joined by a number of the insurgents from Lucknow, he assumed a formidable appearance. However, when Sir Edward Lugard drew near the town, Koer Singh withdrew his forces on the 13th and 14th of April. On the 15th, Sir Edward's advanced guard encountered and defeated a body of the insurgents, left to cover their leader's retreat; and Azimghur was again occupied by the British. The 37th and 38th regiments were immediately dispatched in pursuit of Koer Singh, for whose apprehension a reward of 25,000 rupees was offered. The troops, under Brigadier Douglas, overtook the fugitives on the 21st

of April, at Bausdeh, a town situated on the north bank of the Ganges, between Ghazepore, on the west, and Chuprah, on the east. The rebels were defeated, losing, besides the killed and wounded, a gun and four elephants. Koer Singh, who was amongst the wounded, crossed the Ganges, to Jugdespore, where several thousand armed villagers, under his brother Umer Singh, who were posted in the jungles round Arrah,* joined him.

Captain Le Grand, who commanded at Arrah, hearing that Koer Singh had arrived at Jugdespore, determined to attack him there; although he had only 150 men of her majesty's 35th regiment; fifty seamen of the naval brigade, and 150 Sikhs—350 in all—to encounter more than as many thousands. This little force left Arrah in the evening of the 22nd of April; marched till midnight, and then halted for rest and refreshment, till 5 A.M. on the 23rd. "They had not proceeded far, when the enemy was observed in a village, two miles from Jugdespore, busily employed in throwing up a breastwork, which pursuit he was soon compelled to abandon." On reaching the village, it was found to be deserted; and the detachment pushed on, by a road which led through a grove of mangoes. There the enemy was discovered flocking in great numbers into a formidable position; and the British opened a fire upon them. Some skirmishers were in advance; and as the enemy was approaching in dense masses, the bugle sounded for them to fall back, just as they were preparing to charge with the bayonet, after giving a lusty cheer. "This was a fatal error; it quite disheartened the men; and the enemy, who had wavered at the cheer and the bold front of our troops, now grew valiant, as they advanced unmolested, and took a position behind trees and brushwood, opening a galling fire from two guns, which was soon responded to by our artillery and infantry, and the action became general." The firing continued for an hour; when the enemy having outflanked the British on the right and left, and their cavalry being seen making a move to the rear, to cut off the retreat, the order was given to retire. The British had two guns with them, which they could not carry off, as the horses were not to be found. They were therefore abandoned, after having been spiked in the face of the enemy; an

* See *ante*, pp. 394, 395.

act of duty which cost a gallant sergeant and two gunners their lives. The retreat was begun in a most orderly manner; and, the jungle being cleared, all the men halted on the plain they had reached. There, parched with thirst, they began eagerly to drink the stagnant water, being unable to find any other. Whilst thus engaged, the rebel cavalry was seen rapidly approaching. The retreating force was with difficulty rallied, but only for a moment; and the retreat, from that time, became most disorderly. When the exhausted little troop reached the main road, "the European portion of the force were falling from apoplexy, by sections, and no aid could be administered, as the medical stores had been captured by the enemy; the dhoolie-bearers having fled, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the medical officers to keep them to their post. What was to be done? Nothing. What aid could be given them? None. There were sixteen elephants, but they carried the wounded; so the poor unfortunate beings were left behind to be cut to pieces. About two miles from the village, Captain Le Grand was shot through the breast, and died. Lieutenant Massey, and poor Dr. Clarke, both of the 35th, fell from apoplexy on the road, and were left to the mercy of the enemy." The main body of the Sikhs, who were accustomed to march under a burning sun, kept ahead; but three miles from Arrah, when only about eighty Europeans were left, "they got off the road, near a large house; and when the enemy approached, they brought them down very thickly." This caused the pursuit to slacken, and the exhausted fugitives got back to Arrah.* When the commander-in-chief was aware of this mischance, Brigadier Douglas was sent with a strong detachment of the 84th foot, and two guns, to clear the jungle; an operation which he completed by the middle of May. At that time not a rebel remained near Jugdespore: Koer Singh was amongst those who escaped.

We have stated that Sir Hugh Rose commanded before Jhansie. That town, and the territory belonging to it, had, in 1854, by the death of the rajah, Baba Gunghadar Rao, without lineal heirs, lapsed to the British government. When

the mutiny broke out, the ranee—a woman of extraordinary ability, and of a somewhat masculine temperament—raised a body of insurgents, took possession of the town, where she resolved to maintain herself against the English, and was soon at the head of 12,000 men. The formidable position she assumed, rendered it necessary that Jhansie should be subdued; and Sir Hugh Rose, having received a sufficient force, proceeded to invest that town on the 20th of March. It was defended by a strong wall, on which a good many guns were mounted; and the ranee took up her residence in a large castellated palace, which stood above the town, and was capable of holding a hostile force for some time at bay. The bombardment of the place commenced on the 23rd of March, and the rebels returned the fire with considerable spirit. While it lasted a large force was collected under Tantia Topee—said to amount to from 20,000 to 25,000 men—and marched to the relief of the ranee. We now hear of this leader for the first time; and who he was is not certainly ascertained. Some authorities say that he was a relative of Nana Sahib; others, that he was a Brahmin from the neighbourhood of Calpee. His name signifies "the weaver artillerist;" but whether it was a nickname, or a corruption of his real title, as a commandant of artillery, is not known. The force he had collected, on this occasion, was too large to make its approaches unobserved. Sir Hugh heard of its movements, and he sent a division of his own army to intercept it on the road to Jhansie. The two armies met on the 1st of April, and a fierce contest took place—the enemy outnumbering the British five or six to one. A part of the rebel force was composed of some of the troops which had been supplied, to aid the British, by our faithful ally, the maharajah Scindiah, and were known as the Gwalior contingent. They had, at an early period, joined the mutineers, Tantia Topee having, we are told, been an active agent in seducing them from their duty. They fought, on this occasion, desperately, as did the other rebels; but it was all in vain. Sir Hugh Rose "turned their left flank with artillery and cavalry; and, after making two stands, they broke and fled, defending themselves, individually, to the last. He pursued them to the river Betwa, taking all their guns, eighteen in number, and an English

* The passages quoted in this account of the disastrous affair of the 23rd of April, are from a letter by an officer, written on the 26th

18-pounder of the Gwalior contingent, drawn by two elephants; an 8-inch mortar, and quantities of ammunition, including shells, 18-pounder shot, an ordnance park, and two more elephants. Two standards were also taken. The enemy tried to stop the pursuit by setting the jungle on fire; but nothing could check the ardour of the artillery and cavalry, who galloped eagerly across the country in flames. The enemy's loss must have been very great, as their route was literally strewn with dead bodies.*

The ranee, now left to her own resources, became dismayed and low-spirited; as, knowing the overwhelming superiority of the force under Tantia Topee to that of the English, she confidently expected he would have been able to raise the siege. She did not, however, offer to submit; and the men being allowed to repose on the 2nd of April, Sir Hugh Rose fixed the 3rd for the assault. It commenced at daybreak, and was completely successful, though the resistance was firm and spirited, and the loss great. The last stand was made at the palace, which was defended by 3,000 men. It was carried; and then it was ascertained that the ranee, with 2,000 followers and two guns, had fled during the previous night. When the assault was nearly successful, the rebels, finding resistance useless, resolved to retire; but, first, they blew up the magazine. A frightful explosion ensued, which "sent conquerors and conquered, masonry, dead bodies, and living men, all into the air together"—nine officers and 200 men being killed and wounded. Not an officer of the 86th regiment escaped without injury. When the flight began the slaughter was dreadful. A few months before, many Europeans had been massacred, and other atrocities perpetrated, by order of the ranee; and the soldiers thought the townsmen countenanced these crimes: whilst the fighting continued, therefore, they spared no one. But, the rebels having all fled and the Queen's colours being planted on the walls, this feeling of anger ceased. "A great many of the inhabitants were then found to be in a state of destitution. Both those reputed wealthy, and the very poor, were suffering alike; and it was strange to see our men serving out food for mothers and their children, by the light of their blazing houses, and frequently beside the bodies

* Sir Hugh Rose's despatch.

of their slaughtered husbands or parents. Yet that assuredly was the case;† and such conduct is even more honourable to the British soldier than his victory.

The fugitive ranee fled to Calpee, where she arrived on the 9th of April. A considerable force was collected at that place; the fort being occupied by an entire regiment of the Gwalior contingent; and, between the fort and the town, half another regiment of the contingent, and a new levy of the same strength, with six guns, were in a strong position. There were, also, about 2,300 troops posted in the town, besides those which came with the ranee, who were stationed behind intrenchments, on the road from Jhansie. At Konch, nearer Jhansie, a considerable force of sepoys was concentrated, for the purpose of opposing the advance of the British on Calpee. The ranee and Tantia Topee were at Konch. Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, commanded at Calpee, in the absence of the latter.

Sir Hugh Rose advanced on Calpee as soon as he had provided for the sick and wounded at Jhansie. Before he moved, he dispatched Major Orr across the Betwa to Mhow, to clear that part of the country of rebels; but he found they had already disappeared. Major Gall was also sent, with a detachment, on the road to Calpee, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to support Major Orr. Sir Hugh Rose started with his main force in the beginning of May, halting, on the 5th, at Poonah. There he was joined by his 2nd brigade on the 6th; and, on the 7th, he marched on Konch, which he attacked and carried the same day. The rebels had been very active during the short time they had occupied the position, having thrown up strong intrenchments to protect the town; and stationed troops in some adjoining plantations, to harass the British in their advance. The march began early in a fine cool morning; and about a mile and a-half from Konch the troops halted, for refreshment and a short rest. "The country about was beautiful—a dead level, and every yard turned up for cultivation. The town of Konch, stretching for about a mile, and nearly hidden by trees, lay on the right; and, from the centre, rose the ruins of a fort, with a flag flying from a height. At a ruined village, close to where the troops rested, were seen, in front of the trees,

† *Bombay Standard.*

bodies of the enemy's cavalry, with their sabres glistening in the morning's sun; and the British advanced guard, as it were, covered the whole of the front between the main body and the town, each party intently looking out for a movement from the other."* At eight o'clock the British commenced the attack. The intrenchments were carried by a clever and successful flank movement; and the enemy's infantry and cavalry being driven from the woods into the town, Konch was "stormed by the 1st brigade in skirmishing order, covered on each flank by cavalry and artillery; the 2nd brigade and Major Orr" [returned from Mhow] "supporting. The Calpee sepoy, seeing they were on the point of being cut off from Calpee, returned in a mass in that direction; and, in less than an hour," Konch was in the hands of the British. "The enemy was pursued with horse artillery and cavalry for more than eight miles, the former firing into them, and the latter charging them." The victors were so completely exhausted by the long march, the intense heat, and the day's operations, that they could go no further. They took eight guns, a quantity of ammunition and tents, and their loss, by the fire of the enemy, was small; but, during the day, many Europeans, officers, and privates, "were struck down by the sun, which was 115° in the shade."† The enemy lost 700 killed, besides their wounded.

Some delay was necessary to restore the energies of which the troops had been deprived by their exertions and the heat of the weather; and they did not arrive before Calpee till the 16th of May. There Brigadier Maxwell joined Sir Hugh Rose, with a column of infantry, which had taken up a position on the left bank of the Jumna. The bombardment commenced on the 22nd, and the assault was to have taken place on the 23rd. But in the afternoon the rebels made a sortie, and desperately attacked the front and right wing of the British. After a sharp fight, a bayonet charge was made; the rebels fled, hotly pursued by the horse artillery and cavalry, who destroyed considerable numbers, capturing all their guns and ammunition; and the town was occupied by the infantry. Foundries and manufactories of cannon were found there,

with quantities of small arms, and several brass guns. In the fort a subterranean magazine was discovered, containing 10,000 lbs. of English powder, in barrels; 9,000 lbs. of shot and empty shells; and a considerable quantity of other descriptions of ordnance stores—the value of the whole, it was supposed, being two or three lacs of rupees. A box was also found, containing most important correspondence, belonging to the rane of Jhansie, and throwing great light on the revolt, and its principal authors. In his despatch, giving the above particulars, Sir Hugh Rose says—"Five or six hundred sepoy were killed in the pursuit, which was checked, as usual, by the intense heat of the sun, knocking up men and horses. The sepoy are quite disheartened and disorganised. They have thrown away their arms, have left their red jackets, and disguised themselves, in order not to be known as sepoy."

Kotah—where Major Burton, the political agent, and his sons, had been brutally murdered in the previous October—was watched by a British force, whilst the operations were going on at Lucknow; and Lieutenant-general Roberts commenced active operations against that town, about the same time that Sir Hugh Rose attacked Jhansie. He had two brigades under him, which he united at Boondie; marching from that place upon Kotah. On the 22nd of March, this force encamped on the north-west side of the Chumbul; the town standing on the other bank. It was held by a strong force; the rajah, who still kept his allegiance to the British government, being in a fort without the town, and where he was held in complete thralldom by his rebellious subjects. The British commenced the bombardment on the 24th of March. The manner in which it was replied to, proved that the garrison had trained artillerymen amongst them, and ample resources; for no sooner was one gun disabled, than it was replaced by another.—The bombardment was continued on the 25th and 26th, but it made no impression on the walls. On the 27th, at the request of the rajah, the artillery crossed the Chumbul, and took possession of the fort. On the 28th, a vertical fire was opened on the town, which did great execution; several explosions taking place, and the flames bursting out in different quarters. In the afternoon of the 29th, so much progress had been made, that orders were issued

* Letter from an officer, dated May 8th.

† The passages quoted are from Sir H. Rose's despatch.

for an attack and assault to be made the next day, by three columns, and a reserve, composed of men from the 72nd Highlanders; her majesty's 83rd and 95th, and the 10th, 12th, and 13th native infantry. These troops crossed early in the morning of the 30th; and a bombardment was kept up as quick as possible, till 9 A.M., with a view to complete a breach of forty feet, by which the first and second columns were to enter the town, whilst the third entered by the Khetonepole gate. It was found, however, that the breach could not be effected; and the engineers and sappers having blown up the gate, the three columns and the reserve entered by that opening, the first and second leading to the right, the third to the left; and the reserve remaining near the gate. As the British entered, the enemy left, many effecting their escape over the bastions by ropes, which appeared to have been placed on purpose. One man, who was mounted, spurred his horse to the rampart, and jumped over, falling fifty feet: both horse and rider were killed. No further attempt was made at defence, except in one house, the head-quarters of Hera Singh, the commander of the rebels. There eight or ten men were stationed, fully armed and prepared to fight; and as they could not be dislodged, and it was quite impossible to leave them in the rear, the house was blown up. Hera Singh was one who perished. It seems strange that no other attempt was made to resist the assailants, as there were ample means. "Nearly in every street was a gun in position to sweep it; with, in many instances, double barricades in front; and, here and there, by the guns, infernal machines, with fifty barrels each, loaded half-way up, and duly primed."* The inhabitants escaped from the town, as well as the rebel troops, and they carried off almost everything that was valuable, with ten guns. Owing to some misunderstanding of orders, they were not pursued for forty-eight hours, and got clear off, losing nothing except six of the guns. There were about 500 prisoners taken, who were handed over to the political agent. Some of them were recognised as condemned convicts, who had been freed by the rebels to work the guns. Fifty-seven cannon were taken—two-thirds of them of brass, of the heaviest metal. There

was not more than one hundred of the enemy killed in the assault; and very few of the English. Several engineers were blown up at one of the gates; and two days after, as Captain Bainbrigge, brigade-major of the 1st brigade, and Captain Bazalgette, of the 95th, were examining the houses, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of ammunition that was concealed, an explosion took place in one of them, and both were killed. Two men were seen escaping with burning fuses in their hands, and were immediately cut down by some soldiers of the 95th. The remains of the two officers—who were much respected—were buried in one coffin the same afternoon.

The 92nd and 95th regiments being left to garrison Kotah, the force under Lieutenant-general Roberts was, soon after, drafted off in other directions in which men were required. Active operations were then carrying on in several quarters, great interest attaching to the Rohilcund expedition, from information received, that both the Nana and the begum were in that province. This expedition advanced in three columns: one from Lucknow, under Brigadier-general Walpole, till the commander-in-chief could join it; a second from Roorkee, in the district of Suharunpore, under Brigadier-general Jones; and a third, under Major-general Penny, was to advance from Bolundshuhur, in the upper provinces, through the Budaon district, and join the commander-in-chief at Meerunporekutra, six marches from Futteghur. The first and second columns—the former advancing in a north-west, and the latter in a south-east direction—were to meet at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilcund. Brigadier Jones had about 3,000 men with him; the artillery, consisting of eight heavy and six light guns, being under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Coke. This force left Roorkee on the 15th of April; crossed the Ganges at Hurdwar; drove the enemy from Nagul, about sixteen miles distant, on the 17th; defeated a strong force, on the 22nd, on the banks of a canal, near Nageena, 47 miles N.N.W. of Moradabad; and occupied that town on the 25th. Feroze Shah, a son of the king of Delhi, had taken that city—which belonged to the loyal rajah of Rampore—because the inhabitants had refused to furnish him with supplies of money and stores. He had commenced the work of plunder, when

* Letter from an officer who took part in the assault.

he was alarmed by intelligence of the approach of the British; and had a narrow escape from being made prisoner, having only just got clear of the city as Brigadier Jones's advanced guard entered it. But twenty-one rebel chiefs were captured, who could not make their escape, and had concealed themselves in the houses. Amongst them was the Nawab Hossein Mujjoo Khan, a noted leader of the disaffected in that quarter.—At Moradabad, Brigadier Jones remained encamped, awaiting instructions from the commander-in-chief for his advance on Bareilly. He did not move again till the 2nd of May, when he broke up his camp, and marched to Meerungunge, fourteen miles from the capital of Rohilcund, which he reached on the 5th. Feroze Shah was encamped behind its powerful batteries; but he fled, and the town was occupied without a contest. Early on the morning of the 6th, the march on Bareilly was continued. A bridge over a tributary of the Jumna, which flows past the city, was found to be occupied by the enemy, and enfiladed by several heavy guns. It was charged and carried under a fire from the rifles: two guns were captured, and Bareilly entered.

Brigadier-general Walpole's division left Lucknow on the 8th of April. It consisted of 5,000 men; Brigadier Adrian Jones commanding the infantry. A more difficult march than the advance on Bareilly could not be undertaken. The distance was 156 miles: there were no roads except at intervals, and then only for very short distances; no night marches could therefore be made; and the European troops suffered most intensely from the broiling sun. The labour attendant on the movements of the heavy artillery in this roadless country was also very great.—The column took the direction of Shahjehanpore, the principal town of the district of that name, about forty-three miles south-south-east of Bareilly; and described, by Bishop Heber, as "a large place, with some stately old mosques, and a castle." No obstructions were met with from the rebels till the 15th, when the division reached a jungle fort, called Rooya, near the village of Roodamow, which was attacked without success; the infantry, under Brigadier Adrian Hope, being repulsed, and that gallant officer killed: in all, more than a hundred officers and men were put *hors de combat*. Lieu-

tenant-colonel Hay took the command of the infantry brigade after the death of Brigadier Hope; and the attack was to have been renewed the next day. The rebels, however, retired in the night, leaving five guns, tents, and other things behind them. These were taken possession of; the fort was blown up; and the division pursued its march. On the 22nd, a large body of rebels was encountered and defeated at Sirsee, with great loss, between five and six hundred being killed, and the remainder dispersed. The next day, their camp at Allygunge, thirteen miles south-west of Bareilly, was occupied by the British. "Thus the objects of the commander-in-chief were attained. The ghauts of the Ganges had been cleared by General Walpole's march; the Ramgunga river crossed; and the bridge at Allygunge secured for the passage of the siege-train, which, on the 22nd, crossed the Ganges at Futteghur."*

The division under Major-general Penny, about 1,500 strong, crossed the Ganges at Nerowlee; and, on the 29th of April, was within seven miles of Oosait, where the general was informed the rebels were gathered in great strength. They retired, however, on his approach, to Datagunge, a town in the vicinity. To that town the route of the troops was directed; and they reached the vicinity of Kukerowlee, about ten miles from Budaon, without interruption, at 4 A.M. on the 30th of April. It was intended to pitch the camp there for the day; and General Penny, with Mr. Wilson, of the civil service, was riding at the head of the advanced guard, which was under the command of Captain Curtis. That officer, when about 200 yards from Kukerowlee, saw what he considered signs of the enemy's presence, and he warned the general to retire. Unfortunately, the warning was not heeded; and, in a few minutes more, the small troop "found itself in a regular prepared ambuscade, with guns opening upon it from the right with grape and round shot, at not more than forty yards' distance; while horsemen charged down from the left, and infantry opened, with musketry, in front."† At the first discharge General Penny was killed; and there was a fierce skirmish when daylight dawned, till which time the British held their ground. The result was

* General Walpole's despatch.

† Despatch from Lieutenant-colonel Jones.

the defeat of the enemy; who, though they had every advantage of position, were driven from it, many being killed, and one gun, and two carts with ammunition, taken. The force encamped at Kuke-rowlee for the day; the march was resumed the next morning; and on the 3rd of May, the point of junction with the force under the commander-in-chief—whose movements have now to be briefly traced—was reached.

Sir Colin Campbell, after the arrival of Mr. Montgomery as chief commissioner, saw him established at Lucknow, with able assistants; Captain Orr, who had distinguished himself at Fyzabad; Mr. Kavanagh, who had conveyed the intelligence to Sir Colin, which enabled him to relieve Lucknow; and Mr. Wake, whose heroic defence of Arrah equalled any event in the war, being of the number. An ample military force was also stationed in and near the city, under the command of Sir John Inglis. These arrangements completed, Sir Colin went to Allahabad, where he had a brief interview with the governor-general; and, returning to Lucknow, the expeditionary force which was to accompany him, started for Cawnpore, *en route* to the scene of operations in Rohilcund. On the 17th of April the commander-in-chief put himself at the head of this force at Cawnpore; on the 19th the troops left their cantonments; and, on the 25th, they had reached Futteghur, Sir Colin having arranged with the governor-general, that they should "march up the Doab to Furruckabad, and attack the Rohilcund rebels on a side where neither Jones nor Walpole could well reach them." The march to the Ramgunga was commenced on the 27th of April*; on the 28th that river was crossed, and the expedition entered Rohilcund; and at Tingree, a short distance from the river, it was joined by General Walpole's division. As the army advanced, intelligence was received that the moulvie of Fyzabad and Nana Sahib were at Shahjehanpore. When that place was reached, however, at half-past six in the morning of April 30th, it was found that the former had gone to Mohumdee, in Oude; and the latter to Bareilly. By his orders, the church, the English cantonments, and the government

stations had been destroyed; and the place was a heap of ruins. A military post having been formed at Shahjehanpore, where 500 men of her majesty's 82nd foot, with four guns, were stationed under Lieutenant-colonel Hale, of the 82nd, the march to Bareilly was continued on the 2nd of May. The environs of the city were reached on the 4th; no resistance having been offered on the road. Very early in the morning of the 5th, the troops were formed for the attack; the artillery and sappers and miners being all Europeans. There were, also, the 42nd, 78th, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders; the 64th, and part of the 82nd foot; the 7th hussars and 9th lancers, of her majesty's army; five squadrons of native cavalry, and three regiments of the Sikh infantry. The attack was commenced by the enemy, who "came out of the city with great boldness, and took a position on the left bank of the Nuttea Nuddee, having that stream in his rear." The first gun was fired from the rebels about 7 A.M.; and the fighting commenced. "In a short time the enemy was driven from his guns, the left part of our line taking position on the river; while the right crossed a bridge," by which communication with both sides of the stream was kept up, "and advanced about three-quarters of a mile towards the town. The heavy guns were rapidly passed over in succession, and placed in a position from whence they raked the centre of the enemy's second line,"† which occupied the suburbs. The advance was now checked, to allow time for the siege-train and baggage to come up; and one of the Sikh regiments was sent forward to explore some ruined houses, in front, the 42nd and 78th Highlanders moving up to its support on the right and left. From seven to eight hundred matchlockmen were behind these houses; amongst whom was a body of fanatic Ghazees, who, infuriated by the intoxicating drink, "bhang," had devoted themselves to death for their religion. While the matchlockmen opened a heavy fire on the Sikhs, these fanatics, with short daggers called tulwars in their hands, and small circular shields upon their left arms, rushed forth, shouting, "Bismallah! Allah! deen! deen!"—(*i.e.*, "Religion! Religion!")—and,

* On that day, the gallant Sir William Peel, Captain, R.N., who had been wounded at Lucknow, and was removed to Cawnpore, with other disabled officers, died of small-pox, to the universal

regret of all, whether naval or military men, or civilians. A memorial bust of this gallant officer is placed in Greenwich Hospital.

† Sir Colin Campbell's despatch.

first throwing themselves on the Sikhs, who gave way for a few minutes, they fiercely attacked the 42nd Highlanders, whose ranks were partly disordered by the Sikhs falling back upon them. The commander-in-chief being with the advance, saw the movement, and called to the 42nd—"Steady men, steady! Close your ranks, and bayonet them as they come on." The order was rapidly obeyed; and when the ferocious Ghazees came up, running madly forward, their heads bent down, and cutting fiercely, right and left, with their tulwars, they were met with a cool and determined firmness; pierced with the bayonet, or knocked down with the butt-end of the musket; and all—133 in number—perished in the desperate hand-to-hand encounter. Colonel Cameron and Brigadier Walpole, and eighteen or twenty privates of the 42nd, were wounded; but no lives were lost.

"Whilst the Ghazee attack had been going on, on the left of the first line, a very large body of the enemy's cavalry, some six or seven hundred in number, coming round the extreme left of the British, attacked the baggage. They were quickly encountered by Lieutenant-colonel Tombs's troop of horse artillery, by her majesty's carabiniers (6th dragoon guards), the Mooltanee horse, and infantry of the rear-guard," and instantly dispersed. "This was the last effort made by the enemy. A short time afterwards, the 79th and 93rd were directed to seize all the suburbs in their front, and the troops were put under shade as far as possible; the action having lasted six hours, and the men having been under arms from 2 A.M.)* The next morning the troops advanced into the cautioning; and the guns of Brigadier-general Jones's division were heard on the Moradabad side of Bareilly: that division soon after entered the town. "On the morning of the 7th, the town was finally reduced, and the Mussulman portion of it—where there were still detached bodies of Ghazees remaining, with the intention to sell their lives as dearly as possible—was cleared."†

Nana Sahib had again escaped; and not many prisoners were made at Bareilly, where the army expected to obtain some repose.

* Sir Colin Campbell's despatch.

† *Ibid.*

† These sufferings were intense. At this time, the 60th rifles, though accustomed to Indian warfare, were deprived of the services of more than forty men from sun-stroke; and it was pitiable to

But Lieutenant-colonel Hale having been attacked, at Shahjehanpore, by large bodies of infantry and cavalry, Brigadier-general Jones marched, on the 8th, with a sufficient force for his relief. This force arrived before the town at daybreak on the 11th, and had no difficulty in driving off the rebels, who had invested the large inclosure of the gaol, where the troops, under Lieutenant-colonel Hale, were cantoned. Much valuable property belonging to the European residents was recovered. Fresh bodies of the natives, however, soon appeared, under the moulvie, the begum of Oude, and Feroze Shah; and, at daybreak on the 15th, the brigadier found them preparing to attack him in three massive columns. They were received with a fierce and destructive fire, and soon fell into confusion, and disappeared. The vicinity of this force, however, and the sufferings of the troops from the heat,‡ obliged the brigadier to write to Bareilly for reinforcements. The commander-in-chief—who was on his way to Futteghur, where he was about to remove his head-quarters—himself led fresh troops to Shahjehanpore, by whom the surrounding country was cleared of the rebels; and a column, under Brigadier Jones, on the 22nd of May, marched to Mohumdee, where it was stated the moulvie had again retired, with the begum and Feroze Shah. When the troops reached the town, they found that the rebels had once more fled before them; and to prevent the place from again becoming a rendezvous, it was entirely destroyed, the fort being blown up. Kuroojea, a fortified but deserted village in the neighbourhood, was also laid in ruins. The troops possessed themselves of some guns and other property, which had been buried by the rebels; and returned to Shahjehanpore, which they reached on the 27th, when eighty of the men were found to have been rendered ineffective by the sun-stroke, so fatal to Europeans.

Before Sir Colin Campbell left Bareilly, he issued, by command of the Queen, a general order, communicating to the army the expression of the deep interest felt by her majesty in the exertions of the troops, and the successful progress of the war; and

see the poor fellows lying in their dhoolies, gasping for life." Every care was taken; but, in despite of all, the greater number of cases terminated fatally. Of those who survived, few were fit for duty till after a considerable lapse of time.

her grief for the slain. The words of her majesty, quoted in the order, were:—

“That so many gallant, and brave, and distinguished men, beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride (Sir Henry Havelock), should have died and fallen, is a great grief to the Queen. To all Europeans, as well as native troops, who have fought so nobly and so gallantly (and among whom the Queen is rejoiced to see the 93rd), the Queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expression of her great admiration and gratitude.”

After Rohilcund had been cleared of the rebels—whose last great stronghold Bareilly was supposed to have been—the commander-in-chief, on the 28th of May, issued another general order, thanking the troops, officers, and men, for “their patient endurance of fatigue, their unfailing obedience, and their steadfast gallantry.” “In no war,” said Sir Colin—

“Has it ever happened that troops have been more often engaged than during the campaigns which have now terminated. In no war has it ever happened that troops should always contend against immense numerical odds, as has been invariably the case in every encounter during the struggle of last year; and in no war has constant success, without a check, been more conspicuously achieved. It has not occurred that one column here, or another there, has won more honour than other portions of the army. The various corps have done like hard work; have struggled through the difficulties of a hot-weather campaign; and have compensated for paucity of numbers, in the vast area of operations, by continuous and unexampled marching, notwithstanding the season. It is probable that much yet remains for the army to perform; but now that the commander-in-chief is able to give the greater part of it rest for a time, he chooses this moment to congratulate the generals and the troops on the great results which have attended their labours. He can say, fairly, that they have accomplished, in a few months, what was believed, by the ill-wishers of England, to be either beyond her strength, or to be the work of many years.”

On removing to Futteghur—as a more central station than Bareilly—Sir Colin Campbell placed an adequate force, for the safety of Rohilcund, under General Walpole, who fixed his head-quarters at the chief town: a column was also formed,

under Brigadier Coke, for especial service in the country districts. The erection of fortifications round Bareilly was commenced, under the superintendence of Major Lennox, R.E.; and to Mr. Alexander, as chief commissioner, was entrusted the civil government—“the restoration of order among the yet agitated elements of anarchy and confusion.”—The instructions of the governor-general, with respect to Rohilcund, were conceived in a spirit of moderation, arising from the peculiar position of that province, where “the progress of the revolt in the interior,” said his lordship—

“Has, until lately, suffered little check. The people, left to themselves, have, in many quarters, engaged actively in hostilities against each other; but direct opposition to British authority has been mainly confined to several Suddur towns, to the frontier on the Ganges, and to the expeditions against Nynce Tal. Under these circumstances, his lordship considers it just to distinguish, by a widely different treatment, the simple bearing of arms, or even acts of social violence committed at a period when the check of lawful government was removed, from acts directly involving treason against the state, or a deliberate defiance of its authority. Excepting instances of much aggravation, it is not the wish of government that public prosecutions should be set on foot, on account of offences of the former class.—Further, in respect of treason and defiance of British authority, his lordship desires that criminal proceedings shall be taken only against leaders, and against such persons, whether high or low, as have distinguished themselves by activity and rancour against the government, or by persistence in opposition to its authority, after the advance of troops, and the re-occupation of stations. The governor-general will admit to amnesty all other classes, even though they have borne arms on the side of the rebels, provided that they tender an early and complete submission. But continuance in opposition will exclude from pardon.”

Acting on these principles, Mr. Alexander and his assistants succeeded in tranquillising Rohilcund, and in causing the inhabitants—both Hindoos and Moham-medans—to feel more confidence in the British government than they had done before the mutiny and rebellion broke out.

CHAPTER XXVII.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN OUDE; MURDER OF MAJOR WATERFIELD; BATTLE OF NAWABGUNGE; DEATH OF THE MOULVIE OF FYZABAD; THE INSURGENTS IN JUNE, 1858; THE ATTEMPT TO WIN OVER THE MAHARAJAH JUNG BAHADOUR; MURDER OF MR. MANSON; THE ATTEMPT ON GWALIOR; FAILURE OF THE REBELS' SCHEMES; SIR H. GRANT'S FAREWELL TO THE ARMY; STATE OF THE MUTINY AND REBELLION IN THE SUMMER OF 1858; TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE QUEEN; RECEPTION OF THE NEWS IN INDIA; THE LAST CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; ITS RESULTS; THE ROYAL FAMILY OF OUDE IN ENGLAND.

THE defeat of the rebels, the expulsion of the begum, and the re-establishment of regular government at Lucknow, did not immediately restore tranquillity to Oude, where, in the month of May, several corps of rebels were distributed about, under Nerput Singh, Hurdul Singh, Beni Mahdoo Singh, Derigbijoy Singh, Mansahib Allee, Goorbuc Singh, rajah of Bitowlee, and other leaders, amounting to not fewer than 120,000 men, with fifty or sixty guns. The people were not generally disaffected; and, in some villages, the "inhabitants turned out armed, and attacked and cut up small bands of rebels, who were prowling about the country." On the other hand, besides the more regularly enrolled bodies of insurgents, "armed bands of Goojurs and budmashes, and others of the vagabond class, traversed the country, in all directions, not protected by the immediate vicinity of a British force, plundering and murdering whatever European or native Christians, or *employés* of the government, might fall in their way." Amongst those who were assassinated was Major Waterfield, when on his way to take the command of a small garrison at Allyghur. He was travelling in a carriage, with Captain Fanshawe, one of his officers; and had no servants with him, except the khitmugger (driver). He passed Ferozeabad, on the Agra road, in the night of the 14th of May; and when about six miles from that town, at 1 A.M. on the 15th, 150 armed horsemen surrounded and fired into the carriage. The driver and Major Waterfield were killed; Captain Fanshawe, favoured by the darkness, escaped by getting up a tree. The body of the major was recovered by a detachment of troops sent from Agra, and interred with military honours.

As great alarm was spread amongst the peaceable and well-disposed by these events, in June an expedition was prepared at Lucknow, to proceed to the most disturbed

districts. Sir Hope Grant, with a division of 5,000 men of all arms, started at midnight of the 11th of June, for Chinhut, to disperse a rebel force, reported to be headed by the moulvie of Fyzabad, who appears to have been deemed ubiquitous, from the number of places at which he was reported to be present. This force arrived, in the morning of the 12th, at Chinhut, seven miles east of Lucknow, where Sir Hope ascertained, that "a large force of rebels, amounting to some 16,000, with a good many guns, had taken up a position along a nullah, in the neighbourhood of Nawabgunge, twelve miles from Chinhut."* The general determined to start at night for the nullah, with a view of getting close to it before daybreak. He did so; and, at dawn on the 13th, found the enemy strongly posted. This time they were the assailants; and the British were soon surrounded and attacked on all sides. But the usual ill-fortune of the rebels attended them, though they fought with great determination. Driven back on every point where they made the attack, a part of them rallied, and again threw themselves on the right of the British, the assailants being a large number of Ghazees, with two guns. Four guns and two squadrons of the 7th hussars, were ordered to that quarter to support Hodson's horse and two guns of Major Casleton's battery, which were specially attacked. "The rebels made the most determined resistance; and two men, in the midst of a shower of grape, brought forward two green standards, which they planted in the ground beside their guns, and rallied their men round them. Captain Atherley's two companies of the 3rd battalion of the rifle brigade, at this moment advanced to the attack, which obliged the rebels to move off. The cavalry then got between them and the guns; and the 7th hussars,

* Report of Sir H. Grant.

led gallantly by Major Sir W. Russell, supported by Hodson's horse, under Major Daly, C.B., swept through them twice, killing every man.* Soon after, the insurgents retired from all their positions on Nawabgunge, having lost 1,000 men, two standards, and two guns. The British had only thirty-six killed, and sixty-two wounded. The enemy soon evacuated Nawabgunge, retiring to Bitowlee, at the confluence of the rivers Gogra and Chowka. Sir Hope Grant occupied the former place on the 14th, and fortified it; and, at the same time, an extensive plan of fortifications, for the defence of Lucknow, designed by Colonel Napier, of the Bengal engineers, was commenced and carried out, under the superintendence of Major Crommelin, chief engineer of Oude.

It has never been ascertained whether the mouvie was present at the battle of Nawabgunge; but, on the 15th of June, with a squadron of cavalry and some guns, he arrived before the town of Powanee, sixteen miles north of Shahjehanpore, and demanded that the rajah, Juggurnath Singh, should give up two chiefs obnoxious to him, and who had taken refuge at Powanee. His demand was refused, and an engagement ensued between the troops that were with the mouvie, and those of the rajah and his brother. The fighting lasted three hours, and ended in the defeat of the mouvie, who was killed, and his head, with the trunk, sent to the English commissioner at Shahjehanpore, in support of the claim for the reward of £5,000 offered by the government for his capture or death. This man, under the name of Ahmed Shah, and in the character of an inspired prophet, or fakir, had, before the mutiny, travelled through various parts of the north-western provinces; and although he professed to be engaged upon a purely religious mission, there was reason to suspect that he had other designs in view. When the mutiny broke out, he was at Fyzabad: his conduct caused him to be placed under a military guard; and when it extended to Oude, the sepoys released him, and he became one of the most determined leaders of the rebels, in connection with the begum.

During the month of June, Oude continued in a very unsettled state, there being so many flying bands of rebels about, who made almost perpetual raids on

* Report of Sir H. Grant.

the estates of those talookdars, and others, who were faithful to the British government. If Sir Hope Grant encountered any of these bands in the open field, they were immediately crushed; "and the chief commissioner was judiciously employed in re-establishing the network of judicial and fiscal organisation, as opportunity arose, at the heel of the conquerors." In the Deccan, the Rohillas and Arabs banded together for marauding purposes; and in Central India, and other quarters to which the disturbances had extended, there were parties of rebels in the jungles, who repeatedly made descents upon the settlements; and whilst they always robbed, they not unfrequently added murder to their crimes. But there was no head. No man of either strategic or administrative talent had shown himself amongst the mutineers and rebels; and though they frequently fought with great bravery, it was the bravery of the savage, which could not compete with the disciplined and skilled valour of the civilised man.

After they were driven from Lucknow, the begum, her son Birjiz Kudr, and the mouvie, had attempted to detach Jung Bahadour from the British cause, and to "enter into agreements" with them "to kill and get rid of the infidels," as the "only way to save the religion of both the Hindoos and the Mohammedans."† The maharajah, however, continued true to his allegiance. In reply to the letters of the Oude dignitaries, and their assertion that religion was in danger, he said—

"Be it known, that for upwards of a century the British have reigned in Hindostan; but, up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with. As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepal government nor I can side with them. Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven."

While these efforts were making in the original scenes of the mutiny, an outbreak occurred in the Dharwar collectorate of the southern Mahratta country; in which Bheem Rao, of Moondurg, and the Desayee of Hembghur, were actively engaged. The chief of Nurgood was suspected of

† Letter from Birjiz Kudr, of May 19th, 1858.

being connected with this movement; and Mr. Manson, the political agent of the province, left Belgaum—the principal place of the British collectorate of that name—to try what effect his influence with the latter chief, to whom he was personally known, would have in detaching him from his evil allies. On the 29th of May, he arrived, in the evening, at Soorbund—a village, about fifteen miles from Nurgoond. He went to rest in his palanquin, which was surrounded by sixteen sowars, all his attendants. In the middle of the night he was attacked by the chief to whom his visit was directed, at the head of several hundred ruffians; and, though the “seventeen” fought desperately for their lives, sixteen were killed, Mr. Manson being one; the seventeenth made his escape, severely wounded. Intelligence of this murder was conveyed to Bombay by electric telegraph; and retaliatory measures were, by the same medium, ordered to be immediately taken. On the 31st of May, two companies of the 74th Highlanders, and one company of the 28th native infantry, with two guns, joined a body of Mahratta horse, which was stationed at Noolgoond, under Colonel Malcolm. On the 1st of June, this force marched on Nurgoond, one of the most formidable strongholds in the Southern Mahratta country—the fort being on the summit of a rock, 800 feet above the plain, and the town at its base. A force of from 1,500 to 2,000 men, encamped near the town, was encountered and routed that day, and the town occupied. The next day preparations were made to assault the fortress, to which the assailants advanced by a steep and rugged pathway, without any resistance. A single head was seen above the wall; but there were no other signs of life. A Mahratta horseman, leaping his horse over the wall, unbarred the gates, and the troops took possession of the post, which was deserted by all but three men, to whom their lives were promised; but not understanding, or not believing, what was said to them, they threw themselves from the wall, and were dashed to pieces! The chief of Nurgoond had fled; but he was tracked to a jungle on the banks of Malpurba, near Ramdroog, where he was captured on the 3rd of June, with six associates. They were all executed on the 12th; and a proclamation was issued, declaring the confiscation of the Nurgoond state.—When the force marched against

Nurgoond, a Madras column, from Belgaum, under Major Hughes, advanced, in another direction, to a fort called Kopal, which was carried by assault on the 1st of June. There the Bheem Rao, of Moon-durg, and the Dessayee of Hembghur, were slain;* and the outbreak in the Mahratta country was suppressed.

The loyalty of the Maharajah Scindiah had been as annoying to the rebel leaders as that of Jung Bahadour. After the capture of Calpee,† “the fugitive rebels, with the ranees of Jhansie, her general Tantia Topsee, and the nawab of Banda at their head, fled to Indoorkee, on the road to Gwalior, where they were joined by Rahim Ali and Koogar Daulap Singh, who brought with them about 1,500 men, and a few light guns. These measures were concerted for an attack upon Scindiah in his capital, in revenge for the fidelity he had preserved towards the British government.” Numbers of that portion of the Gwalior contingent which had joined the rebels, were with the fugitives; and Scindiah was informed, early on the 1st of June, that they were approaching Gwalior in force, their numbers being about 4,000 cavalry, 7,000 infantry, and twelve guns. Scindiah's force was far inferior, consisting of 600 cavalry, 6,000 infantry, and eight guns. The maharajah, however, placed himself at their head, and left Gwalior soon after the news was brought him of the advance of his enemies. The two bodies met on a plain, about two miles from the city; and Scindiah's guns, as soon as they came within reach, opened upon the enemy. A charge was made by a body of the rebel cavalry; the gunners were cut down, the guns secured, 200 of the maharajah's body-guard killed in defending their sovereign, and in an endeavour to recapture the guns; and 2,000 of the Gwalior infantry went over, in a body, to the enemy. Fighting continued a short time longer; but the remainder of the maharajah's troops, with the exception of his body-guard, soon deserted him—the great majority joining the rebels; the others flying from the battlefield. Scindiah, and his few faithful adherents, succeeded in reaching Agra; his family was safe at Sepree; and his officers and attendants disguised themselves and fled, when they found that the rebels were entering Gwalior. The city in their posses-

* Report of Mr. Anderson, secretary to the Bombay government.

† See *ante*, p. 418.

sion, they declared Scindiah to be deposed, and Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peishwa; Rao Sahib was nominated chief of Gwalior; and Ram Rao Govind, whom the maharajah had dismissed for dishonesty, became prime minister. This state of things was not of long duration.

Sir Hugh Rose, after the conquest of Calpee, finding that his health required rest, had issued, on the 1st of June, a valedictory address to the army. On hearing of the events at Gwalior, however, he resolved to see the maharajah reinstated before he retired from active service. He left General Whitlock in command of the garrison at Calpee; and dividing the rest of his army into three divisions, he gave the command of the first to Brigadier Stuart; of the second, to Brigadier Napier; and took that of the third himself. The first and second marched on the 5th; and Sir Hugh followed on the 6th. Not the slightest interruption impeded their march; and, on the evening of the 15th, the three divisions were within ten miles of the cantonments of Gwalior. Sir Hugh Rose, in person, made a *reconnaissance* that evening; and an additional column, which had arrived, composed of Brigadier Smith's brigade from Sepree, and Major Orr's, from Jhansie, moved in advance, and took a position at Kota-Ki-Serai, five miles from the main body, and five from Gwalior. Sir Hugh found that the cantonments were occupied by small straggling parties of cavalry and infantry, and that the mass of the rebels had retired to the town. When he returned to the troops, who were encamped for the night, he ordered an advance to be made on the cantonments of Morar, three miles south of the town, the next morning; and Sir Robert Hamilton, who accompanied the army as the agent of the governor-general, sent off an express to Agra, with a despatch to Scindiah, requesting that he would at once repair to the army, that he might be in readiness to enter Gwalior with the troops.

On the 16th the fighting began. That day, the cantonments were cleared, and the occupants slain, or driven into the town. During the day, there was one desperate hand-to-hand encounter, in a deep and narrow nullah, where some rebel sepoy had taken refuge. The Highlanders leaped down amongst them; their commanding officer, Lieutenant Wyndham Neave, being killed at the commencement of the struggle.

Not one of the rebel sepoy escaped: of the Highlanders, three were killed, and five wounded. The troops occupied the Morar cantonments that night.—On the 17th, the fighting was resumed. In an attack on a concealed battery, which had inflicted some injury on Brigadier Smith's column at Kota-Ki-Serai, the ranee of Jhansie was killed, while, dressed in the uniform of an officer, she was directing some cavalry movements. Immediately a pile was raised, on which her body was laid and burnt, to prevent its falling into the hands of the assailants.—The next day, the 18th, Sir Hugh, with his force, joined Brigadier Smith, who was posted in front of the strongest positions of the rebels.—On the 19th, a careful *reconnaissance* was made of the positions of the enemy; and Sir Hugh did not intend to commence the assault of Gwalior till the following day. The rebels, however, probably taking the inaction for fear and weakness, worked so actively at their guns, and made other demonstrations of so threatening a nature, that Sir Hugh gave the order "for the whole force to advance—the 86th in skirmishing order, on the left; the 71st, in similar order, on the right; and the 95th, the Bombay 25th, and 10th native infantry, supporting." The first attack was made on a 3-gun battery, which had greatly annoyed the camp from the heights, on the left. Those heights were razed, the guns taken, and the rebels fled. The heights on the right were carried with equal rapidity; and then it was found that the wide plain was covered with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in numbers far exceeding those of the entire English army. On the left another division of the rebels was stationed, threatening the 86th, still engaged in skirmishing. But the bugle speedily recalled the men to their posts, and they soon drove off their assailants; whilst a dashing charge was made by the hussars and Bombay lancers on the forces in the plain. They scarcely waited for the contact, but ran off in all directions; the British pursued, and a running, almost hand-to-hand, fight was kept up for between four and five hours, when the rebels had entirely disappeared, leaving twenty-seven guns and the town of Gwalior in the hands of the victors.

As Scindiah had arrived at the camp, under an escort of Meade's horse, a royal salute was fired when the British took possession of Gwalior; and the maharajah, on

the 20th of June, re-entered the capital of his dominions, Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir Hugh Rose walking by his side, and the British and native troops escorting or following him. As the procession was passing to the former residence of the maharajah, a shot was fired from the fort, which, it was believed, had been evacuated, as well as the town. It struck no one; and Lieutenant Rose, of the 25th Bombay native infantry, having ascertained that about fifteen Ghazees only remained there, he and Lieutenant Waller, of the same corps (their superior officer being absent), resolved to storm the position with their party of sepoys, twenty in number. Taking the precaution of making a blacksmith accompany them, to aid in forcing the gates, the little party marched to the assault; and though a gun was discharged at them several times, while forcing the gates and ascending the rock,* they reached the summit unhurt. There they had a struggle with the rebels, who were overpowered, and most of them slain; and the fort was taken with the loss of Lieutenant Rose, who was shot treacherously by a Ghazee, named Raheen Ali, of Bareilly; who was speedily killed by Rose's men. Thus the fort and town of Gwalior were again in the possession of Scindiah, whose harem arrived on the 21st; and before the 22nd of June closed, his palace had assumed its usual appearance, and scarcely a trace of the recent events remained.

On the 19th, the fugitives from the town and fort, led by the nawab of Banda, Tantia Topee, and others, fled towards Kerowlee and Jeypore. They were computed to be at least 7,000 in number, and it was known they had twenty-five guns. As it was most desirable that they should have no time to be reorganised and recruited, Brigadier Napier was dispatched in pursuit, on the 20th of June, with a column of cavalry, composed of detachments of dragoons, Meade's horse, a squadron called the "3rd Ressala," in the Indian army list, and the 3rd Bombay light cavalry; and one troop of horse artillery: these detachments amounted to 670 men, of whom only twenty were Europeans. They came up with, dashed amongst, and dispersed the rebels, keeping up the pursuit on the 21st. The leaders all got off—at least none of their bodies were found amongst the 250 who were killed in the

* See ante, p. 105.

two days. The survivors fled, in parties of three or four, in all directions; and the entire park of artillery was taken. An officer writing on the 27th of June, from the Morar cantonments, says, this "was one of the most brilliant and dashing feats he ever heard of;" and tells us, that "there was only one casualty incurred on our side during this magnificent display of pluck: a sowar of the 3rd Ressala was shot dead—*et voila tout!*"—It was subsequently ascertained, that Tantia Topee, with from five to six thousand of the fugitives from Gwalior, had crossed the Chumbul, and made towards Bhurtpore and Jeypore. He had succeeded in carrying off all Scindiah's treasure, and the crown jewels, and thus was enabled to keep his troops together; but it was some time before anything more was heard of him.—The fall of Gwalior had a good effect on several other chiefs, who began, at last, to be impressed with the conviction that the English power could not be overthrown.

The governor-general—who was still at Allahabad—by a general order, dated the 24th of June, expressed his gratification at "the promptitude and success with which the strength of the British government had been put forth for the restoration of its faithful ally to the capital of his territory;" and ordered "a royal salute to be fired at every principal station in India," in honour of the event. By a second proclamation, dated the 26th, the noble lord offered his "heartly thanks and congratulations" to all the officers and men engaged, upon the "happy termination of the brilliant campaign through which the Central India field force had passed, under the able direction of Major-general Sir Hugh Rose." That gallant officer, on the 30th—in pursuance of his determination to seek repose, at least for a time—took leave of the army in a general order, in which he expressed "the pleasure he felt that he commanded them when they gained one more laurel at Gwalior."—Soon after, the army of Central India was divided; part remaining at Gwalior, and detachments being sent to Jhansie, Sepree, and Goonah. To General Roberts the command of the disposable force in Rajpootana was entrusted; and he had strict orders to watch and intercept any fugitives that might still be wandering over the province.

The rebels now held no town or important post. They had no large bodies any-

where in the field: it was unknown where the principal leaders had concealed themselves; and, with the exception of Nana Sahib, the public did not manifest any great anxiety about them. The Indian government offered a reward of £10,000 for his apprehension; and such was the abhorrence of his atrocities at Cawnpore, that, had he been found, and executed, it would have caused general satisfaction. He, however, succeeded most effectually in concealing himself. He was heard of, in September, as being, with several chiefs, and about 2,000 *hudmashes*, intrenched in a jungle of bamboos at Dhorghuree, in Oude; but he again contrived to elude pursuit.—In the upper provinces, the detached parties of rebels had disappeared; but, in Lower Bengal, they were still numerous. Flying to the hills or the jungles on the appearance of troops, they roamed about in marauding parties as soon as the roads were clear; and to robbery they frequently added most barbarous cruelties, inflicted on the persons of the loyal natives.—A very similar state of things existed in Oude, and kept the troops under Sir Hope Grant in a state of almost constant activity.—In the Punjaub, an intended mutiny of the 18th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Dera Ismael Khan, was prevented by timely information conveyed to the officers. But at Mooltan, on the 31st of August, the 62nd and 69th native regiments, with a troop of native horse artillery, broke out into open mutiny, in consequence of an order for their gradual disbandment having been read to them on parade. They attempted to seize the guns and arms of the other corps, being armed only with pieces of wood taken from their *charpoys*. They expected the other regiments would join them; and when they found their mistake—probably fearing punishment and death—they attacked the armed men (the 11th Punjaub native infantry, and some irregular cavalry) with their bludgeons. They fought desperately, and were cut down without mercy: about 300 were killed; most of the others were made prisoners, tried, and seventy of the worst characters executed; about 100 got away, and 125 took no part in the disturbances.

In the month of August there was also a smart contest with a rebel force under a chief called Maun Singh, who had taken possession of Powrie—a fortified town, a

few miles west of Gwalior. A force was sent against him, under Colonel Smith, who was subsequently joined by Brigadier Napier. The wall of the town being breached, the enemy fled, as the British were preparing, on the 20th, for an assault. They were pursued; but a trackless jungle enabled them to escape, leaving two guns behind them. Early in September, a large rebel force assembled between Gwalior and Goojerah; which, on the 5th, was attacked by 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, commanded by Captain Roberts, and completely defeated.

Whilst these various operations were carrying on, the governor-general was still at Allahabad, and the commander-in-chief at Futteghur; each, in his sphere, taking the measures that appeared most likely to establish peace and order, protect the loyal, and punish the actively disaffected. During the progress and suppression of the mutiny, Lord Canning's government had been very unpopular. At first he was charged with not taking prompt and efficacious measures for its suppression; and also with manifesting too lenient a disposition towards the mutineers. This feeling was strengthened by the publication of "official instructions," dated July 31st, 1857, and addressed "to the local authorities of the north-western provinces of Bengal;" in which the noble lord was thought, not only to prescribe measures of unnecessary leniency to mutineers and murderers, but to imply that unreasonable rigour had been employed by those engaged in the suppression of the revolt. The feeling against his lordship was increased by the restrictions imposed on the press; and the combined circumstances led to a petition to the home government, from the inhabitants of Calcutta, praying for his lordship's recall; and to one to both houses of parliament, praying that the government of the country might be transferred from the East India Company to the Queen. Similar petitions to the latter were forwarded from Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Moulmein, Rangoon, and other places in the Company's territories; and the belief began to be very generally spread, that only one "remedy could restore the *prestige* and power of England in the East:" viz., "the transfer of the government from the Company to the Crown; an open legislative council, composed of Englishmen alone; Queen's courts, presided over by trained

lawyers; and the use of the English language as the official language of India."

Lord Canning's unpopularity continued for some time; although, after the first surprise; his measures were certainly not wanting in vigour and determination; and his lenient policy, to judge from the Oude proclamation, was greatly modified: but in India, and England also, public opinion in favour of the transfer of the government of the former to the Crown, gathered strength. The home government, of course, could have no objection to the change; and the occurrence of the mutiny, and the decided expression of opinion to which we have alluded, appeared to afford good grounds for proposing it. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, 1858, Lord Palmerston, then premier, moved for leave to introduce a bill, "for transferring, from the East India Company to the Crown, the government of her majesty's East India dominions." The proposition was opposed; and Mr. T. Baring moved, as an amendment, that "it was not, at present, expedient to legislate for the government of India." After three nights' debate, leave was given, on the 18th of February, to introduce the bill, by 318 votes to 173. The next night, a hostile vote on the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," caused the resignation of the liberal ministers; but the subject was taken up by their conservative successors. At the suggestion of Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli (Lord Derby's chancellor of the exchequer, and the leader of the conservatives in the House of Commons) agreed to proceed by resolutions, in the first instance, instead of by bill. He introduced a series of resolutions, embodying the necessary provisions of the measure, which the House of Commons adopted; and Lord Stanley—who had succeeded the Earl of Ellenborough at the Board of Control, after the discussion on the Oude proclamation, and the secret despatch*—introduced the bill founded upon them, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the 2nd of August.

By this act (the 21st and 22nd Vict., cap. 106), all the territories heretofore under the government of the East India Company were vested in her majesty, in whose name all power in India is now exercised. All territorial and other revenues, and all tributes and other payments, are also received in her name, and disposed

of only for the purposes of the Indian government. One of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, who is called Secretary of State for India, exercises all the powers formerly vested in the Board of Control, with under-secretaries, whose salaries are also paid out of the Indian revenues. A council of India was appointed, composed of fifteen members, eight to be nominated by the Crown, and seven to be elected by the then existing Court of Directors, out of their own body. Future vacancies in the council, when occurring among the nominated members, were to be filled up by her majesty; if among the elected, then the remaining members of the council duly elect a successor; and it is indispensable that the majority of the council must be composed of persons who have not lived less than ten years in India, and who have not been returned from that country longer than ten years. The office is for life, unless a member fails in his duties; an address from both houses of parliament can also remove a member.—The military and naval forces of the East India Company were also transferred to her majesty, the conditions of service remaining, in all respects, the same; and her majesty to be represented in India by the governor-general.—There are a great many clauses in the act, applying to the minutiae and to the machinery of government; and the capital stock being the personal property of the proprietors, the Court of Directors was continued, for the purpose of managing it.

Of course, this measure was not passed without considerable opposition. The Court of Directors, and the East India proprietors, exerted all their influence against it; and there were numerous independent and intelligent men who objected to placing so much additional power and patronage in the hands of the government. However, the majority, both in parliament and amongst the public, was favourable to the change; and the act itself was generally approved of. Instead of the three presidencies—the ancient system under which Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta had each a president, and Bombay Castle, Fort St. George, and Fort William each formed the headquarters of a separate authority—the whole of India is now divided into nine provinces, each having its own civil government, and all subordinate to the authority of the Empress of India. The

* See *ante* p. 408.

distribution of patronage has passed into other hands; and in India, amongst the natives, they greatly prefer being subjects of the Queen, instead of having to acknowledge a trading company for their rulers.

On the 31st of August, 1858, the British empire in the East passed under the direct authority of the Queen; but the announcement of the change in the government was not officially promulgated in India until the 1st of November. A royal proclamation appeared, on that day, in all the chief towns, announcing the transfer of authority from the East India Company to Queen Victoria; and proclaiming the "royal will and pleasure, that none should be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all should alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law." Also, that the natives should be protected in all rights connected with the lands inherited by them from their ancestors; and that, "in framing and administering the law, due regard should be had to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India." The royal clemency was also announced to "all offenders, save and except those who had been, or should be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects." To "those who had willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who might have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives only were guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration would be given to the circumstances under which they had been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence would be shown to those whose crimes might appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men." To all others in arms against the government, an "unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences," was promised; and the 1st of January was named, as the day on or before which those who desired to avail themselves of the terms of grace and amnesty offered in the proclamation, must come in.

At Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, Madras—and indeed generally—the 1st of November was observed as a day of great rejoicing; natives and Europeans celebrating the event with every mark of loyalty. Congratulatory addresses were

also sent to the Queen, from Calcutta and many other places; and almost every native chief, from Scindiah downwards, paid her majesty the same compliment. One of these addresses, from Syed Munsoor Ullee, the nawab of Moorsheadabad (the descendant of one of the oldest ruling families of Hindostan), contained the following passages:—

"The benign rule of your majesty now extends also to India, and its moral and physical effects will soon be felt throughout the land, especially by rendering justice attainable to all, rich and poor, and by developing the boundless natural resources of this great empire. I hail the event as the commencement of a new era in the history of India, and as the forerunner of a mighty change, which opens the vision of a bright future. Wherever the banner of your majesty is unfurled, industry, arts, and science follow in its wake, and carry with them prosperity, civilisation, and education; those inestimable blessings, which everywhere so largely contribute to the happiness of your majesty's faithful subjects, and add fresh stability to the throne."

Similar sentiments were expressed by an eminent native, Baboo Ramgopal Ghose, at the public meeting at Calcutta, on the 3rd of November, at which the address to her majesty was agreed to.—The press was also generally favourable to the change; and although the rebellion was not entirely put down, Queen Victoria must be considered as having begun her reign over India under happy auspices.—The old governors, also, the East India Company, laid down their sceptre gracefully. They made no complaints; but at the last special general Court of Proprietors, held at the East India House, in Leadenhall-street, soon afterwards demolished, on Aug. 30, 1858, the day before their empire departed from them, they took steps for making the last days of their old and disabled servants comfortable; and passed a series of resolutions, returning the Company's "warmest thanks to its servants and officers of every rank, and in every capacity, for the fidelity, zeal, and efficiency with which they had performed their several duties;" offering "to them its best wishes for their future prosperity." These resolutions were published by the governor-general throughout India on the 5th of November; and the noble lord closed his proclamation, in which they were embodied, by declaring, that he "was satisfied, that, amongst all, there was but one common feeling of acknowledgment of the just, considerate, and liberal treatment which had ever characterised

great Company which had now ceased to govern the British territories in India."

At this period the rebellion was not entirely put down. After the summer campaign, there were still numerous bodies of insurgents roaming about in Oude, Central India, and the north-west provinces; and the military were kept constantly on the watch to prevent their concentration, and to defeat their movements. The principal attention of the government was directed to Oude; there the commander-in-chief—now Lord Clyde, having been elevated to the peerage on the 3rd of August, for his meritorious services—was stationed; and he had matured a well-conceived plan "for rendering protracted resistance on the part of the rebels difficult and dangerous." That plan consisted in placing military lines at different points, arranging them so as to be, as far as possible, in communication with others. Thus there was one line extending from Futteghur to Mohumdee. A second stretched from Cawnpore to Lucknow; a third, from Suraoon, opposite Allahabad, to Fyzabad; and a fourth, from Juanpore to Azimghur and Gorampore. The opposite bank of the river was also efficiently guarded, to prevent its passage being effected by any large bodies of men. Thus the rebels were kept within particular bounds; and, as they would be prevented from concentrating, and find themselves defeated in detail, it was hoped they might the more readily be induced to comply with the terms of her majesty's proclamation.

Lord Clyde arrived at the camp in October; and, on the 26th of that month, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing, that he "came, under the orders of the governor-general, to enforce the law. To enable him to do that, without injury to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people. The most exact discipline," his lordship assured them, "would be preserved in the camps, and on the march; and, where there was no resistance, houses and crops would be spared, and no plundering allowed." But, "wherever there was resistance, or a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they would bring upon themselves. Their houses would be burned, and their villages plundered;" and all ranks would fare the same—"from the talookdars to the poorest ryots."

Lord Clyde had then under his com-

mand 11,071 British, and 9,267 native soldiers; whilst the collective number of the mutineers at large in the province, was estimated at 90,000; many of them well-trained troops. About 4,000 of these, sepoy of the late 17th, 28th, and 32nd native regiments, had succeeded in establishing themselves at Rampore, a strong post, and difficult of approach, being surrounded by a thick and swampy jungle. This place was assaulted and captured, on the 3rd of November, by the 9th Punjaub infantry, two companies of the 79th, and four companies of Beloochees, commanded by Captain Thelwall. The enemy, after making a brave resistance, evacuated the place, and fled through the jungle, having lost 300 men. Seventeen cannon and five mortars were found there; and the rebels had established in the fort, manufactories for cannon, gun-carriages, and gunpowder. The fort was dismantled, and blown up.—On the 9th of November, the rajah Lall Madho Singh, of Anathie—who really had cause of complaint against our government, and was harshly treated—surrendered; and his fort was also destroyed.—In the night of the 15th, Beni Mahdoo evacuated his stronghold of Shunkerpore; and fled, by Grinvarra, towards Dhoondiakera. Being joined by some loose parties on his route, he halted between that place and Buxar Ghaut, having with him 7,500 horse and foot, who were cantoned behind a strong intrenchment. They were pursued, and overtaken, on the 23rd, by Brigadier Eveleigh's division, which Lord Clyde and General Mansfield joined; and found the men, who had marched sixty-one miles in sixty hours, in the highest spirits. The attack on the rebels was made on the 24th, the advance being in two parallel lines. The left comprised one squadron of the 6th dragoons, and another of the 6th Madras light cavalry; 400 of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, 100 of her majesty's 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers, 700 Beloochees, and four guns of Gordon's field battery. The column on the right consisted of 200 of her majesty's 20th, and 250 of her majesty's 80th regiments; 500 of the Oude police, 300 of the 1st Sikh irregular cavalry, and four guns of Bruce's troop of the royal horse artillery. Lord Clyde led the left wing; Brigadier Eveleigh the right; and when the enemy's intrenchments were reached, the former spurred his white horse on to the only rising ground, and directed

all the movements. There was sharp firing on both sides for a short time; but the enemy soon broke and ran. They made for the Ganges, through bushes, over fields of corn and tall grass, and through swamps. They were eagerly pursued, and many were killed; numbers also cast themselves into the river, few of whom escaped. Seven guns and two tumbrils of cartridges were taken; and from six to seven hundred men must have perished.

The enemy thus dispersed from his most dangerous and defensible positions, Lord Clyde, with his troops, returned to Lucknow, which they reached on the 28th of November; and encamped, part on the left bank of the Ghoomtee, and part at the Alumbagh. About this time, a proclamation from the begum of Oude was very widely dispersed, many copies finding their way to Lucknow: it professed to be a reply to the proclamation of her majesty, offering an amnesty; by which it entreated the people "not to be deceived." Subsequently, the begum was promised, if she would send in her submission before the 1st of January, an asylum, and a pension for her son, Birjiz Kudr; and that the life of her minister, Mummoo Khan, should be guaranteed. This lady, however, assumed the state and bearing of a queen, and demanded to be treated with as if she were equal in rank and station to the sovereign of the British empire. In the meantime Lord Clyde resumed his military operations. He went to Fyzabad in the second week in December, arriving there on the 11th; and on the 12th crossed to the left bank of the Gogra, on which river that town stands; and there he directed 2,500 men, under Brigadier Rowcroft, to advance nearly due north, to Tooleypore, at the foot of the Nepaul hills, where a large army of rebels (part of whom had lately been at Gonda, a village near the Gogra) had halted. Another division, under Sir Hope Grant, was to march from Gonda, part on the left, and part on the right bank of the Rapteree river, to Nanparah. Lord Clyde himself took the route to the Bareitch district, where the begum and her principal adherents were assembled. The care of the frontiers of the Goruckpore and Gonda districts was entrusted to Brigadier Eveleigh; and the rest of the eastern frontier to Lord Mark Kerr's force, which was to operate as a reserve to that officer and to Sir Hope Grant. A line of strong

posts was also established on the Gogra, from Fyzabad to Burragaon; eastward of that town, a detachment was posted between Doorara and Esanuggur, to guard the country from the Serjoo river to the Nepaul hills; and strong reserves were stationed on the Chowka, and at Seetapore and Barec, under Brigadiers Barker and Purnell. The key to these positions was Lucknow.

On the 17th of December, Lord Clyde arrived near Bareitch; and on the 20th, after driving in the pickets of the rebels, occupied the town. At this time, the begum is said to have shown a disposition to treat for the surrender of herself and her son; but this coming to the knowledge of the chiefs, they evacuated their intrenchments, and made a rapid retreat, carrying with them the lady and Birjiz Kudr. They were pursued, and overtaken at the fort of Mujariah, "a strong place on the edge of the Terai, surrounded by a formidable ditch, and defended by six heavy guns." On the route, Lord Clyde's horse, owing to the unevenness of the ground, fell, and, throwing its rider, dislocated his shoulder, and bruised his face. His lordship, however, was carried forward in his dhooly, and gave directions for the attack of the fort, "the strongest and the best yet seen in Oude." The enemy defended themselves with spirit at first; but they appear to have been unwilling to encounter the grapeshot and the Enfield rifles for any long period. Their fire soon slackened, and then ceased altogether; and they left the fort by a gate, which opened upon a jungle in the rear, where they took shelter. The fort—which Nana Sahib had left, it was ascertained, only two days before the arrival of the British—was taken on the 27th, and destroyed on the 28th of December; and on the 30th, Lord Clyde, whose force was then cantoned at Nanparah, near Bareitch, received intelligence, that the Nana, Beni Mahdoo, and several thousands of desperate characters, were posted at Bankee, twenty miles to the northward. A competent force started in pursuit at 8 P.M.; and by 7 A.M. on the 31st, arrived within a few miles of Bankee. The outposts of the enemy were disarmed; the men pushed on with spirit; and, by eight, discovered the rebels in front, posted behind a deep swamp, with a village on each flank, and a jungle in the rear, extending as far as the eye could reach. Notwithstanding

the strength of this position, the enemy was driven from it. Part of them crossed the Raptée, and opened a fire from the opposite bank; whilst a body of sowars, chased by the hussars, threw themselves into the river, and were followed by the troopers. Then was seen "one of those wonderful spectacles only to be witnessed in actual war, and of which peace has no counterpart. Here men and horses swimming for their lives; there fierce hand-to-hand conflicts between sowars and hussars in the foaming water; but the river was the most formidable foe." Major Horne, a kind-hearted man, and an excellent officer, was drowned; with that exception, the British suffered little loss, and regained the bank, after most of the sowars had been killed. The other part of the enemy's forces fled for miles, being completely dispirited, and leaving numbers of dead and wounded on their route. The British encamped at Bankee, where the cavalry found their tents pitched when they returned from the pursuit. The body of Major Horne was searched for by a party of natives, and brought to the camp on the 4th of January, 1859. "The gallant and lamented officer was buried the same evening, in front of the camp, under a lone tree, whereon a plate, with an inscription stating his name, rank, and the manner and date of his death, was affixed."

At the commencement of 1859, Lord Clyde had under his command the following troops:—7th hussars, 390; 6th dragoons, 150; 6th Madras cavalry, 80; the 1st, or Hughes' Punjaub cavalry, 350; Lennox's company of the royal engineers, 50; the rifle brigade, 750; her majesty's 20th foot, 560; the Belooch battalion, 800; and Fraser's 6-gun battery of horse artillery. On the 4th of January, it was ascertained that the rebels had rallied, in considerable strength, in the valley of the Raptée. Lord Clyde determined to cross the river and attack them; and the soldiers having struck their tents, were moving forward, when a report was brought, that the enemy, with the begum at their head, was crossing the river to attack the British. As this would have given the latter the advantage of position, the command to "halt" was issued; but no enemy appeared. The next day it became evident that the report was only a clever *ruse* of the rebels, to delay the advance of the small but dreaded force under the commander-in-chief; for

it was ascertained that, instead of leading her troops to battle, the begum and her chiefs had placed a greater distance between them and the British, by taking them into Nepal. Lord Clyde then pushed forward to the banks of the Raptée, where he arrived on the 6th; but no trace of the enemy remained.

In the affairs with the begum eighteen guns were taken. In another direction, "Colonel Christie had a successful skirmish on the 22nd of December, and took two guns in the pursuit. He then made a circuit to the north, by Pudnaha, and rejoined Lord Clyde on the 3rd of January." On the 23rd of December, Brigadier Rowcroft attacked Toolseypore, "driving Bala Rao from that point to the foot of the mountains, and taking two guns." Having made his own position secure, Sir Hope Grant advanced through the jungles upon that leader, "and took fifteen guns from him, almost without the show of resistance on the part of the rebels; the latter dispersing, and seeking refuge in the adjacent hills; and Bala Rao flying into the interior, as the Nana, his brother, had done before him. Thus the contest in Oude was brought to an end, and the resistance of 150,000 armed men subdued, with a very moderate loss to her majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy."* The commander-in-chief spoke very highly of all the officers and men engaged; and when his despatch was gazetted, it was accompanied with a note from Lord Canning, in which the viceroy tendered his warmest thanks to the commander-in-chief and the noble army he led, for their accomplishment of the great work of putting down the rebellion, which no longer existed in Oude. "The authority of the British government," said his lordship, "has been asserted mercifully in Oude; it is now established, and made manifest to all; and from this day it shall be maintained in unassailable strength."

The camp of the commander-in-chief was struck on the 8th of January; and the army returned to Lucknow, not having an enemy to contend with in the province. Whilst the military proceedings were taking place, the civil reorganisation, under the able administration of Mr. Montgomery, had progressed favourably;

* Lord Clyde's despatch, from the camp on the Raptée, dated Jan. 7th, 1859.

and "the people began to settle down quietly under the protection of the military police." The army in Oude was considerably reduced, the chief part of the force kept embodied being concentrated on Lucknow. A part of the remainder was sent into Nepaul, Jung Bahadour having applied for assistance to drive the rebels from his territories; and issued a proclamation, declaring, "that all murderers and rebels in arms who entered the Nepalese territory, were to be given up to the British government, and that all armed bodies would be utterly destroyed." Thus the last refuge of the rebels of Oude was taken from them; and there appeared to be no cause to apprehend a recurrence of those disturbances which had, for eighteen months, desolated so many parts of the province, and caused the loss of so many lives.

Before we dismiss the subject of Oude, a few words as to the condition of the ex-king of that province and his family, will not be out of place. In our account of the annexation of Oude, we have noticed the removal of Wajid Alee Shah to Calcutta, where he had a revenue of £120,000 per annum assigned to him; and lived in royal style, at an appropriate residence called Garden Reach, near the city. His family did not submit to his deprivation of his dominions so quietly as he did himself; and, finding all appeals to the authorities in India unavailing, the queen-dowager—as we should have styled her majesty in England; the queen-mother was her title in India—resolved to visit this country, and make an appeal to the Queen and parliament, to remedy the injustice inflicted upon her son. She was accompanied by Mirza Mohammed Hamid Alee, eldest son and heir-apparent of Wajid Alee; Mirza Mohammed Alee Sekunder Hushmut Bahadour, next brother to his ex-majesty; and Musseem Oud-deen Khan, accredited vakeel from the ex-king. They arrived in London on the 20th of August, 1856; took up their residence at Harley House, Marylebone-road; and the Queen granted them an audience, which they attended, most magnificently arrayed. Agents were employed to bring the claims of the ex-king before the Court of Directors of the East India Company, many of whom did not approve of the annexation; but the agitation of the subject in that court, and the Court of Proprietors, produced no result. On the 25th of May, 1857, Sir Fitzroy

Kelly presented to the House of Commons, a petition from the queen, her son, and grandson; in which the facts connected with the alliance of the kings of Oude with the East India Company; the good faith observed by the former; the services they had rendered; and the unjust annexation of Oude to the Company's territories, were detailed; and the restoration of the rights of the royal family was claimed. The petition was laid upon the table of the House of Commons; but no motion was made in connection with it.

At this time the mutiny had broken out; and circumstances which came to the knowledge of the authorities at Calcutta, caused them to direct attention to the movements of the ex-king, and those around him. In the month of June, the visits of a Brahmin to Wajid Alee became frequent. A sepoy revealed the fact, that this Brahmin had attempted to seduce the native soldiers who acted as guards of honour to the ex-king, from their duty, and to persuade them to admit armed retainers into Garden Reach. In consequence, the emissary was apprehended; and the revelations he made led to the removal of the ex-king, on the 15th of June, from his house to Fort William, as "his name, and the authority of his court, were used by persons who sought to excite resistance to the British government." At the same time, his majesty was assured, that "the respect due to his high position would never be forgotten by the government or its officers; and that every possible provision would be made for his majesty's convenience and comfort."* There the ex-king remained till the mutiny was completely extinguished; and he certainly had nothing to complain of, except the constraint put upon his movements, in keeping them within the bounds of the fort.—When the arrest of his majesty became known in England, it added to the difficulties of the members of his family who were in London. Musseem Oud-deen Khan published a letter, declaring the innocence of his majesty; and the three members of the royal family petitioned the House of Lords, that justice might be done to their relative, and that he might "have a full opportunity of refuting and disproving the calumnies of which he was the helpless victim." The petition was presented by Lord Campbell, on the 6th of August; and rejected on

* Note from Lord Canning to the ex-king

account of informality. Soon after, the queen made arrangements for leaving England, her intention being to visit Mecca. The royal party travelled by way of Paris, intending to go to Egypt *viâ* Marseilles; but, at the French capital, the unfortunate lady sickened; and, on the 23rd of January, 1858, died. She was buried in Paris, in accordance with the rites of the Mohammedan religion, on the 27th, in Père la Chaise. After the funeral, the two princes returned to London; and, ere

many months elapsed, both found a European grave. Musseem Oud-deen Khan remained some months in this country; and his name was several times before the law courts, in connection with dishonoured bills: but he soon ceased to be spoken of; and the ex-royal family of Oude, once so great and powerful in India, is now as completely forgotten as if it had never been in existence. Such is the mutability of all human affairs, and the evanescent character of all mere human glory.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE; BRITISH FORCES IN RAJPOOTANA AND MALWA; TANTIA'S MOVEMENTS; HIS DEFEAT AT KUNKROWLEE; HIS FLIGHT FROM RAJGURH; DEFEAT AT MUNGRWOLEE; HE CROSSES THE NERBUDDA; PROCLAMATION OF RAO SAHIB; THE HIGHLANDERS AND THE CAMELS; THE REBELS RECROSS THE NERBUDDA; THEIR DEFEAT AT CHOTA OODEYPORE; TANTIA'S RETROGRADE MOVEMENTS; FEROZE SHAH; HIS JUNCTION WITH TANTIA TOPEE; DEFEAT AT SEEKUR; DIVISION OF THE LEADERS; TANTIA TOPEE AT SERONGE; MOVEMENTS OF RAO SAHIB AND FEROZE SHAH; FINAL DISPERSION OF THEIR FOLLOWERS; THE REBELS AND THEIR PURSUERS; EPISODES DURING THE CAMPAIGN; CAPTURE OF TANTIA TOPEE; THANKSGIVING IN ENGLAND FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION; THANKS TO THE CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND THE EUROPEAN AND NATIVE ARMIES, VOTED BY PARLIAMENT; THE AMALGAMATION OF THE INDIAN ARMY WITH THE QUEEN'S; RESULTS OF EARL CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION; REWARDS TO NATIVE PRINCES; ORDER OF "THE STAR OF INDIA;" THE FAMINE; LORD ELGIN AT CALCUTTA; AT BENARES; AND AT CAWNPORE; CONCLUSION.

NEXT to the pacification of Oude, the great object of interest, after the defeat of the rebels at Gwalior, in June, 1858, was to trace, and capture, if possible, Tantia Topee, whose active movements, from that time till March, 1859, allowed the troops engaged in the pursuit scarcely any time for rest and repose. We have already stated, that the rebels, after their defeat by Brigadier Napier, on the 21st of June, crossed the Chumbul. Their leaders, besides Tantia Topee, were the Rao Sahib and the nawab of Banda. The latter chief, however, soon surrendered under the amnesty, and was sent to the Andaman Isles. The operations against the other two chiefs and their followers were carried on in Rajpootana and Malwa—districts which cover many thousand square miles in Central India. The chieftains in those districts, whilst openly they professed loyal allegiance to England, held a secret understanding with the

rebels—thus endeavouring to secure themselves from evil consequences, whoever might be the conqueror. When the rebels got safe over the Chumbul, therefore, they had time to look about them, and make their arrangements. The British forces in Rajpootana, at that time, "were stationed at the two cantonments of Nusseerabad and Neemuch, under the command of Major-general Roberts. The forces in Malwa consisted of a brigade at Mhow, under Brigadier Honner, and were, shortly after, reinforced from Bombay, and formed into a division under Major-general Michel."* General Roberts first heard of the rebels when they were advancing on Jeypore; and he pursued them at the head of a column, comprising 900 men of her majesty's 72nd and 83rd; 900 of the 12th and 13th Bombay native infantry; the 3rd company of sappers and miners; 150 of the 8th hussars; 120 of the 1st Bombay

* See an article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, for August, 1860, p. 175; to which we are indebted for many of the facts in our account of the

"Pursuit of Tantia Topee." The passages quoted, if not referred to other authorities, are from this article.

cavalry; the 2nd troop of the Bombay horse artillery, and three guns of the No. 8 field battery. This force was subsequently joined by 300 Belooch horse, under Lieutenant Macaulay. We may observe that these latter were the scape-goats of anybody with which they might be connected. They were originally raised by Macaulay, among the Beloochee tribes on the frontiers of Affghanistan and Scinde—a people whose character for violence and rapacity was unsurpassed. Macaulay had power of life and death over his followers, and restrained their excesses; but their bad fame followed them; and all the acts of pillage and plundering were laid to the Beloochees. “They were mounted on small ponies (chiefly mares), and their intelligence made them very useful as light cavalry.”

When General Roberts put his men in motion, they marched with great rapidity; and the rebels, alarmed, moved southwards to Tonk. On the arrival of the British at Jeypore, therefore, they found no enemy to contend with, except the heat, “which had been great from the commencement of the campaign, and became intolerable about the 4th of July, twenty-two Europeans dying of sun-stroke in three days. On the 8th, therefore, the general resolved to send a light column forward, under Colonel Holmes, consisting of the cavalry, horse artillery, some native infantry, and 200 of the 72nd Highlanders; the latter were to receive an occasional lift on artillery wag-gons.” The general followed with the main body; and the enemy still continued to fly before him. From Tonk, after exchanging a few shots with Colonel Holmes’ column, Tantia retreated to Boondee, the capital of a Rajpoot state of that name; being prevented, by the heavy rains, from recrossing the Chumbul, and entering the Mahratta country. The rebels continued their retreat from Boondee, to the west, and reached Sanganeer, a town on the left bank of the small river Kotaria, midway between Nusseerabad and Neemuch. The rains impeded the pursuit of the British, as it was not till the 5th of August that the roads became passable. They came up with the rebels on the 8th, who were encamped in front of Bheelwara, about a mile to the south of Sanganeer, on the other side of the Kotaria. Tantia had sent his “elephants and baggage to the rear, and the infantry and guns took up a position obliquely to the stream. The

cavalry was thrown forward on their left flank across the Kotaria, up to Sanganeer, and on the right to nearly opposite the town—the whole forming a horse-shoe figure of about a mile and a-half in extent, connected by skirmishers.” It might have been supposed, from this appearance of the rebels in battle array, that they intended to make a stand; but they scarcely waited till our troops got into position. The latter advanced under discharges from the guns on both sides; and when they had crossed the river, the rebels retired, “withdrawing their guns and infantry, and massing the cavalry on the intervening plain to cover their retreat.” A few shells were fired till they got out of range; and as the sun had set, and the infantry had marched thirty miles that day, no pursuit was attempted.

The enemy was next overtaken not far from Kunkrowlee, a town situated on a fine lake, near the Aravulli hills. They were seen, on the morning of the 14th of August “drawn up on the farther or right bank of the river Bunnas. Their right flank was protected by a deep bend of the river; their left by some steep hills. The ground they actually stood upon was a low, steep ridge, forming the right bank of the river: in front of them, on the left bank, was an open plain, 800 yards wide. The general formed his troops behind some hillocks which bounded this plain, and then advanced across it.” The enemy had four guns, from which they opened a brisk fire; the British horse artillery returning it, but not with much effect, on account of the position in which the rebels’ guns were placed, behind a natural parapet. The infantry, however, notwithstanding the discharge of grape, marched across the plain, forded the river, and scaled the heights on the enemy’s left and centre. The latter immediately broke on receiving a volley from the 13th native infantry, and abandoned their guns. The cavalry and horse artillery also crossed the Bunnas; and the former, under Colonel Naylor, gave chase to the flying foe, suffering considerably themselves from the fire of a party of rebel infantry which had taken shelter in a cluster of rocks in the middle of the plain, and remained till the British infantry came up, and bayoneted them. The rebels fled to the east. Colonel Naylor and the cavalry pursued them “for about fifteen miles, killing numbers o

stragglers, and capturing three elephants and quantities of baggage." A village being then reached, surrounded by a jungle, where the enemy appeared disposed to make a stand, the pursuit was arrested, as the colonel had only a hundred regular troops and fifty Beloochees with him. He therefore returned to the main force.

The rebels continued their retreat to the east, pursued by Brigadier Parke with the 8th hussars and Beloochees. As it was doubtful whether Tantia Topee really intended to make for the Chumbul, or to get past Parke to the southward, in order to reach Oodeypore, which General Roberts was very desirous to protect, the former stopped at Moorassa, about fifteen miles from Neemuch, and thirty from the Chumbul, till it was quite evident the rebels were not coming in his direction. He then pushed on, by hasty marches, to the Chumbul, but was only in time to see "a few disabled ponies standing on the left bank, and the rebels disappearing among some mango trees in the distance:" he therefore returned to Neemuch. Tantia Topee pushed on to Jhalra Patun, which town he surrounded. The rajah was loyal, and marched out his troops to attack him, but they fraternised with the rebels; and Tantia took possession of the town, with the treasures, guns, and munitions of war belonging to the rajah. A war contribution of £60,000 was also levied on the inhabitants. This timely supply enabled the rebel chief to pay his men their arrears, and to enlist a considerable number of additional troops, raising his force to 8,000 or 10,000 men, with upwards of thirty guns.

Early in September, the fugitives left Jhalra Patun, taking a southerly direction; the object of Tantia Topee being to reach Indore, if possible, before he was again overtaken by a British force. A small column of the Mhow contingent was watching for him, to the south, under Colonel Lockhart; and this was joined, in the first week in September, at Nalkerry, by reinforcements under Colonel Hope. Major-general Michel arrived at the same time, and assumed the command; and fearing that the rebels were advancing from the north-east, he ordered the troops to march in that direction. On the 14th of September, the rebels were seen encamped near the walled town of Rajgurh. It was late in the day, and the troops had made a

long march; the general, therefore, ordered them into cantonments, at a distance of about three miles from the rebel camp. The next morning the enemy had disappeared. They were followed in the route which the track of the gun-wheels and elephants indicated, and when the men had marched about eight miles, were discovered, drawn up in two lines, the second being on elevated ground, so that they could fire over the heads of the first. The action commenced by a cannonade at a long range; and as the British advanced, the infantry on the left, the artillery in the centre, and the cavalry on the right, "the rebels behaved in a most dastardly manner. It seems scarcely credible, that an army of 8,000 men at the lowest estimate, with thirty guns, and abundance of ammunition, should retreat without any attempt at resistance—without drawing one drop of blood—from an enemy not one-sixth their number in men or guns! Yet such was the strange spectacle presented." The rebels converged, in their retreat, on the road to Beora, pursued by the British artillery and cavalry for some distance. If General Michel had been stronger in cavalry, most of the force might have been destroyed. As it was, twenty-seven guns were captured; and the moral effects of the victory upon the inhabitants of the district, were very great.

The rebels, checked by this defeat in their advance upon Indore, again made to the east; and on the 9th of October were once more encountered by General Michel, at the head of a division of the Mhow force. "They were drawn up near Mungrowlee, on a piece of commanding ground, with six guns in front, from which a heavy fire was kept up as the British advanced. Parties were detached to outflank the assailants, and some of them got between the main body and the rear-guard. The latter cut them up before they could throw our line into confusion." The guns were also carried by a rush, and the rebels retired, crossing the Betwa, a few miles to the east of Mungrowlee; they were pursued for twelve miles, suffering great loss. They had taken a north-westerly direction; but Tantia, tired of "hanging about these wild districts," resolved, at all risks, to march to the Nerbudda, on the south. From the knowledge which either he or his guides possessed of the country, he was enabled to elude his pursuers; and when General Michel again

heard of him, his position was changed from the eastern to the western side of the British camp. Again the pursuit was taken up; and, on the morning of the 25th of October, "General Michel came suddenly upon the rebels, obliquely crossing his front, near the village of Khoraië." The cavalry and artillery charged, and cut the line in two; and the right division immediately ran off in a northerly direction, making for the jungle they had just left. The British were not strong enough to pursue both divisions, and they followed that to the right, as otherwise they might have attacked the baggage. This wing, three or four thousand in number, was completely cut up, and scattered; but Tantia, with the left, marched hastily to the south, encountering on the road Beatson's horse, newly raised, which was *en route* from the Deccan to join General Michel: though quite raw levies, they cut up a number of the rebels. Tantia, however, succeeded in reaching the Nerbudda, and in crossing that river, about forty miles above Hoshungabad—thus entering the territories of the rajah of Nagpore.

General Michel had discovered the route the rebels had taken, and followed; but, when he and Brigadier Parke arrived at Hoshungabad, on the 7th of November, the rebels were at Mooltaee, full eighty miles to the south-east. Leaving Parke at Hoshungabad, General Michel moved on to Baitool, which is about thirty miles west of Mooltaee; the object now being to prevent Tantia Topee from reinforcing his army, recrossing the Nerbudda, and advancing on Indore, from whence the loyal rajah, Holkar, would probably be compelled to flee, as Scindiah had been from Gwalior. In the absence of General Michel, Brigadier Edwards commanded at Mhow. To support the movements of his superior, who was on the south side of the Nerbudda, advancing from the east, the brigadier "sent two small infantry detachments to watch the fords of the Nerbudda above Akberpore, where the main road crosses it. On receiving intelligence that the rebels were still moving westward, Major Sutherland, with one of the detachments, comprising one hundred men of the 92nd Highlanders, and one hundred 4th Bombay rifles, was ordered to 'cross the river, and keep the main road clear.'—Whilst he was in this part of Central India, a proclamation, dated November 8th, 1858, drawn up by

Rao Sahib—who called himself "Maharajah," and "Peishwa Bahadour"—was extensively distributed by Tantia Topee. It stated, that the army "bearing the standard of victory," which accompanied his highness, marched in that direction, "only for the destruction of the infidel Christians, and not for the spoliation of the resident inhabitants;" who, if they remained in their houses, and sold their grain, &c., to this army, "buoyed on the waves of victory," would be protected, and have everything paid for. Villages had, it was admitted, been looted; but this was because the villagers had fled, and it was the only means the troops had of getting the necessaries they wanted.

On the 19th of November, Tantia Topee was at Kurgoon, in the Satpoora hills, between thirty and forty miles to the south-east of Akberpore; and Major Sutherland at Jeelwana, on the main road, about the same distance from that town, and twenty-five miles nearly due west of Kurgoon. The approach of the British on both sides of him, caused Tantia to leave Kurgoon in the night of the 23rd of November, first destroying the town. The previous day, Lieutenant Sutherland had been joined by a camel corps, bringing fifty men of the 71st and 92nd Highlanders from Mhow. The camels were all Sandneys, or riding-camels. They carried the usual riding-saddle for two men—one sitting before, the other behind, the hump; and "there was a driver to each camel, who took up a soldier behind him." It is not very agreeable travelling on camels to those who are not used to it. "This was the Highlanders' first essay, and all suffered severely, especially the 92nd, who were clad in the garb of the Gael. If it is 'ill taking the brecks off a Hielandman,' it is all the more easy to take the skin off a part of his person which is never turned towards an enemy. 'I wunna mount the cæmel—I wunna mount the cæmel,' exclaimed more than one gallant Scotchman after a halt. 'Weel, if you wunna mount the cæmel, you'll stay behind, and lose your head to the rebels,' was the reply of Lieutenant Barras," who commanded the camel corps; "and partly by threats, and partly by coaxing, with the promise of an immediate action after the journey, when they might avenge their agonies on the rebels, the whole came safely and speedily up."

The next day, Major Sutherland heard

that the rebels were on the road, about six miles to the north of Jeelwana; and that they had cut the telegraph wires, and plundered several carts. As he ascertained that it was only a detachment, which might be seen in that direction to effect a diversion, he declined dividing his small party, in order to pursue them; but the following morning he took 120 Highlanders and eighty sepoy to clear the road. He then ascertained, "that Tantia Topee and his whole force, with two guns he had found at Kurgoon, and a number of elephants, had passed during the night. Their tracks, leading westward, were soon found, and the pursuit commenced." The rebels' rear-guard was seen, after a march of eight miles, passing through the town of Rajpore; and in half-an-hour more the main body was discovered, drawn up in a ravine. Major Sutherland dismounted his men, and prepared for the attack; but before they could advance, the rebels hastily fell back. The delay had given the infantry time to join, as they "had been marching at a prodigious pace;" and the whole force proceeded, at the quick step, two miles further, "when the enemy was again seen, formed in order of battle, on a rocky ridge, thickly wooded, with their two guns pointing down the road." A few shots were exchanged between the skirmishers; and then the Highlanders and native infantry, under a rapid discharge of grapeshot, rushed up, and seized the guns. The rebels immediately took to flight, and the troops were cantoned for the night. On the 25th, the pursuit was renewed; the Nerbudda was reached at sunset; and then the entire rebel host of three or four thousand men, which "had fled from 200, without artillery," was discovered comfortably encamped on the north bank. The two parties collected on each side of the stream—which is described as being 500 yards broad—and looked at each other: of course it would have been madness for the British to attempt to ford it, in the face of such disparity of numbers. The next morning neither tents nor men were to be seen.

On the 26th, Brigadier Parke arrived at the British camp, with a flying column of cavalry, mounted infantry, and two guns. He took up the pursuit, crossing the Nerbudda at the Burwanee ford; and Major Sutherland returned to Mhow. Tantia Topee's aim was then to reach Baroda, a city of Guzerat, and the capital of the

prince called the Guicowar, "one of the richest native sovereigns in India." This city is situated near the river Bismawintri, which is there crossed by a stone bridge, consisting of two ranges of arches, one over the other. As there was a large party at Baroda eager for revolution, and some of them were known to be in communication with Nana Sahib, the Guicowar and the British resident, Sir Richmond Shakespeare, became very anxious for the safety of the place, as "there were only a hundred Europeans, and two native infantry regiments, in garrison, besides the Guicowar's own troops, who were most likely to take the wrong side." On the 1st of December, however, Brigadier Parke—who had marched 241 miles in nine days, and whose energy and perseverance, as well as those of his troops, it is impossible to praise too highly—came up with the enemy at Chota Oodeypore, about fifty miles east of Baroda: on this occasion the rebels fought well for a short time. When the British first came in sight of them they were not more than 600 yards distant; the nature of the country having concealed them. They were estimated at about 3,500 in number, and were posted in front of Chota Oodeypore, on ground which was covered with large trees, brushwood, and huts; and was, besides, so broken as to be very difficult and dangerous for cavalry and artillery movements. The force under Brigadier Parke, comprised one troop of the 8th hussars; the squadron of Lord Mark Kerr's Southern Mahratta horse; 300 of the Guzerat horse; the Guicowar's contingent and body-guard; fifty of the 2nd light Bombay cavalry; Moore's Aden horse; 100 of the 73rd Highlanders; and two 9-pounders belonging to Aitken's battery, under Lieutenant Heathorn. The attack was made with the infantry and the two guns in the centre, flanked by the cavalry on the right and left. The guns opened at a distance of 600 yards; and the rebels, surrounding the British advance, came forward in "front and on both flanks. The right flank was first disposed of by Kerr's Mahratta horse. The rebels then collected their force on the left flank; and a change of front was effected by the British line, the two guns doing good service. The Highlanders cleared some huts in front; and a charge by three troops of cavalry—the 8th hussars, the 2nd Bombay light cavalry, and the Mahratta horse—

completed the rebel discomfiture. They were followed and cut up, till the remnant dispersed in the jungles." The following day, Brigadier Parke issued a "general order," congratulating the troops on the successful result of the engagement.

The brigadier was obliged to halt for some days to recruit his horses, quite as much as his men, and to allow the stragglers to come in. In the meantime, Tantia Topee rallied his followers, and took the road to Baroda; but he was met and turned back by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, at the head of a small body of European and native troops; and crossing the Vindhya range, he marched to the dense Banswara jungle, which is inhabited by a wild race, called the Bheels, and where he expected to rally round him more of his followers. This district is bounded on the south by the Vindhya range; on the west by Goojerat; on the north-west and north by the tablelands of Rajpootana; and, on the east, by those of Malwa. Oodeypore and Saloombur, on the north-west, are the two nearest Rajpootana states. General Roberts protected Goojerat; General Michel directed a force from his district, under Major Rocke, to cover Oodeypore, and watch Saloombur; and Colonel Benson, of the 17th lancers, was stationed on the eastern side of the Banswara, to watch the passes into Malwa. Thus the route of the rebels appeared barred on all sides but the direct north and south. Tantia reached the town of Banswara, the principal place of that small Rajpoot state, on the 9th of December. He rested there one day; and then a rumour that Brigadier Somerset was advancing on his right, caused him to march to Saloombur, where he was refused admittance; and he again turned south to the densest part of the jungle. A few days after, we find the chief and his followers going north, as, on Christmas-day, they were at Purtabgurh, near fifty miles north of Banswara, where Major Rocke inflicted some loss upon them; and, on the 29th of December, Colonel Benson overtook them at Zeerapore, more than a hundred miles to the east. Some fighting took place, the flying foe losing six elephants; and, on the 2nd of January, 1859, Brigadier Somerset (who arrived at Zeerapore on the 30th of December, and took up the pursuit) came up with them at Burrode, forty miles further to the north-east. They were shelled by the artillery, and lost some men as they

continued their flight. We next hear of them at Indergurh, a fort and town on the west bank of the Chumbul, a hundred miles north of Burrode, in the Rajpoot state of Boondee, held by a tributary rajah.

During the month of December, it appears that serious thoughts of surrendering were entertained in the rebel camp. "The great majority of the rank and file, had they believed in the amnesty, proclaimed throughout India to all not proved to be murderers, would have accepted the offer at once; but the chiefs who were murderers, persuaded their credulous followers that the amnesty was merely a snare, and that all who fell into the hands of the British were executed without delay." When despair would, probably, have led many of the followers to submit, notwithstanding the deception practised upon them by their leaders, some intelligence respecting Prince Feroze Shah, and the prospect of being soon joined by him, cheered their drooping spirits, and they remained at their post.

Feroze Shah had appeared again early in December, on the banks of the Ganges, with from 1,000 to 1,500 men, his object being to enter the Doab, and, if possible, effect a junction with Tantia Topee in Central India. During their wanderings these rebel chiefs—fugitives as they generally were—always kept up communications with each other. "This was effected by messengers, called cossids, who will traverse thirty and forty miles a day for weeks in succession. The cossids are much employed by merchants; they are accustomed to start on long journeys, to places they have not before visited, and pass everywhere without question." The rebel chiefs made them the bearers of letters and communications; and Tantia Topee is said "to have taken advantage of the privilege, which most generals, especially unsuccessful ones, assume, of depicting the aspect of affairs rather more favourably than they deserved;" whilst the Nana and the begum spread the news of his "successes" amongst their followers. Whether Feroze Shah believed in these successes, or whether he thought that matters could not be worse in Central India than they were elsewhere, he determined to join him; and the followers of Tantia, on the other hand, supposed that the shahzadah had defeated the "infidels." To carry out his intention of joining Tantia Topee, the prince "passed the

British cordon at Oude, and commenced a rapid march through the Gwalior territory." He met with several disasters; and, on the 17th of December, reached Runnode, where he was surprised by Brigadier-general Sir Robert Napier, commanding the Gwalior division; who killed a number of his followers, and took six elephants. Feroze Shah still pressed on, and arrived at Rajgurh with 1,000 men. He lingered there for a few days, either because it was a rendezvous appointed with Tantia, or to get information of the latter's movements. Brigadier Smith put himself in motion from Seronge; and Feroze Shah marched north-west to Indergurh, on the Chumbul, where Tantia Topee arrived much about the same time. "Brigadier Smith continued the pursuit towards Indergurh, with a force of infantry and cavalry, but did not overtake the rebels."

The junction between Tantia Topee and Feroze Shah was effected in the beginning of January, 1859; and the allies did not remain long at Indergurh, but marched upon Madharajpore, to the north, threatening Jeypore. Their whole force did not exceed 2,000 men; it having been reduced to that small number by the harassing pursuits of the British. "Indeed, it is astonishing how their horses had a leg to stand upon, or their riders the physical endurance to remain in the saddle. Those who could find fresh horses in the villages, bought or stole them; and many a well-bred charger was left standing by the road-side, its back swarming with maggots, and its hoofs worn to the sensible sole." They passed Madharajpore and Jeypore; and, at Dewassa, about twenty miles to the eastward of the latter, were encountered, on the 14th of January, by a light column from Agra, under Brigadier Showers. Despair made them fight for a time, and they kept up a sharp fire upon the British. But the end was the same as on former occasions. They broke and fled, having 150 killed, and their last elephants taken. Their next destination was Ulwur, the capital of a small province of Rajpootana, about fifty miles further to the north. The rajah's troops, however, led by Lieutenant Impey, the resident political agent, held a pass in front of the town, and they were compelled to take another direction. On the night of the 21st of January, they were found encamped at Seekur, sixty or seventy miles to the west of Ulwur. There they were

completely surprised by Colonel Holmes, who had been sent from Nusseerabad, with a few men of her majesty's 33rd and the 12th native infantry, and four guns, handled by native artillerymen, to check the rebels in any way he could; and who had marched fifty-four miles, through a sandy desert, in little more than twenty-four hours. He threw the rebels "into the greatest confusion by a few rounds from his guns. They abandoned a quantity of horses, camels, and arms; and afterwards spoke of this as one of the most disastrous affairs in which they had been engaged."

The rebel leaders appear now to have separated, in consequence of a division in their councils, as to the route they should take with the few followers who still adhered to them. Tantia Topee is said to have gone to Bikaner, to the north-west of Seekur; and we hear of him afterwards in various directions, and in places at such a distance from each other, that it is not likely he could have been at all of them: sometimes, also, he is mentioned as being again with Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah; at others, in solitude, or with very few followers. Nothing is certain, till, at the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, we find him in the jungles of Seronge, on the Betwa river, more than 300 miles to the south-east of Bikaner. It is probable that he did go to the latter district in the first instance; and that there he left, or was deserted by, his followers, as, a few days after the affair at Seekur, "600 men surrendered to the rajah of Bikaner, and requested his mediation in their behalf. The British government was only too glad to be saved the trouble of hunting them down; and desired they might all be sent to their homes, with the single proviso, that those who could be proved guilty of deliberate murder, might at any time be brought up for execution."

Some hundreds of the rebels still remained with the Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, the movements of whom, after the departure of Tantia Topee, were directed by the Rao. He appears to have kept on the west side of the Aravulli range of mountains, which divides Joudpore from Oodeypore; and to have passed through the former territory to the Chutterbhooj pass, the principal road across those hills. General Michel and Brigadier Showers were following the fugitives from the north; Brigadier Parke was in the west;

Brigadier Honner in the south; and Brigadier Somerset was on the Oodeypore side of the range, south of the pass. Before Rao Sahib and his followers reached it, Brigadier Honner fell in with them at Kosance, on the 10th of February. A running fight ensued, in which many rebels were killed, and a number of camels taken. The pass was reached on the 15th, the same day that Brigadier Somerset arrived within a few miles of its eastern termination. Having no one with him who knew the country, some time was lost in reconnoitring, during which the fugitives threaded the pass, arriving at the eastern outlet, only to learn, to their great horror, that a British force was in their immediate vicinity. The Rao ordered his followers to make for the Banswara jungles; but every point of access was found closed by infantry detachments from Neemuch. They then went eastward, and "passed within a few miles of Purlabgurh, where the action with Major Roche took place, just seven weeks before. They had made a circuit of 900 miles in the interval." Brigadier Somerset was close on their track; and whilst many threw away their arms, and got to their homes as best they could, more than 200 surrendered on the 22nd of February; the chiefs escaped to the Seronge jungles, where Tantia Topee had fled before them. The nawabs of Jowla and Kanconia also surrendered themselves: on the 27th of February, 300 rebel cavalry, under Peerzov Ali, principal officer to Feroze Shah; and, on the 1st of March, Zaor Ali, and another party of rebels, gave up their arms to General Michel.

This ended the campaign in Central India; during which the fugitives had been wandering, since their expulsion from Gwalior on the 19th of June, 1858, over a wide district, nearly 400 miles in extent, from north to south, and more than 300 from east to west; and they "only disappeared, as an organised body, after their weary trail had covered 3,000 miles." They had, in these migrations, "nothing to do with forts: like the Douglas of old, they liked better to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak. They had no district to defend, but wandered about an immense territory, ruled by independent chiefs, whose soldiers only waited for fortune to show any signs of turning in favour of the rebels, to join their standard, and force their employers (nothing loth in

some instances) to head the movement. The rebels had every quality required in soldiers for such a roving commission, except courage; and in that they were not altogether deficient, had their leaders known how to evoke it." No troops in the world could "endure so much fatigue, sleep so well on the hard ground, or do without sleep at all, and be content with so little food. The cavalry were well mounted, and light weights; the infantry had a number of hardy ponies to help them in long marches. All were well armed from British arsenals." The force opposed to these flying foes had "a most difficult task to accomplish. They had to cover, or overawe, the most important towns in their divisions, and endeavour to exterminate the rebel army, which always far outnumbered them, especially in cavalry. To drive the rebels from their positions with infantry and artillery was easy enough; and, in ordinary warfare, this constitutes a victory. But a battle lost to the rebels, was only so many guns abandoned, or so many men killed. They had no communication with a base of operations to preserve; no line of country to defend; no strategical front, or flanks, or rear. When hard pressed, they only made a stand to let their treasures be carried off (many of the chiefs thought their proper place was with the treasure on these occasions), and then got out of range of the cannon and rifles as soon as they could. The British cavalry followed, but were rarely sufficiently strong to do much execution." So inferior in numbers, it would have been rashness to follow the enemy far without infantry to fall back upon; and as the latter could not keep up with the flying foe, the numerous escapes of the rebels are satisfactorily accounted for.

There were a few episodes in the vain struggle which the mutineers kept up, irrespective of the pursuit of Tantia Topee; but they were of no great interest or importance; and it is only necessary to allude to them very briefly. In December, 1858, nearly 4,000 rebels concentrated under a chief called Radha Govind, in the neighbourhood of Nagouna, a small town in the native state of Oocheyra, on the route from Sangor to Allahabad. This force attacked Kirwee on the 22nd of that month. The little garrison, consisting of thirty of her majesty's 43rd regiment,

eleven of the royal artillery, and forty Madrassesees, with one or two native guns, kept the enemy at bay until nightfall, when they retired. They employed themselves, on the 23rd and 24th, in making scaling-ladders, and in seizing the guns of a neighbouring chief, with which they intended returning to the attack. An express was, however, sent to General Whitlock, at Matuba, who relieved the garrison, having marched eighty-four miles in thirty hours. On the 29th, the force under that officer attacked the rebels at Pamwaree, five miles from Kirwee; and in the action, Radha Govind, his brother, and 300 of their followers, were killed; all the guns, several elephants, camels, horses, and other property, captured; and the entire force was completely routed and dispersed. The fugitives fled south towards Kotee; but on the 2nd of January, they were again surprised by a detachment under Colonel Gottreux, and very few escaped.—In the Deccan, the Rohillas occasioned some trouble in January and February, 1859; but they were completely dispersed by the force collected by Sir Hugh Rose.—In the Banda district, Mr. Evans, chief engineer, and Messrs. Linnell and Campbell, his assistants, with a party of workmen and native servants, and an escort of twenty mounted Sikhs, were surveying the district in the neighbourhood of the village of Etawah, ninety miles from Allahabad, for the purposes of a railway. On the 26th of February, their camp was surrounded by a party of rebels, 1,000 in number, who came down with elephants and camels, with swivel guns on their backs, and commenced firing in all directions. They took Linnell prisoner; killed Evans, and cut off his head; murdered four of the servants, and burnt and destroyed everything they could lay their hands upon. Mr. Campbell and the Sikh guard got to Allahabad, and a detachment of the 97th was sent in pursuit of the rebels and their prisoner; but the former, for the time, escaped, after putting poor Linnell to death.

Several leaders of the rebellion surrendered, after the dispersion of Tantia Topee's followers: amongst them the nawab of Furruckabad and Mitawlee Lonee Singh, both of whom were tried, and the former condemned to death—the latter to transportation for life. Nana Sahib, Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah, and Tantia Topee were still at large. Nothing certain was known of

any of them; but there being strong reasons for supposing that some, if not all of them, were in the Seronge jungles, Sir R. Napier was sent in that direction; and, towards the end of March, arrived at Seronge with his brigade. On the 2nd of April, a detachment of this force, under the brigadier, defeated a body of rebels near the jungles; and, after the engagement, Maun Singh, rajah of Powrie, surrendered himself to Colonel Meade. The next day, another body of rebels was attacked and dispersed by a force under Colonels de Salis and Rich, and Captain Bolton. It was reported that this body was led by Tantia Topee, Feroze Shah, and Rao Sahib; but there is no certainty that the trio ever met after their separation at Seekur. Tantia Topee was, however, known to be in the neighbourhood; and Maun Singh, as the price of his own safety, offered to betray him. This chief was not so much a rebel against the English, as against the maharajah Scindiah. His family had been one of great importance, and their possessions very considerable, in the country near Goonah, which the Mahrattas conquered; and Maun Singh despised the low-born Mahratta, whom he was obliged to obey. Scindiah, however, being our ally, the British troops had attacked his rebellious vassal, who, like all other native chiefs, had to succumb. He was aware of Tantia Topee's haunts; and appears to have thought, that treachery towards one who had been his friend, would be the best way of making his own peace. At all events, he made the offer to bring him in to the British head-quarters, which was accepted. He asked, that twenty sepoy of the 10th Bombay native infantry might accompany him, but no European officer; as the "camp, he said, was so infested by spies, that the departure of a European officer, with ever so small a detachment, would be noticed and watched." On the 7th of April these men were sent to Parone, Maun Singh having gone there himself in the afternoon; and he took them to the spot where Tantia Topee was sleeping, with two pundits. He was seized and secured; the pundits escaped. It is said that he was on his way to join Rao Sahib, when his career was thus brought to a close. He was conveyed to Sepree, where he was tried, condemned, and executed, the sentence being carried into effect on the 18th of April. "During his short imprisonment, he

behaved himself with dignity, showing neither fear nor sullenness, and answering any question that was put to him." His colleagues, Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, succeeded in eluding pursuit; as did the Nana. The shahzadah was last heard of in April, 1863, when he, with several other rebel chiefs, was at Teheran, in Persia. Nothing is known of Nana and his brother.

There were occasional conflicts with small bodies of the rebels up to the end of April; and those who took refuge in Nepal, were not finally broken up and dispersed till the close of that month. But the accounts received in England leaving no doubt as to the result, on the 12th of April, an "order in council" was published in the *London Gazette*, directing, that Sunday, the 1st of May, should be observed as a day of thanksgiving, "for the constant and signal success obtained by the troops of her majesty, and by the whole of the forces serving in India, whereby the late sanguinary mutiny and rebellion, which had broken out in that country, had been effectually suppressed; and the blessings of tranquillity, order, and peace restored to her majesty's subjects in the East." The Archbishop of Canterbury was instructed to prepare a form of prayer to be used on the occasion.—On Thursday, the 14th of April, Earl Derby, in the House of Lords, and Mr. Disraeli, in the Commons, moved, that the thanks of those houses should be given to the governor-general; Lord Elphinstone, G.C.B., governor of the presidency of Bombay; Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B., late lieutenant-governor of the Punjab; Sir Robert North Collie Hamilton, Bart., agent to the governor-general in Central India; Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Esq., commissioner of Scinde; Robert Montgomery, Esq., late chief commissioner in Oude; Lord Clyde, G.C.B., commander-in-chief; Lieutenant-general Sir James Outram, Bart., G.C.B.; Major-generals Sir Hugh Henry Rose, G.C.B.; Henry Gee Roberts, George Cornish Whitlock, Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., K.C.B.; Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B.; Sir William Rose, K.C.B.; Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B.; and Sir John Michel, K.C.B.; Brigadier-generals Robert Walpole, C.B., and Sir Robert Napier, C.B.; to the other gallant officers of her majesty's army and navy, and also of her majesty's Indian force; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers,

for their admirable conduct during the war. Lord Canning was also made an extra civil Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and was elevated in the peerage to the dignity of an earl. In India, thanks were also voted, and honours conferred, upon those who had taken a distinguished part in putting down the revolt; and Lord Canning and the supreme council applied themselves earnestly to the work of re-organisation.

A very difficult question arose before all traces of the late mutiny could be considered to have finally disappeared. By the act transferring the territory of the East India Company to the Queen, the army of that company was ordered to be incorporated with that of her majesty; and the soldiers of the former objected to this transfer, unless they were re-enlisted, attested, and received a free bounty. This question led to discontent and trouble; and would have occasioned fresh disturbances, but for the judicious measures of Lord Canning and Lord Clyde. It was made the ground for a complete change in the military system of India. Although the Indian army was transferred from the Company to the Queen, it remained substantially the same: recruits could be enlisted in England for Indian service only, but in the Queen's name, instead of the Company's; and a "local" force was continued in each presidency, identical with the old Company's armies; while the contingent of "Queen's troops" supplied from the regiments of the line, remained unaltered.—In the session of 1859, a bill was introduced to alter this system, and to make the army in England and India one; to be under the orders of the Horse-Guards in this country. This bill was resisted by Lord Stanley, when he was the secretary of state for India, and was rejected by the House of Commons. In June, a change of ministry took place; Lord Palmerston succeeding Earl Derby at the treasury; and Sir Charles Wood, Lord Stanley, at the India office. The new secretary—who was very unpopular with all Indian authorities—took a different view of this question from his predecessor. In the session of 1860, he introduced a bill for abolishing the distinction between the two armies, and for transferring the local forces to the direct authority and supervision of the Horse-Guards. This measure, called the "Amalgamation Bill," was

warmly opposed; but Lord Palmerston made a point of carrying it, and he succeeded: it has, however, been the source of great dissatisfaction. One clause of the measure guarantees to all officers of the old Company's service, "the like pay, pension, allowance, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion, &c., as if they had continued in the service of the Company." The *old* officers, however, owing to *new* regulations, do not enjoy these advantages; and the question of their grievances has been repeatedly brought before parliament and the public, hitherto, without result.—Soon after the "Amalgamation Bill" was passed, Lord Clyde returned to England, and was succeeded by Sir Hugh Rose as commander-in-chief.

But if the course of the military affairs of India have not run so smoothly as could be wished, the civil and commercial interests of that country have been most prosperous since the suppression of the mutiny. Earl Canning laboured earnestly and most effectively to carry out that policy which was prescribed in the despatches already alluded to*—a policy of mercy and conciliation, instead of inflexible punishment and annexation. A stern justice was administered in the cases of those who had sanctioned the murders and outrages which disgraced the early days of the mutiny: but "whilst the guilty were punished, friendly chieftains were reassured and rewarded; old privileges were restored; new concessions were granted." The gratifying result was, that "slowly, but steadily, confidence was re-established. Even Asiatics, who had distrusted the strength of our arms, bowed to the influence of our conciliatory policy."†

No acts of the governor-general's had a greater effect in restoring confidence, than the gratitude which was displayed to the native princes who stood by the government in the past struggle. One of those princes was the maharajah of Riteelah, whose "support at such a crisis," said one of the despatches of the day, "was worth a brigade of English troops to us, and served more to tranquillise the people than a hundred official disclaimers would have done." On him was conferred a portion of the territory forfeited by the disloyal nawab of Jhujjur, yielding an annual revenue of

about £20,000; certain proprietary rights in villages; and a house in Delhi, once the property of Zeermul Mehul, the favourite wife of the late king of Delhi.—The rajah of Jheend was another tried and true friend. He received confiscated property worth £10,000 per annum, and a house at Delhi, which the princes of the imperial family formerly occupied.—To the young rajah of Nabha, who assisted the cause both in person and money, confiscated property, of the same value, was appropriated; and all received the assurance of the governor-general, in a solemn *darbar*, held soon after the re-establishment of tranquillity, that they and their heirs should hold and possess their lands without disturbance; and that, if direct heirs failed, successors might be named. The right to nominate a successor, when the lineal succession became extinct, was always claimed by the native princes of India. By several governor-generals—not by the East India Company—this right was denied; all territories, on failure of heirs, being annexed to the possessions of England. The formal recognition of the right—and the abandonment of the most objectionable practice that can be attributed to the old Indian government—will do much to obviate discontent for the future.—But there were other good and great allies besides those named. Rundheer Singh, rajah of Kupoorthulla, was one of them, who rendered eminent services; his reward was, a reduction of the tribute he was bound to pay the English government, by the sum of 25,000 rupees per annum; a *khillut*, or gift of honour, of 15,000 rupees; and a jagheer in Oude.—The maharajah of Nepaul, Jung Bahadour; the nawabs of Rampore and of Kurnoul; the rajahs of Rewar and Chickaree; and the great Mahratta chiefs, the maharajahs Scindiah and Holkar, were all equally loyal; and to all the gratitude of the English government was substantially tendered. This is, indeed, a change for the better; an abandonment of the policy of annexation; and a return to that of the Malcolms, the Metcalfes, and the Elphinstones. As a popular writer observes—"We have nothing to fear from the strength of the native princes of India. Let them be strong; their strength will be our strength, if we are just and generous towards them. They have been eager in their expressions of loyalty to the crown of

* See *ante*, p. 413.

† *Standard*, on Lord Canning's government, June 18th, 1862.

England; and, we believe, were never in a better frame of mind than now, to adhere faithfully to their English alliances, convinced that the best guarantee for the maintenance of their rights, is the maintenance of our superiority."

To enable the government more distinctly to reward Indian services, whether rendered by prince or subject, native or European, the Queen, in 1861, established a new order of knighthood, called the "Star of India." The members consist of the sovereign, grand master, and twenty-five knights, together with such extra and honorary knights as the sovereign may be pleased to appoint. The insignia are—the STAR, inscribed with the motto, "Heaven's Light our Guide;" the COLLAR, of gold; and the BADGE, suspended from a light-blue riband, with a narrow white stripe towards either edge.—The following native princes were amongst the first knights of this order; and they were formally installed at Calcutta, in the name of her majesty, by the governor-general. The nizam of Hyderabad; the maharajah of Gwalior; the maharajah Dhuleph Singh; the maharajah of Cashmere; the maharajah of Indore; the maharajah Khande Rao (Guicowar of Baroda); the maharajah of Putiala; the begum of Bhopal; the nawab of Rampore.—About the time this order was instituted, her majesty conferred the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath upon Jung Bahadour, greatly to the gratification of that native prince.

Lord Canning's admirable "administrative capacity" penetrated into every department of the government; and under his auspices trade and commerce greatly revived; public roads, including railways and other works, were constructed; and the revenue was rendered equal to the expenditure, partly by economy, and partly by the imposition of new taxes. Those taxes, however, as was certain to be the case, caused dissatisfaction. The income-tax, in some quarters, was very unpopular; and the merchants of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, complained of the import duties; but they were, generally, accepted as a necessity, and cheerfully paid.—A visitation of Providence, by which the north-western provinces of India were fearfully affected in the winter of 1860, and the spring and summer of 1861, called forth such a genial spirit in England, that the smothered discontent yet existing in some quarters as

the result of the mutiny, and the grumbling against the "grievance" of the new taxes, in a great degree subsided. Owing to the want of rain, a famine broke out in the provinces mentioned, which the English and Indian governments did their utmost to relieve; and upwards of £100,000 were collected in England by private subscriptions, and sent to the East. These measures had a great effect upon the sensitive natives, and caused them to look to England as a benefactor and friend, on whom they could always rely.

From Lord Canning's zeal and attention to business—his lenient and just measures—his unpopularity, which continued till after the war of the mutiny was ended, gradually wore off; and before he left Calcutta, the noble earl became one of the most highly-esteemed governor-generals that ever filled the vice-regal chair. Out of the various measures which came before, and were sanctioned by, his lordship, there were two upon which public opinion was divided, and which the secretary for India, in England, Sir Charles Wood, disallowed. These were, the steps authorised with respect to the purchase of waste lands, and the plan for the redemption of the land-tax. With respect to the first, in October, 1861, a proclamation was issued, at the suggestion, it was understood, of the Landowners' Association of Calcutta, by which the waste lands were offered for sale, in lots not exceeding 3,000 acres, and at the price of 5*s.* per acre; and that without any previous survey.—At the same time, the landowners of India were empowered to redeem the land-tax at twenty years' purchase. Both these measures—for which the noble earl was not solely responsible, as they were sanctioned by him on the recommendation of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, and other places, and by the advice of his council—were objectionable. A previous survey of the waste lands was absolutely necessary before they were sold; and it was not fair to the government to fix the same price on soils which were barren and unproductive, and on those which were capable of producing almost every variety of grain or vegetable. Sir Charles Wood, therefore, annulled the proclamation of the governor-general, and ordered that there should be a survey before sale, and that the purchase should be effected, not at a fixed price, but by public and open competition—a *minimum* price being

first fixed, according to the intrinsic value of the land, upon which the purchasers might advance. With respect to the land-tax, there was no injustice in permitting it to be redeemed, nor in the price at which the redemption might be effected; but everything respecting rent-payments was, and is, at present, uncertain; and it was considered, in England, desirable, that before the land-tax was made redeemable, it "should be everywhere equitably reviewed, and everywhere permanently established." The home government, therefore, without forbidding redemption at a future time, insists that it shall be preceded by inquiry, and a permanent and equitable settlement, as to the amount which the landowner has to pay.

Although the home government refused its sanction to these two measures of Lord Canning's administration, they were approved of in India; and, if they did not increase, they certainly did not diminish the popularity of the noble earl, the termination of whose government was greatly regretted. Lady Canning was equally respected; and universal was the grief of the English and native community, when her ladyship, after a short illness, died at Calcutta, on the 18th of November, 1861, during the absence of the earl, then on a farewell official tour in the distant provinces. His lordship left India early in 1862, and returned to England, with his health so completely shattered by the climate, and attention to his official duties, that no care or skill could restore it. He died at his metropolitan residence, in Grosvenor-square, on Tuesday, the 17th of June, 1862; and was interred in Westminster Abbey on the following Saturday, at the foot of the statue erected there in honour of his father, the Right Hon. George Canning; who, says his epitaph, "was prematurely cut off, when pursuing a wise and enlarged course of policy." Close by is the statue of Sir John Malcolm; on which is recorded the fact, that "he was not less zealous, during the whole of his arduous and eventful career, for the welfare of the natives of the East, than for service to his own country." Both passages would form no inappropriate memento upon the monument to Earl Canning; whose honours and titles, as he left no issue, are extinct.

It will not be out of place here to mention, that one, who was a most able and effective aid of Earl Canning, both in the

council and the field—as he had been of several preceding governor-generals—was, a few months after his lordship's funeral, laid in the grave near him. Sir James Outram—whose name will be long remembered in India with admiration, gratitude, and respect—returned to England in 1860, greatly shattered in health; and, on several public occasions, was received with the honour justly due to his eminent public services, and his high personal character. After struggling with disease for some time, he went to the continent, with the hope of receiving benefit from change of air; but he died at Pau, on the 11th of March, 1863. His body was brought to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey, on Wednesday, the 25th of the same month. So the great men pass away from amongst us!

Lord Elgin succeeded Earl Canning as governor-general of India, carrying with him to Calcutta, the *prestige* acquired by his administration of the government of Canada, in a difficult period; and of his successful conduct of the negotiations with China and Japan. His lordship carried out the line of policy laid down by his predecessor; and was equally active in the administrative concerns of the government, which he superintended with very great ability and success; the prevailing feeling in India now being one of loyalty to the Queen, and a cheerful submission to England's supremacy. There was, certainly, some slight drawback to the generally pleasant aspect of Indian affairs since 1859, in the discontent existing in several parts of the Rajpootana districts, said to have been excited by the emissaries of Nana Sahib, who was long supposed still to be alive in Nepaul. This caused Sir Hugh Rose, in December, 1862, to place a field force at the disposal of the political agent there; and he soon restored perfect quiet in that part of the empire, and content was re-established. In the latter months of 1862, and the commencement of 1863, a rebellion, also, on a small scale, existed in the Jynteea hills, in Eastern India. The savages in those hills are described as "being by no means despicable antagonists. Possessing but the very rudest weapons of war, they make up for this disadvantage by the strength of their stockades."* The leading chief was captured in January, 1863; tried,

* Letter from Calcutta, dated February 4th, 1863.

condemned, and hung. "During his trial several questions were put to him, as to the cause of the rising of the hill tribes? He is said to have replied, that the introduction of the income-tax in the hill districts, and a general impression, which had got abroad, that it had been determined to interfere with their religion, had led them to take up arms against a government which had hitherto been kind to them."*

But these are very slight affairs in so vast a territory; and the entire Indian empire of England may, with truth, be said to be happy, contented, and prosperous. On the 5th of February, 1863, Lord Elgin left Calcutta for a tour in the north-west provinces; and the attendance given at a drawing-room, and also at a ball held in honour of his lordship and Lady Elgin, just before his departure, proved, that loyalty to the English government, and respect for her majesty's representative, were the prevailing feelings at the capital of the Indian empire.—On Saturday, the 7th, his lordship held a durbar at Benares, at which a great many of the native rulers and landed proprietors were present; and there a similar spirit was manifested. His lordship addressed the chiefs in English, and his speech was translated by Colonel Durand, C.B. He said, it was her majesty's special wish, and his own, that when laws were made for India, the people should be consulted; and he trusted, that the consideration of what England was doing for India, would produce a kindly feeling between the two races. He advised the great landed proprietors to attend to the welfare of their tenants; and quitted the durbar amidst a general display of hearty good feeling from all who were present.

On the 10th of February, his lordship reached Cawnpore; and, soon after his arrival, he was waited upon by a deputation, with an address from the Native Association of Oude—of which very little is known in this country. It has an organ, a paper called the *Sumachar Hindoostani*, in which its proceedings are recorded. From that source we find, that the association was formed towards the close of 1861, with the full sanction and approbation of Lord Canning; that the qualification for each member is the possession of landed property in Oude, paying at least

* Letter from Calcutta, dated February 4th, 1863.

£500 per annum, as land-tax to the government; and that, at the time of Lord Elgin's visit, it contained about 250 members. Its object is, to co-operate with the supreme government in improving the condition of the people; and soon after its formation, it took measures to suppress infanticide—a crime which Lord Canning justly described as one that "often baffles detection, because it is done in the dark, in the privacy of domestic life, and not without the acquiescence and connivance of some influential classes of the community." So successful had the association been in putting down this crime, that one of the members, the maharajah Maun Singh, assured Lord Elgin, that 8,000 children had been born in Oude in the previous ten months; and that only one case of infanticide had occurred. In reply to that part of the address presented to him which related to this subject, and to the general improvement of the condition of the people, Lord Elgin said—"Unless the efforts of government to suppress crime, to promote education, to open up good roads, and to draw forth the material wealth of India, are cordially seconded by the influential landowners and the people generally, progress will be slow and unsatisfactory. I accept your address, as an assurance that government may look with confidence to the aid of your enlightened opinion and active support in the prosecution of this policy."

It is satisfactory that the example of Oude was followed in other provinces; and there can be no question as to the benefits which must result to *all* parties, if the plans of the British government to raise the Hindoos, Sikhs, and other nations of India in the scale of civilisation, continue to be cordially supported by the great landholders and influential chiefs of the country.

At Cawnpore, Lord Elgin took part in a ceremony which had a mournful bearing on the mutiny of 1857.

A handsome and appropriate monument had been erected in Cawnpore, at what had, since June, 1857, been known as "The Slaughter-house Wells"—from 120 to 130 women and children having been mercilessly murdered there. It consists of an octagonal Gothic screen, designed by Colonel Yule, when he was "Public Works Secretary" to the Indian government, and erected on a platform which encircles the

well. The well itself is vaulted over, and covered with a pedestal, on which a statue, by the Baron Marochetti, is erected. Round the rim of the well is inscribed the following words:—

“Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children, who, near this spot, were cruelly murdered by the followers of the rebel Nana Dhoondopunt, of Bithoor, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the well below, on the 15th of July, 1857.”

On the 11th of February, this memorial and two inclosures, containing the graves of soldiers who died in the same year, were consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta. The viceroy and Lady Elgin, the commander-in-chief, and all the high officials of Oude and the north-western provinces, were present, with the bishop, his chaplain, the archdeacon, the chaplain of Cawnpore, the soldiers of the garrison, and numbers of the inhabitants. All went in procession “round the grounds, chanting that service, which, always solemn, seemed clothed with a sublimity unusual, when performed amid such associations. None who took part in it will ever forget it, as the full soldiers’ voices rolled out the 90th Psalm in the metrical version. The bishop’s address befitted the occasion, and suggested many a reflection on the present prosperous state of our empire, five years after an occurrence which was intended to sweep us from Asia.”*

There is another well at Cawnpore, in which the bodies of many Englishwomen and Englishmen, victims to the events of 1857, were buried. Over this well a massive Ionic cross, on an appropriate basement, has been erected. The face of the cross bears the following inscription:—

“In a well, under this cross, were laid, by the hands of their fellows in suffering, the bodies of men, women, and children, who died hard by, during the heroic defence of Wheeler’s intrenchments, when beleagured by the rebel Nana, June 6 to 27, 1857.”

On the face of the pedestal, the following verse is inscribed:—

“Our bones are scattered at the grave’s mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth; but our eyes are unto thee, O God, the Lord.”—*Psalm cxli.*

This cross and well were consecrated, by the Bishop of Calcutta, on the 13th of February. Lord Elgin was present, with

* Letter from the correspondent of the *Times*.

the officials, &c., as before; and they all appeared to be deeply impressed with the sacred ceremonial, and with the contrast which the present state of the town and district affords to that it presented during the last seven months of 1857.

INDIA’S PROGRESS—IMPERIAL RULE IN 1863.

We have now traced the rise and progress of our Indian empire, from its origin in 1609, to its present magnificence, extending, as it does (exclusive of the dependent states), over upwards of one million square miles, on which one hundred and forty millions of human beings reside. In the narrative, we have met with many events to regret—with more, of which, as a nation, we have a right to be proud; and we see many reasons—if the Indian empire be at once a glory and a benefit to England, as we believe it is—for being grateful to the men by whom the foundations of that empire were laid; and to those under whose auspices it flourished and increased. Their government extended—reckoning from the date of the first charter to the East India Company, in 1609, to the transfer of the East India territory to the crown in 1858—over two centuries and a-half; and no commercial company ever ran through so brilliant a career.—We heartily hope that the rule of their successors will be as brilliant and as productive of benefit; and that there will be no recurrence of such scenes as those which caused so much misery in 1857—scenes which it has been painful for men, residing at a distance, to describe: what, then, must have been the feelings of those who were present—who witnessed them—and who were sharers in, and sufferers from, the terrible results!

In the introductory chapter of this volume, we have given an account of the British empire in India as it existed before the Act 21 and 22 Victoria, cap. 106, was passed. Although, by that act, the government was transferred from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the sovereign of the United Kingdom, there has been no change in the arrangements in India. The form of government there, and the relations of the English to the natives, remain the same; and the latter are still, as a mass, the firm adherents to their old customs, the submissive devotees to their old superstitions; though increased intercourse with

Europeans, and the progress of European civilisation, are not without their effect upon the inhabitants of towns. The strenuous efforts to convert the natives to Christianity are still continued with unabated ardour; and, in 1861, when a careful census was taken by Dr. Mullens, there were 418 European, and 81 native, ordained missionaries, and 1,079 catechists; 890 churches, and 118,843 native Christians, of whom 21,252 were communicants. In the schools there were 69,611 pupils, of whom 54,888 were boys, and 14,723 girls. These numbers are known to have increased since that period; but no subsequent enumeration has been made. The Christian church in India is now under four bishops—those of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Colombo. The three first have jurisdiction in the respective presidencies; the Bishop of Colombo in the island of Ceylon: the Bishop of Calcutta is metropolitan over all.—The education of youth destined for the church is admirably provided for in the Bishops' College, Calcutta; and the schools and teachers, both for Europeans and natives, are constantly increasing.

The material resources of India, under the British rule, have steadily progressed. "Between 1834 and 1849, the whole trade of British India doubled itself. It again more than doubled itself in the five years from 1850 to 1856; and the succeeding five years added thirty millions to the sum."* It has continued to increase since 1860; and soon after Lord Elgin's accession to the viceroyalty, the commercial resources of the empire were greatly augmented by the conclusion of a commercial treaty with the king of Burmah. By this treaty Burmah is thrown open to the British trader, and the duties paid on goods passing the frontiers are abolished.

The railway system† of India has, also, been further developed, by the opening, on the 22nd of December, 1862, of the railway from Calcutta to Benares, by which the journey of 540 miles, that formerly occupied upwards of three days, travelling night and day, in a carriage, at an expense of £16, can be performed in twenty-five hours, at an expense of £5 5s. 3d. for the first-class, and half that sum for the second-class carriages. The Eastern Bengal Railway, from Calcutta to Kooshteah, 100

miles, was opened about the same time. The extension of railroads was, after the breaking out of the war between the northern and southern states of America, in 1861, called for, by the increased demand of cotton from India, and the consequent necessity of effecting a rapid communication between the cotton districts and the coast. The cultivation of cotton has, since the above date, extended, and is extending; and its manufacture in India, as well as its export to England, has increased.

Besides the Calcutta and Benares, and the Eastern Bengal railways, the following lines are now open, all being respectively part of the great trunk lines previously mentioned.—1. From Allahabad to Agra, a line which, with that from Calcutta to Benares, forms the "East Indian Railway."—2. The Madras Railway, from Madras to Beypoor, crossing the peninsula.—3. The Great India Peninsular Railway, from Bombay to Bhosal, and from Bombay to Sholapore.—4. The Great Southern of India Railway, from Negapatam to Trichinopoly.—5. The Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway, from Balsa to Ahmedabad.—6. The South-Eastern Railway, from Calcutta to a new port formed on the Mutlah river, from which great things are expected in increasing the trade of that city and the surrounding district.—7. The Scinde Railway, from Kurrachee to Kotree.—8. The Punjab Railway, from Lahore to Umritsur. On these lines 2,400 miles are now open for traffic; and about 2,000 miles additional are in progress. One of the lines forming connects Allahabad with Bombay, *via* Jubbulpore; another is the Bellary, or North-West line, from Madras; ‡ a third and fourth are a line from Bombay to Nagpore, and the Bhoore Ghaut extension, both parts of the Great India Peninsular Railway; the latter of peculiar utility, as it carries the line, by tunnels and viaducts, through a district which, from the interruptions of hills, ravines, and torrents, prevented intercourse between numerous and improving communities, except by an immense loss of time and expense. When the lines in progress are completed; when the numerous tramroads in contemplation (and some of which are begun) are in operation; and when the canal communication is rendered more perfect (works for that purpose being also now in progress)—we may expect to see the wealth of India considerably augmented; and, as her tea and

* *Quarterly Review*, April, 1863; article on "British India."

† See *ante*, p. 15.

‡ *Quarterly Review*.

her coffee, her silk and her cotton, her spices and her fruit, her metals and her minerals, will then be transmitted much quicker, and at a greatly reduced rate, from the places where they are produced, to the coast, there can be no doubt but that her foreign commerce will also be most materially increased.

With railways, the electric telegraph has also been introduced. "Its mysterious, yet simple wires—carried from post to post, over hill and valley, across river or mountain-torrent—connect Calcutta with the north-western provinces, and the farthest limits of the Punjaub, in one direction; while they extend between Agra and Bombay, and from the latter city to Madras, in another."* This rapid means of communication has been found of the greatest public use, whilst it materially serves private interests; and the system will, ere long, be still further extended and developed, by the operations of the Submarine Telegraph Company.

This progress is not without its effect on the native society; and we are told, in a native paper, published in Marathi, that the Hindoos have greatly improved, politically, under English rule. We trust they will improve, also, religiously and morally; and that as "the sway of prejudice daily becomes more and more slighted," the truths of the Gospel may obtain a further hold on the hearts and understandings of the people.

Such was the condition of India in 1863, when the viceroyship of Lord Elgin terminated, most unfortunately for the country whose destinies he guided, by his death. We shall have, further on, to give a summary of the progress of India, and of the warlike operations in which our gallant troops have been since engaged, in Bhootan and elsewhere, by which an estimate may be formed of the position we now occupy in India, and of the probable future of that vast country. In closing this chapter, we have to say a few words concerning the distinguished men who have filled the post of viceroy during the last quarter of a century, and the work they have done.

* Hughes.

The death of Lord Elgin, in November, 1863, was a great calamity for India; as, judging by what he had done elsewhere, that nobleman's rule could not have failed to bring great and important benefits to the country. The choice of his successor was influenced, in a great measure, by military considerations. There was considerable reason for apprehending a rising among the Mahommetans in the north-west provinces, and it was accordingly a wise choice that fixed upon the survivor of the heroic Lawrence brothers, Sir John, afterwards Lord Lawrence, as viceroy of India. He had had full experience, during the dark days of the mutiny, of the dangers to be encountered from disaffection, and of the way of combating them. During his viceroyalty, which extended from 1863 to 1869, a war occurred in Bhootan, not altogether a prosperous one for England, and a calamitous famine in Orissa, which would have been even more fatal, but for the zealous action of the government. Sir John Lawrence was succeeded by Lord Mayo, whose career was cut short by the hand of an assassin. He was killed by a fanatical prisoner while paying an official visit to the convict settlement on the Andaman Isles, 1st February, 1872. Lord Northbrook then became viceroy and signalised his rule by the wise precautionary measures taken on the occasion of a famine in Bengal, which, but for the action of the government, would have been even more fatal than that in Orissa. During his viceroyalty, the Prince of Wales, in 1875, made a visit to India. During Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, from 1876 to 1880, the second Affghan war occurred, and also a terrible famine in Southern India. The rule of his successor, the Marquis of Ripon, from 1880 to 1884, was an era of increased progress, education, and self-government. The Earl, afterwards Marquis of Dufferin, one of the most able and popular of the statesmen of the present century, ruled in India from 1884 to 1889, which was signalised by the third Burmese war, and by most important and salutary reforms.

THE BATTLES OF THE ENGLISH ARMY AND NAVY,
IN ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE, TURKEY AND SARDINIA,
IN THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA IN 1854-1856,
COMMONLY KNOWN AS
THE WAR IN THE CRIMEA:

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR WITH RUSSIA, IN 1854-'56 ; ITS ORIGIN IN THE " EASTERN QUESTION ;" DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS, WITH RESPECT TO THE HOLY PLACES ; RUSSIAN MEMORANDUM UPON THE AFFAIRS OF TURKEY ; TURKEY AND MONTENEGRO ; LORD JOHN RUSSELL ON THE POSITION ; CONVERSATION OF THE CZAR WITH SIR GEORGE H. SEYMOUR ; MISSION OF PRINCE MENTSCHIKOFF ; THE " VIENNA NOTE ;" WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

OF the various struggles in which the military and naval forces of England have been engaged at various periods of her history, none has been more arduous and eventful, or more deserving of careful and thoughtful study, than the Crimean war of 1854 to 1856. It occurred at a time when, so far as Europe was concerned, England had been at peace for almost forty years. It was fraught with difficulties and dangers which might have appalled the stoutest hearts, and with calamities that seemed to illustrate the very perversity of fate, and the futility of human foresight and calculation. It effected a complete revolution in the military system of England, and a great sweeping away of antique methods, traditions, and prejudices ; and, above all, it illustrated, in the most striking fashion, the aptitude of the British people—soldiers and civilians alike—to profit by the hard teachings of misfortune and failure, and by dint of sheer pertinacity and resolution to turn adversity into advantage, and convert defeat into victory.

The Russian war, like several other disputes in which the European powers were engaged subsequent to the peace of 1815, arose out of the " Eastern Question ;" and that question, most undoubtedly, attained all its magnitude and importance from the peculiar policy of Russia, of which Czar Peter the Great was the founder ; which Catherine II. zealously adopted ; and which alike influenced the conduct, and directed the acts, of Alexander I. and his successor Nicholas. That policy was, to extend the empire of Russia to the East, till Turkey and India fell beneath her sceptre. " It is expedient to draw as near as possible to Constantinople and the Indies," wrote Peter I., in the document found in the archives of Russia more than a century ago, and described as his will. Its authenticity is disputed ; but the court of St. Petersburg has acted upon it as if it were genuine ; for its policy has been invariably guided by the directions there given, till the accession of Alexander II., who for some time abandoned the design of extending his empire in the East. " Whoever rules in these two countries," continues the writer, whoever he was, " is the true sovereign of the world. Wars are, in consequence, constantly to be waged, or caused to be waged, against Turkey and Persia ; and great colonies are to be established along the Euxine, in order to get, in time, the whole Black Sea into Russian power. The same policy is to be followed with respect to the shores of the Baltic—two objects essential to the success of the above project. The Greeks, united and schismatical, who are spread over Hungary, Turkey, and Southern Poland, must be gained by favours to be bestowed on them ; for it is expedient to win their sympathies to Russia. They must look up to us as their central point, and their chief support. A generally preponderating influence is to be created by joining the principle of autocracy to a sort

of spiritual supremacy, combined and united in the person of the czar. The Greeks, then, will be the friends of Russia, and our enemies will be theirs."

If our limits would allow us to trace the history of Russia from the early part of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th, it would be seen how faithfully these instructions have been adhered to. But we must confine ourselves to the occurrences of the two or three years immediately preceding the breaking out of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, in 1853. The dispute respecting the "Holy Places," was the *immediate* cause of that war. That title is applied to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and to the Grand Church at Bethlehem; the former being supposed to cover the spot where our Saviour was buried; the latter the place of his birth. To these "Holy Places" the members of the Latin and Greek churches have made yearly pilgrimages, from the earliest periods; and for many years after the Mohammedans had conquered the Holy Land, the latter were alone recognised as having any "rights" in the two sacred edifices. In 1534, Francis I., of France, by an alliance concluded with "Solyman, the Magnificent," of Turkey, obtained a recognition of the right of the "Latins," or Roman Catholics, to certain parts of the churches, which were not particularly specified; and in 1740, another treaty was concluded between Louis XV. and Mohammed V., in which the concessions of 1534 were renewed and confirmed; but again in general, not specific, terms.

France asserted the right to protect the Roman Catholics; and the sovereigns of Russia have claimed the protectorate of the Greek Christians, not only at Jerusalem, but throughout Turkey, from the time of Peter I.; a protectorate, which they affirmed to have been formally recognised by the treaty of Kainardji, concluded between the czarina Catherine II., and the sultan Abdul Ahmed, in 1774. The Armenians and other Christians demanded similar rights and privileges at Jerusalem to those said to be the peculiar privileges of the two principal churches; but having no protectors, their claims were disregarded; whilst the disputes between the Greeks and the Latins rose to a great height, and frequently occasioned scenes which could have no other effect than that of eminently

disgracing Christianity itself in the eyes of the infidels. In 1808, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was partly destroyed by fire; the Greeks rebuilt it, under a firman from Mohammed VI., which led to their claiming additional rights: that claim was the cause of more serious quarrels; and the fighting and tumults at the Sepulchre, in the "holy week," frequently required the interference of Mohammedan authorities to suppress. With a view to put an end to these disgraceful excesses, Mohammed issued a firman, declaring, "that, in future, all Christian professions should enjoy the same privileges in respect of the 'Holy Places.'" Alexander I., of Russia, and Louis XVIII., of France, also entered into negotiations, with a view to effect an accommodation, and put an end to the scandalous excesses which yearly took place. The Greek revolution, however, engrossed the attention of all the powers just at this time; and though the French envoy, M. Marcellus, made a report on the subject, the question rested till the Prince de Joinville visited the Holy Land, in 1836; when the Roman Catholic monks laid their "grievances" before him, and prayed his royal highness to induce his father, Louis Philippe, to exert his influence at Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining redress.

The principal demands made by the Roman Catholics were, that they should have a key of the great door of the Church of the Nativity; the right of worshipping at the shrine of the Virgin, in the church at Gethsemane; and liberty to replace a silver star, bearing the arms of France, in the sanctuary of the Nativity, that which had been fixed there having been carried away—"abstracted," as was said, by the Greeks.—In 1847, the ambassador of Louis Philippe urged these claims at Constantinople; but the revolution of 1848 put the question in abeyance, till some time after the election of Louis Napoleon as president of the French republic. General Aupick was then the ambassador from Paris to the Porte; and, in 1850, the president instructed him to renew the demands made in 1847; and the ambassadors of Austria, Belgium, Naples, Portugal, Sardinia, and Spain, were directed, by their respective governments, to give their support to the French minister. So simple were the demands—the possession of a key, and the right to put up a symbol

—that those powers professed, and no doubt believed, that the step which was taken did not, in the least, imperil the peace of Europe. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the English ambassador, was of a different opinion. "General Aupick," he wrote, "has assured me, that the matter in dispute is a mere question of property, and of express treaty stipulation. But it is difficult to separate such questions from political considerations; and a struggle of general influence (especially if Russia, as may be expected, should interfere on behalf of the Greek church) will probably grow out of the impending discussion."*

Russia did interfere. Her ambassador, M. Titoff, was instructed to resist the demands made by France on behalf of the Latins, and to support the pretensions of the Greeks to the exclusive possession of the keys of the churches. Nicholas, himself, also wrote to the sultan Abdul-Medjid, "insisting upon the preservation to the Greeks, in all their integrity, of the privileges they had so long enjoyed." In the course of the negotiation, M. Titoff, having put in a formal protest against all the French claims, wrote to the grand vizier, and informed him, that "he and his legation would immediately quit Constantinople, if the *status quo* of the sanctuaries was, in any respect, unsettled."—M. de Lavalette (who, in May, 1851, had replaced General Aupick), when the threat of M. Titoff was communicated to him, retorted, that the French fleet, which was then in the Mediterranean, would enter the Dardanelles if *his* demands were not complied with; adding, that, "if the moderation of his government in seeking only a joint participation of the Holy Places was not appreciated, the claim of undivided possession by the Latins would be urged, with all the weight of a demand authorised by treaty."

Alarmed at these threats, the sultan, in July, 1851, appointed a commission to examine all the treaties and documents on the subject; whose report, made in February, 1852, was favourable to the demands of the Roman Catholics. Before it appeared, both Russia and France, thinking their ambassadors had been too violent, had replaced M. de Lavalette by M. de la Cour, and M. Titoff by M. d'Ouzeroff. The latter continued to support the Greek claims; and, for the first time, brought

forward a firman issued by the Caliph Omar, on the conquest of Jerusalem, A.D. 637, by which, it is contended, the Holy Sepulchre and its dependencies were placed under the control of the Greek patriarch; and the other religious bodies were, as far as regarded their access to those places, made subject to his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, a firman was issued, conceding nearly all the French ambassador had demanded; which was sent to Jerusalem, and acted upon to a certain extent. When this document appeared at Constantinople, M. Drouyn de l'Huys—who, early in 1852, had succeeded M. Turgot as the French minister of foreign affairs—wrote to the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, General Castelbajac, directing him to assure the Russian authorities, that the government of France was "anxious not to offend the personal sentiment of his majesty the Emperor Nicholas, chief, in his own country, of a religion identically the same with that which the greatest number of Christians in the East professed;" that there was no thought of withdrawing "from the Christians of the Greek church, the right of enjoying advantages which time had consecrated in their hands;" the only aim of France being, "to raise the catholic religion from a state of inferiority, as unworthy of that religion as it was of France."

As Russia stood alone—as the other powers, though they had latterly made no active demonstrations, tacitly supported the demands of France—it is not improbable but that the czar would have succumbed, but for the change of ministry which took place in England at the close of 1852, when the late Earl of Aberdeen and the coalition cabinet succeeded Earl Derby and the conservatives. The Earl of Aberdeen was known to be a most ardent advocate of peace. He was, also, a personal friend of the Emperor Nicholas; and the latter supposed him to be favourable to views which, when on a visit to England in 1844, the noble earl being then foreign secretary, his imperial majesty had disclosed, in conversations with him, Sir Robert Peel, the then premier, and the great Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the forces. There is reason to believe that the division of Turkey was then a subject introduced by the emperor, to which the British premier and the Duke of Wellington were decidedly

* Despatch of May 20th, 1850.

opposed. Whether this peculiar topic was introduced or not, the general condition of Turkey was discussed; and produced a "Memorandum," which was drawn up by Count Nesselrode on his return to St. Petersburg, and transmitted to London. This memorandum remained unknown and unnoticed in the recesses of the foreign-office, till the publication of a correspondence between Sir George Hamilton Seymour and Lord John Russell, then the foreign secretary, early in 1853, caused it also to be produced. It set out with the declaration, that—

"Russia and England are mutually penetrated with the conviction, that it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and territorial possession which at present constitutes that empire, as that political combination is the one which is most compatible with the general interest and the maintenance of peace. Being agreed on this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts, in order to keep up the existence of the Ottoman empire, and to avert all the dangers which can place in jeopardy its safety. With this object, the essential point is, to suffer the Porte to live in repose, without needlessly disturbing it by diplomatic bickerings, and without interfering, unless absolute necessity demands, in its internal affairs."

So far no one would object to the principle laid down; and the document then proceeded to insist upon the necessity of all the powers uniting, should the Porte wish to break its engagements with any one of them; and that the Ottoman ministers should be made sensible, that they could "only reckon on the friendship and on the support of the great powers, on the condition that they treat the Christian subjects of the Porte with toleration and mildness:" another axiom from which it is impossible to dissent. But it was then observed, the empire "contained many elements of dissolution;" that "many circumstances might hasten its fall;" and "that the danger which might result from a catastrophe in Turkey, would be much diminished, if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England had come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common." Such an understanding, it was stated, "would have the full assent of Austria," as "between her and Russia, there existed, already, an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey;" and, "if England, as the principal maritime power, acted in concert with them," France, it was sup-

posed, "would find herself obliged" to conform to the decision those three states came to. It was, therefore, agreed in London, according to this memorandum, "that, if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should concert together as to the course they should pursue in common"—

"1st. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible.—2ndly. If it is foreseen that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of the new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists; and, in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire, shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own states, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe."

It has been contended, with respect to this memorandum, that "there is *moral evidence*" to prove, that the agreement, if any unforeseen event occurred in Turkey, the two powers should interfere, "was assented to, on one side at least, with the full determination of so directing events, that something should occur to warrant interference." Certainly, some time after this memorandum was drawn up, but before the culmination of the question of the "Holy Places," Prince Lieven, writing to Count Nesselrode, said—

"Our policy must be to maintain a reserved and prudent attitude, until the moment arrives for Russia to vindicate her rights, and for the rapid action which she will be obliged to adopt. The war ought to take Europe by surprise. Our movements must be prompt, so that the other powers should find it impossible to be prepared for the blow that we are about to strike."

At the close of 1852, when "the Porte was called upon to decide a quarrel which involved, ostensibly, sectarian Christian religious feelings, but which, in reality, was a vital struggle between France and Russia for political influence, at the Porte's cost, in her dominions,"* and when France was unsettled, and her people disunited, in consequence of the recent revolution and *coup-d'état*, Nicholas appears to have thought that he might strike the blow. Accordingly, we find him, in November, sending two corps, comprising 144,000 men—one to the frontier of the Danubian

* Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Earl Malmesbury; *Parliamentary Papers, on Eastern Affairs*, Part I., p. 46.

provinces, the other to Volhynia, to hold itself in readiness to support the first, if necessary. To the British ambassador, who expressed fears of the consequences which might result from the movements of such large bodies of men, Count Nesselrode declared, that "the disposition of the czar was eminently pacific;" but M. d'Ouzeroff stated to M. de la Cour, at Constantinople, "that Russia, by virtue of the treaty of Kainardji, would protect the orthodox, that is, the Greek, religion in Turkey:"* and, in a despatch to the diplomatic agents, Count Nesselrode said, that Russia was justified in sending troops to the Danube, by the conduct of France. "The match is too unequal," he observed, "between us and the French government, if, while the latter moves its squadrons about in all parts of the Mediterranean, and presents its least demand at the cannon's mouth, we allow the notion of our inability to defend them [the Greek Christians], and likewise to protect our own interests, to take root in the minds of the Turks." The French government, however, up to that time, had done nothing to excite the alarm of Russia, or to denote hostility either to the czar or the sultan. M. de Lavalette had been recalled from Constantinople for using intemperate language; M. de la Cour had been remarkably cautious with respect to what he said in his intercourse either with the ministers of the Porte or the foreign ambassadors; and the foreign minister of France, though repeatedly urged to support his demands with respect to the Holy Places, by sending a fleet to the Dardanelles, had steadily "resisted having recourse to anything like a threat, because he felt the peril of provoking a collision in that part of the world."†

The Turkish government was now opposed in another quarter, from which it had hitherto received support. One of its dependencies is the little rugged country of Montenegro, situated between the Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Albania; inhabited by a brave but savage people, and governed by a ruler called a vladika, who, nominally acknowledging the sultan as his suzerain, is really independent, and, in quarrels with his supreme lord, usually looks to Russia for support. Towards the close of 1852,

the Montenegrins crossed the frontier, and committed serious outrages in the Herzegovina, plundering and murdering the Turkish inhabitants without mercy. The ministers of the Porte resolved to avenge the injured, and punish the lawless depredators; and, for that purpose, sent a large force to the spot, commanded by Omar Pasha; while the Turkish fleet blockaded the Albanian coast. The troops and fleet appeared in their positions early in January, 1853; and, no doubt, the Montenegrins would soon have been severely punished, when Austria stepped in, and sent Count Leiningen on a special embassy to Constantinople, to demand that the armaments should be withdrawn—offering, as an alternative, a declaration of war. The Russian ambassador supported the demand made by Count Leiningen; and the sultan was obliged to yield, and withdraw his army and fleet. What might have been expected as the natural result, did not take place; the mountaineers remained quiet; nor did they, at a subsequent period, join in the attack on Turkey when she had the Russian armies to contend with.

The change of ministry in England, when the Earl of Aberdeen succeeded the Earl of Derby as first lord of the treasury, appears to have led the czar to think that he might take more decisive steps. On the 9th of January, 1853, he opened a series of conversations with Sir George Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador; the aim of which was, to get England to embrace his opinion that the Turkish empire was in the condition of "a sick man," whose days were numbered; that it would be a great misfortune if this "*homme malade*" were to expire before "the necessary dispositions were made;" and to suggest a division of the Turkish empire, in which he would not allow England to occupy Constantinople; and "was equally disposed to take an engagement not to establish himself there as proprietor, but only as occupier;" whilst if England were inclined to take Egypt, and even Candia, he would not object. Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and Bulgaria, might form independent states, under his protection. "We must," said his imperial majesty, "come to some understanding; and this we should do, I am convinced, if I could hold but ten minutes' conversation with your ministers—with Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who knows me so well; who has full confidence

* Despatch from Colonel Rose, dated December 5th, 1853.

† Despatch of Earl Cowley.

in me, as I have in him." Sir George Seymour described his majesty's object, in these conversations, to be, in *his* opinion, "to engage her majesty's government, in conjunction with his own cabinet, and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement."—Of course the British government refused to join in any such measure. Lord John Russell, in reply to Sir G. H. Seymour, gave his reasons for thinking, that "there was no sufficient cause for intimating to the sultan that he could not keep peace at home, or preserve friendly relations with his neighbours;" observed, that "neither England nor France, nor probably Austria, would be content to see Constantinople permanently in the hands of Russia;" and declared, "on the part of Great Britain, that her majesty's government renounced all intention or wish to hold that city:" they "were likewise ready to give an assurance, that they would enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey, without previous communication with the emperor of Russia;" being "persuaded that no course of policy could be adopted, more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which his imperial majesty had so long followed:" a policy "which would render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns, who had sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory."—The last phrases are proofs either of ignorance on the part of our foreign secretary, of the events which had occurred during the reign of Nicholas, or of the license which diplomatists gave themselves to say the thing which is not.

Up to this period, the course pursued by the English ministers in the disputes between France, Russia, and Turkey, on the Holy Places, had been one of neutrality; and they appear to have entertained no apprehension of war. At a cabinet council, held on the 28th of January, the state of affairs was discussed; and Lord John Russell wrote a long despatch the same day to Earl Cowley, detailing the views of himself and colleagues; which were thus summed up:—

"Your excellency will understand, therefore, first, that, into the merits of this dispute her majesty's government will not enter; secondly, that her majesty's government disapprove of every threat, and still more of the actual employment of force; thirdly, that both parties should be told, that, if they are sincere in their desire to maintain the indepen-

dence of the Porte, they ought to abstain from the employment of any means calculated to display the weakness of the Ottoman empire. Above all, they ought to refrain from putting armies and fleets in motion, for the purpose of making the tomb of Christ a cause of quarrel amongst Christians."

But the czar, deaf to all warning, resolved to enforce his demands on the Sublime Porte with respect to the Holy Places, and the protectorate. On the 8th of February, Count Nesselrode wrote to Baron Brunow, the ambassador from the court of St. Petersburg to that of London, to announce, that Russia was "about to take, at Constantinople, further and more energetic steps." A few days after, Prince Mentschikoff left St. Petersburg; and on the 28th he arrived at the Turkish capital. When M. Drouyn de l'Huys heard of this mission, he wrote to Count Walewski, then the French ambassador at the British court, informing him, that the emperor "considered it of extreme importance, that the cabinet of London should not further mistake the character and object of the negotiations in which the French government was engaged at Constantinople." France, he said, "never pretended to demand, for the Latin fathers of the Holy Land, advantages at which Russia could be seriously alarmed;" and he expressed his hope, that "the new principal secretary of state of her Britannic majesty, would appreciate the conciliatory nature of the proceeding which the [French] minister at St. Petersburg was ordered to adopt; and which must convince him that the government of the emperor had honestly endeavoured to adjust the dispute." The "proceeding" alluded to in the despatch of the French minister, was an offer to withdraw the obnoxious claims of the Latin priests, if the czar would desist from his pressure upon the Porte; and Lord John Russell, in alluding to it, in a despatch to Colonel Rose—who was acting as *locum tenens* for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, during the latter's absence from the Turkish capital—expressed his approbation of "the open and conciliatory language" used on the occasion.*

The Emperor Nicholas was not to be thus diverted from his purpose. Prince Mentschikoff—who was received, on landing at the Turkish capital, by a vast crowd of Greeks, in their holiday dresses, who escorted him, with a grand imposing pro-

* *Papers on the Eastern Question.*

cession, to the Russian embassy at Pera—proceeded with the objects of his mission; and before he commenced negotiations, he offered a gross insult to Fuad Effendi, the foreign minister. His excellency remained at his hotel on the 1st of March; but, on the 2nd, he paid a formal visit to the grand vizier, attended by all the members of the embassy. According to an invariable rule observed at the Porte, his second visit of ceremony should have been to the minister for foreign affairs. The prince, however, though invited by Kiamil Bey, the *introduc-tur des ambassadeurs*, to do so, refused to pay this visit. Fuad Effendi, described as “one of the most able and honest men in Turkey,” had given offence by refusing to yield to Russian influence: he could neither be persuaded nor corrupted; and although he had made great preparations to receive the prince with marked honours, the latter passed by his apartments, and proceeded to his own hotel. M. Benedetti, French *chargé d'affaires*, and Colonel Rose, “at once saw all the bearing and intention of the affront. Prince Mentschikoff wished, at his first start, to create an intimidating and commanding influence; to show that any man, even a cabinet minister, who had offended Russia, would be humiliated and punished, even in the midst of the sultan’s court, and without previous communication to his majesty.*” Fuad Effendi immediately resigned, and was succeeded by Rifaat Pasha, to whom, on the 8th of March, Prince Mentschikoff disclosed the objects of his mission.

They were twofold; the first connected with the Holy Places. With respect to these, the ambassador demanded—

“1st. A definite firman, securing to the Greek church the custody of the key of the church at Bethlehem; of the silver star pertaining to the grotto of the Nativity; of the grotto of Gethsemane (with the admission of the Latin priests thereto, for the celebration of their rites); the joint possession, by the Greeks and Latins, of the garden of Bethlehem.—2. An immediate order for the repair of the cupola of the temple of the Holy Sepulchre, to the satisfaction of the Greek patriarch.†—3. A guarantee for the maintenance of the privileges of the Greek church in the East, and of those sanctuaries already in the exclusive possession of that church, or shared with it by others.”

The negotiation on these claims was neither very long nor very difficult—thanks

* Despatch from Colonel Rose, dated March 7th, 1853.

† This cupola had become greatly decayed; the Greeks and Latins quarrelled about the repairs;

to the influence which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (who returned to Constantinople on the 5th of April) exerted on the councils of the Porte, and to the conciliatory spirit evinced by M. de la Cour, who had also returned to the Turkish capital, soon after the arrival of Prince Mentschikoff. It was announced, on the 25th of April, that the question of the Holy Places was settled. On the 5th of May a firman was published, setting forth the terms, which were nearly identical with the demands of the prince; and, a day or two after, his excellency gave his “express thanks” to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, for the trouble he had taken, and the able assistance he had rendered, in bringing the negotiation to such a satisfactory conclusion.

But more serious demands had been made on the Porte; and a past defeat of Russia and Austria, in their diplomacy with Turkey, had, according to the *Times*’ correspondent at Constantinople, much to do in causing the czar to give Prince Mentschikoff instructions at once so encroaching and so peremptory. After the suppression of the insurrection in Hungary, in 1849, a body of Hungarians took refuge in the Ottoman dominions, where they received both protection and hospitality. “Russia and Austria—flushed with victory, and eager for vengeance—formally demanded their extradition, under penalty of declaring war against the Porte. The ministers of the sultan, from the first, resisted these demands;” and, on their applying to England, Lord Palmerston (then secretary of state for foreign affairs) promised them both “moral and material support,”‡ should the two powers resort to hostilities to obtain the surrender of the refugees. This obliged Russia and Austria to give way; but “the anger raised by that defeat and humiliation, although suppressed for a time, was kept smouldering, until a fit moment should arrive to give it vent.” It was in revenge for this protection of the refugees, that Austria sent Count Leiningen to Constantinople, to demand the cessation of hostilities against Montenegro; whilst the Russians expected, by the mission of Prince Mentschikoff, to obtain a great diplomatic triumph, and recover their former *prestige*—thus making up for the galling defeat which

the sultan offered to have them made at his own expense; but to this neither church would consent.

‡ Despatch, October 6th, 1849.

they had previously sustained.* With Lord Aberdeen at the head of affairs, the czar felt no apprehension of the "moral and material support of England" being then given to his opponents.

Soon after his first interview with Rifaat Pasha, the prince sought another, and a secret one. This took place on the 17th of March. He had a third on the 22nd, and a fourth on the 1st of April. At these interviews the prince stated the additional demands of Russia; which comprised, the uncontrolled "protectorate" of the czar over the Greek and Armenian Christians in the sultan's dominions; an extension to the Greek church of all rights and advantages, whether civil or religious, which might, at any time, be ceded to other Christians; the irremovability of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and of all provincial bishops; and the submission of all complaints against them to the Russian emperor, for his adjudication. As an inducement to the Porte to make these concessions—which would have caused the complete establishment of another sovereignty in the Ottoman empire—Rifaat Pasha was assured, that the czar would, "in return, put a fleet and 400,000 men at the service of the sultan, if Turkey should ever need aid against any western power whatever." The Turkish minister was enjoined to keep these proposals a secret from the ambassadors of England and France. Rifaat Pasha refused to comply with the injunction; and the communication which he made to Colonel Rose and M. Benedetti, after his interview with Prince Mentschikoff on the 22nd of March, led to the colonel's writing to Sir James Dundas, then commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean, on the 23rd, requesting him to send a squadron to the Dardanelles; and M. Benedetti also applied to the French government to dispatch a squadron, which was then at Toulon, fit for sea, to Constantinople. Admiral Dundas refused to comply with Colonel Rose's request till he heard from England; and the government, approving of his conduct, declined, at that time, ordering any vessels to the Bosphorus. The French government, however, sent the Toulon squadron to that destination.†

When Lord Stratford de Redcliffe returned to Constantinople, Rifaat Pasha

immediately apprised him of the demands made by Prince Mentschikoff. His lordship advised him to keep the question of the Holy Places separate from all others, and to dispose of that first. This was settled, as already stated; and then the Russian ambassador renewed his former demands, sending them in as an *ultimatum*, and allowing six days for their consideration. They were submitted, by the foreign minister of the Porte, to the ambassadors of England, France, Austria, and Prussia; who, whilst they disapproved of the pretensions put forth by Russia, declined to advise the sultan what course to pursue, "as it was a matter solely regarding the independence of the Porte." Abdul-Medjid, by the advice of his own ministers, refused to comply with the terms proposed by Russia. They were re-proposed in a somewhat modified form, as an *ultimatissimum*, eight days being allowed for their consideration. The sultan refused them immediately; and, on the 21st of May, Prince Mentschikoff, and all the members of the embassy, left Constantinople. Messengers were dispatched to St. Petersburg to apprise the czar of the result; and, on the 31st of May, Count Nesselrode addressed a "final *ultimatum*" to the Porte. The refusal to comply with the demands of his ambassador, was construed as "an affront to the person" of the czar. The Porte was called upon "to reflect upon the disastrous consequences of this refusal;" and eight days were allowed to afford an opportunity of its being recalled. After that period, if the Ottoman government was still obstinate, the Russian troops, it was announced, would "cross the frontiers, not to wage war upon the sultan—a war which it was repugnant to his majesty to undertake against a sovereign whom he had always had pleasure in looking upon as a sincere ally and well-disposed neighbour—but in order that he might possess material guarantees, until such time as the Ottoman government, returning to more just sentiments, should give to Russia the moral securities which she had in vain demanded by her representatives at Constantinople, and recently by her ambassador."—The sultan remained firm. On the 16th of June he finally rejected the Russian proposals; and, on the 25th, the emperor issued orders to the army (which had been collected in Bessarabia, under Prince Michaeli Dmitrievitch Gortschakoff, while

* Letter from Constantinople, April 23rd, 1863.

† *Papers on Eastern Affairs.*

the negotiations were in progress), to cross the river Pruth, that divides the Russian territory from the Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. This act, which was a direct *casus belli*, the czar justified in a manifesto to his people, dated the 29th of June; in which he declared that he was only discharging the duties imposed upon him by the "glorious treaty of Kainardji," and defending the rights and privileges of the orthodox church, attacked by numerous arbitrary acts of the Ottoman government. He occupied the principalities, he said, as a guarantee for the re-establishment of the rights thus violated; and would recall his troops when the Porte retraced her steps.

The English and French ambassadors at Constantinople cordially approved of the conduct of the Porte, in refusing to accede to the demands of Russia; and the ambassadors of Austria and Prussia also expressed their disapproval of those demands, and said they thought that the Porte had done right in rejecting them. The English and French governments were quite in accord with their ambassadors; the Earl of Clarendon (who had succeeded Lord John Russell as foreign secretary) declaring, that "no sovereign, having a proper regard for his dignity and independence, could admit proposals so undefined as those of Prince Mentschikoff, and, by treaty, confer upon another and more powerful sovereign, a right of protection over a large portion of his own subjects."—Austria and Prussia would rather have made common cause with Russia than the Porte; but the demands of the former were too palpable invasions of the rights of sovereignty, to be sanctioned by reigning monarchs; and the union of England and France, in support of the sultan, had considerable influence on the courts of Vienna and Berlin. The former, also, regarded, with no favourable eye, the advance of a Russian army, of upwards of 140,000 men, towards its frontiers. As soon, therefore, as it was known that the order was issued for that army to cross the Pruth, the Austrian government proposed that a conference of the western powers should be held at Vienna, to consider "what effect that operation would have upon the general state of Europe; and also to endeavour to bring the two powers to an amicable agreement." England and France assented to the proposal; and the ambassadors of those powers, and of Prussia, met Count Buol, the Austrian

minister, at Vienna, where what is known as "the Vienna Note," drawn up by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, was, on the 24th of July, adopted by the conference, and, when submitted to the emperor of Russia, was accepted by him. But, singular to say, when this note came to be critically examined, it was found to be as vague and inexplicit, in some passages, as the treaty of Kainardji; and, like that document, to be capable of being construed into a recognition of the Russian protectorate. This grave fault was detected by the Turkish ministers; and the sultan refused to sign the note, unless plain and explicit passages were substituted for the original ones. When the alterations were submitted to the conference, the members at first did not see the force of the sultan's objections, which the czar refused to recognise. As neither party would recede from the position taken, the well-meant, but ill-conducted, efforts of the conference failed; and the attempt at accommodation was terminated by a manifesto from the Porte, which appeared on the 6th of September, refusing to accept the note *pure et simple*, as the members of the conference, and the ambassadors of the four powers at Constantinople, earnestly advised the sultan to do. The manifesto was followed, on the 4th of October, by a declaration of war, on the part of Turkey, against Russia; which step was justified by a long and forcible enumeration of the encroachments and unjust demands of the latter power. The czar replied in a manifesto, published on the 20th of October; in which the declaration of the Ottoman government was said to be "filled with lying accusations against Russia." And, said the czar, "As Russia is challenged to the combat, she has no other course left her, than, putting her trust in God, to have recourse to force of arms, and so compel the Ottoman government to respect treaties, and to obtain reparation for the insults with which it had responded to the most moderate demands."

At first the Turkish government was blamed for this result, as the opinion was general that the sultan might have accepted the "Vienna Note." The czar, on the contrary, in refusing to accept the modifications of that document, was thought to have justice on his side; and the public generally agreed with Count Nesselrode, when he asked, "whether the emperor, after having renounced for himself the

power to change even a word in the draft of that note, which was drawn up without his participation, could allow to the Ottoman Porte alone to reserve to itself that power; and whether he could suffer Russia to be thus placed in an inferior position, *vis-à-vis* Turkey?" But the count also published another note, with a view of still further justifying Russia to the world; and, in that note, he showed in order to defend the propriety and equity of Prince Mentschikoff's demands, that those demands were really and essentially embodied in the "Vienna Note!" The public, then, no

longer blamed the sultan; but admitted, with the *Times*, that "there had been a singular amount of diplomatic 'blundering.' *A priori*," remarked the editor of that journal, "it would have been deemed incredible, that four trained diplomatists had drawn up a document to secure a certain object, which object such document left substantially unsecured. And, what is more, that the oversight remained undetected by their respective governments, and even unappreciated after its detection by Turkey, until Russia herself came forward with a demonstration of the fact."

CHAPTER II.

WHO CAUSED THE WAR? FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS; CESSATION OF DIPLOMATIC INTERCOURSE; LETTER OF THE FRENCH EMPEROR TO THE CZAR; MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS; CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD'S MISSION; THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE; TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND TURKEY; DECLARATION OF WAR; PROTOCOL OF VIENNA; TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; "THE FOUR POINTS OF AUGUST, 1854;" PUBLIC OPINION.

WE have gone, at some length, into the history of the *origin* of the Russian war—because the subject is, in truth, very imperfectly understood; and the *casus belli* has been attributed to Russia, to France, and to Turkey: indeed, in a debate in the House of Commons, on the 23rd of March, 1863, on the subject of the Polish insurrection which was then raging—in which the Russian war was incidentally alluded to—Lord Palmerston said—"It is to be borne in mind, that the war began by a quarrel between France and Russia upon a Turkish question, and that, in reality, it was France who began the war, or, at any rate, the quarrel which led to the war." Mr. Kinglake, also, in his *History of the Invasion of the Crimea*, labours hard to show that the real cause of the war was the Emperor Napoleon, who found it necessary for his interest, and induced the English government to follow in his wake. Now we are no eulogists of the late emperor; but as impartial historians, we entirely differ from Mr. Kinglake. Our readers will have seen, that, following in the steps of Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon, when president of the French republic, and subsequently, when at the head of the French empire,

endeavoured to obtain, at Constantinople, a recognition of those rights at Jerusalem, which the Roman Catholics claimed by virtue of the treaties concluded in the reigns of Francis I. and Louis XV. He obtained his object, to a certain extent. But when the Emperor Nicholas put forward the rival pretensions of the Greeks, and the "sound of the war-trump was heard," the emperor, having previously recalled his ambassador for using threatening language to the Porte, adopted a conciliatory conduct, and finally agreed in that settlement of the question of the "Holy Places," which was concluded by Prince Mentschikoff; which the Porte acceded to, on Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's recommendation; and which Austria and Prussia approved. Subsequently, he appears to have acted openly and honourably with the English government; and the war can, with truth, be ascribed only to the ambitious policy of Nicholas—a policy which was not his alone, but had been that of all his predecessors. It had uniformly governed their actions when circumstances favoured; and the czar was disposed, at the first commencement of the quarrel, to push it to its utmost limits,

from what he considered the depressed condition of Turkey, and the favourable disposition of the English government.

The invasion of the Danubian provinces by the Russian army, was an undoubted *casus belli*; though England and France, in the first instance, advised the Porte not to take hostile steps immediately, but to await the result of negotiation. Even after the Turkish declaration of war, the governments of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, continued their efforts to restore peace; and England and France took no other steps than, at the request of the sultan, to send their fleets, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, to the Dardanelles, where they anchored, on the 14th of October, 1853, about half-way between the Strait and the Golden Horn. The sultan wished these fleets to cruise in the Black Sea; but as that might have led to collision with Russian ships of war, and the admirals were only ordered to proceed to the Dardanelles, they could not comply with Abdul-Medjid's request.

In November—after an interview between the emperors of Austria and Russia at Olmutz, in which the latter declared his desire to meet “every legitimate wish” of the mediating powers—the conferences were renewed at Vienna, on the invitation of Francis Joseph. Hostilities were then carrying on in the Danubian principalities, and in the Black Sea; and in the latter—though Prince Gortschakoff had expressly declared that the Russians were not carrying on an aggressive war—on the 30th of November, the Turkish fleet in the port of Sinope was attacked and destroyed; an act, not merely of aggression, but committed under circumstances anything but creditable to civilised warriors. It led to orders being sent to Admirals Dundas and Hamelin to enter the Black Sea, for the purpose—as the British and French ambassadors, at St. Petersburg, informed Count Nesselrode—of preventing further aggressions, so uncalled-for as they conceived the affair of Sinope to be. This did not interrupt the negotiations; and, on the 5th of December, a joint note was sent to the Porte, in the name of the sovereigns of the four powers, requesting to know on what terms the sultan would treat. Their ambassadors at Constantinople had held several meetings simultaneously with the conference at Vienna, to consider the conditions which could reasonably be pro-

posed to the sultan. The result of those meetings was, that the following propositions were submitted to Abdul-Medjid, as those which he should accept as a basis for negotiation.

1. The prompt evacuation of the principalities.
2. The renewal of former treaties, which were abrogated, *de facto*, by the war.
3. The maintenance of the privileges of the Christian subjects of Turkey.
4. The definitive adoption of the arrangement already concluded with respect to the Holy Places.

On the 31st of December, Redschid Pasha signed a state-paper, accepting these conditions; and agreeing to send a Turkish plenipotentiary to attend a conference, held at any neutral town selected by the four powers.—The day previous, M. Drouyn de l'Huys had sent a circular letter to the French diplomatic agents at foreign courts, in which the policy of the four powers was developed; and the diplomatists were reminded, that, “animated by a desire to put an end to a difference which, if it, on the one hand, concerned the sovereign rights of the sultan, on the other affected the conscience of the Emperor Nicholas, the government of his imperial majesty carefully sought for the means of reconciling the interests, at once so delicate and so complicated, that were concerned in it.”—Thus ended the year 1853; with the Russians and Turks engaged in active hostilities, on the Danube and in Asia; whilst the four great powers of Europe were earnestly desiring to restore peace.

Early in January, 1854, the czar received the proposals of the four powers, to reopen negotiations on the basis of the four conditions proposed by the allies, and accepted by the Porte. Nicholas, irritated by the presence of the allied fleets in the Black Sea, indignantly refused them. But he sent Count Orloff to Vienna, to lay other terms before the ambassadors there assembled. They were contained in a letter from the czar, which the count delivered to Francis Joseph on the 29th of January, and were as follows:—

- “1. That a Turkish plenipotentiary should be sent to the head-quarters of the Russian army at Bucharest, or to St. Petersburg, to open direct negotiations with Russia; but with liberty to refer to the ministers of the four powers.
2. That the former treaties between Russia and the Porte should be renewed.
3. That Turkey should enter into an engagement not to give an asylum to political refugees.
4. That the Porte should recognise, by a declaration, the Russian protectorate of the Greek Christians; and that in terms even

stronger than those proposed by Prince Mentschikoff."—There were also proposals to, or rather demands upon, Austria and Prussia, that "they should observe an absolute and unconditional neutrality in the Eastern quarrel;" and they were promised "the protection of Russia, in the event of a rupture with England and France."

These terms were submitted to the conference of ambassadors by the Austrian foreign minister, and rejected, with the full approbation of the emperor, Francis Joseph. On the 3rd of February, the members of the conference signed a protocol, declaring the intention of the great powers to maintain the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire—a declaration which only England and France carried out in its true and legitimate meaning, and which Prussia did not take a single step to promote.

During the month of January, the czar was, according to the representations of travellers at St. Petersburg, in a state of the greatest excitement. The appearance of the English and French fleets in the Black Sea, as already mentioned, was a cause of continued irritation. A few days after he received the intelligence that the flags of Great Britain and France were flying in the forbidden waters,* despatches were sent to his ambassadors at the courts of London and Paris, instructing Baron Brunow at the former, and M. Kisseleff at the latter, to inquire "whether the occupation of the Black Sea was to be conducted on the principle of perfect reciprocity? And whether the Ottoman flag would be prevented from attacking the Russian flag and territory?"—On the 31st of January, Earl Clarendon replied, in substance, that "her majesty's fleet had been sent to Constantinople, not for the purpose of attacking Russia, but with the firm intention of defending Turkey;" and "to guard against the recurrence of disasters such as those of which Sinope had been the theatre." That Russian ships encountered in that sea would be required to retire to a Russian port, and would be compelled to do so, if they refused. Her majesty's government, however, "being no less desirous than they were before, to effect a peaceful settlement of difficulties, would take measures to prevent any aggressive operations by sea, on the part of the

Turkish fleet, against the Russian territory." Turkey was the weaker, as well as the aggrieved, power; and in defending the Ottoman empire from the imminent danger which threatened it, said her majesty's foreign minister, "her majesty's government upheld that fundamental principle of European policy, involved in the maintenance of the Ottoman empire—a principle that had been repeatedly proclaimed by the five great powers of Europe." This answer, Baron Brunow said, in a note of the 5th of February, "was not satisfactory;" and he demanded his passports, unless he was authorised to transmit a more favourable reply to his government. As no other reply was given, on the 7th the baron left London, and the Russian embassy was closed. The same day, the Earl of Clarendon wrote to Sir G. H. Seymour, recalling him from St. Petersburg; and all diplomatic intercourse between the two powers ceased.—M. Drouyn de l'Huys returned precisely the same answer to M. Kisseleff, as Earl Clarendon had done to Baron Brunow, and the same result followed. The Russian ambassador left Paris on the 6th of February; and the foreign minister wrote to M. Castelbajac, ordering him, and all the members of the French embassy, to leave the Russian capital immediately on receipt of the despatch.

It was not the desire of the western powers, that the presence of their fleets in the Black Sea should lead to war; and the Emperor Napoleon, with the full consent of the Queen of England, made a personal effort to avert hostilities. On the 29th of January, he wrote a letter to the czar, with his own hand, strongly advocating peace, and defending the steps taken by the allies; particularly the sending the fleets into the Black Sea. "The sound of the cannon-shot at Sinope," he said, "reverberated painfully in the hearts of all those who, in England and France, respected national dignity. There was a general participation in the sentiment, that, wherever their cannon could reach, their allies ought to be respected. Out of this feeling arose the order given to the squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent, by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event." His majesty suggested an armistice; and, as the czar preferred to treat directly with Turkey, proposed that he should appoint a plenipotentiary, to meet one from the sultan—the

* By the treaty of July 13th, 1841, the passages of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were closed in time of peace to vessels of war; but the sultan had a right to open them when he was engaged in hostilities.

two to negotiate a convention, to be submitted to a conference of the four powers. "Upon this plan," said Napoleon, "the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed." This letter was delivered to the czar on the 6th of February, the day after his ambassadors had demanded their passports at London and Paris. Nicholas, after two days' consideration, returned a very able answer. He defended all his acts, from a Russian point of view, with great plausibility; and concluded by saying, that, if the Turks sent him a negotiator, he would give him a fitting reception; but the only basis upon which he could treat was, the conditions sent to Vienna by Count Orloff.

The answer of the czar was delivered to M. Castelbajac on the 9th of February. The next day, some gentlemen from England, headed by the late Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham—all members of the Society of Friends—had an interview with the emperor, to present an address to his majesty which had been adopted at the annual meeting of the society, held in London, on the 20th of January. In that address, "under a deep conviction of religious duty, and in the constraining love of Christ our Saviour," the society urged his majesty to "the maintenance of peace, as the true policy, as well as manifest duty, of a Christian government." The emperor's reply was well considered, and calculated to make a deep impression upon all who were not completely masters of the facts which had transpired in the last few years. It is only fair, however, to his memory, that we should give the concluding part of it. His *motives* and *intentions*, probably, were in accordance with his words; but his opponents could only judge from his *acts* and their tendency; and they fully justified the resistance which had been manifested to his policy. "I do not desire war," he said—

"I abhor it as sincerely as you do; and am ready to forget the past, if only an opportunity be afforded me." * * * "I have great esteem for your country, and a sincere affection for your queen, whom I admire, not only as a sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother. I have placed full confidence in her, and have acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit. I felt it my duty to call her attention to future dangers, which I considered likely, sooner or later, to arise in the East, in consequence of the existing state of things. What, on my part, was prudent foresight, has been unfairly construed, in your country, into a designing policy, and an ambitious desire of conquest.

This has deeply wounded my feelings, and afflicted my heart. Personal insults and invectives I regard with indifference. It is beneath my dignity to notice them; and I am ready to forgive all that is personal to me, and to hold out my hand to my enemies in a true Christian spirit. I cannot understand what cause of complaint your nation has against Russia. I am anxious to avoid war by all possible means. I will not attack; I shall only act in self-defence. I cannot be indifferent to what concerns the honour of my country. I have a duty to perform as a sovereign. As a Christian, I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion, my great duty is, to attend to the interests and honour of my country."

The deputation retired, we are told, very much impressed with the kindness of their reception; but deeply regretting that their audience had not a more satisfactory termination.

A few days after this interview, the despatches recalling the English and French ambassadors arrived at St. Petersburg. They were followed, almost immediately, by Count Brunow and M. Kisseleff, who repaired to the capital, to give an account of their missions. The result had been anticipated; and, on the 21st of February, Nicholas addressed a manifesto to his subjects, in which he announced the failure of his endeavours to preserve peace. His imperial majesty complained, that the English and French governments had, "without declaring war, sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks; and to prevent the free navigation of Russian vessels of war, for the defence of their coasts." This proceeding was declared to "be unheard-of amongst civilised nations;" and, in consequence, his majesty had "recalled the embassies from England and France, and broken off all political intercourse with those powers." Russia was resolved, though "England and France had sided with the enemies of Christianity," never "to betray her holy mission:" and, "if her enemies infringed her frontiers," her people "were ready to meet them, with the firmness bequeathed to them by their forefathers."

Another effort was made by England and France, in conjunction with Austria, to induce Russia to withdraw her troops from the Turkish territory. On the 21st of February, Count Buol informed the Earl of Westmoreland, the British ambassador at Vienna, that, "if England and France could fix a day for the evacuation of the principalities, the expiration of which

should be the signal for hostilities, the cabinet of Vienna would support the summons."—Captain Blackwood was accordingly dispatched from London—simultaneously with a messenger from Paris—to require the evacuation of the principalities before the ensuing month of April expired. On the arrival of Captain Blackwood and his colleague at St. Petersburg, their message was made known to the Russian chancellor, through the English and French consuls, MM. Michele and De Castillon; and after a few days' delay, the following was the reply of Count Nesselrode:—"This is the answer I wish you to convey to your government:—'*L'Empereur ne juge pas convenable de donner aucune réponse à la lettre de Lord Clarendon.*'"* To a question, as to the course which Russia would take with regard to the consular arrangements, should war be declared?—Count Nesselrode replied, "That will entirely depend upon the course her Britannic majesty's or the French government may adopt. We shall not declare war."—Having received these answers, the messengers left St. Petersburg, and Captain Blackwood arrived in London on the 25th of March.

Whilst Captain Blackwood was on his mission, great excitement was created, not merely in England, but throughout Europe, by the publication of the correspondence between Sir G. H. Seymour and Lord John Russell, in which the conversations with the Emperor Nicholas, already alluded to,† were detailed. This correspondence was "secret and confidential;" and, in all probability, would never have been published during the lifetimes of the parties to it, but for a not very judicious article which appeared in the *St. Petersburg Journal*, of the 2nd of March. In that article, after some severe comments on the English policy, and the acts of England's ministers, the writer said—

"War formed a decided element in the plans of the English ministry. Hence arose that fatal distrust, which, in the Eastern question, was the origin of all the previous difficulties."—It is not wonderful, it was observed, that France should entertain distrust; but, that it was entertained by England, "justly excites surprise. Less than any other the British government should entertain such sus-

* "The emperor does not deem it becoming to give any reply to Lord Clarendon's letter."—Despatch from M. Michele to Lord Clarendon, dated March 19th, 1854.

† See *ante*, pp. 451, 452.

pitions. It has in its hands the written proof that there is no foundation for them; for, long before the present condition of affairs—before the questions which led to the mission of Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople had assumed so serious an aspect of difference—before Great Britain had adopted the same line of policy as France—the emperor had spontaneously explained himself, with the most perfect candour, to the queen and her ministers, with the object of establishing with them a friendly understanding, even upon the most important result that can affect the Ottoman empire."

This article led to questions in both houses of parliament; to the publication of the correspondence; to a declaration in the *Moniteur*, that, when England's assent was refused to the "secret and confidential proposals of the czar," his imperial majesty turned his attention to the French government, which "had, in its turn, to decline advances more or less direct, and not without analogy to those made to England;" and to praises of the part which the ministers of that country had taken in the affair. A gentleman writing from Paris, told his correspondent, that "nothing had occurred, for some time, which tended so much to raise the character of England and her statesmen in the eyes of France, as the publication of the secret correspondence with Russia on the affairs of Turkey." And, said the semi-official Paris paper, the *Constitutionnel*—"One and the same sentiment of indignation will pervade the public mind on reading these documents, which attest the contempt of Russia for right and equity, her pride, her audacity, and her ambition; and, at the same time, the great clearness of views, and the perfect good faith of the sentiments which, for a long time past, have inspired the English government, in its relations with continental Europe on the Eastern question." This appeared to be the general opinion of Europe on the subject.

Soon after the allied fleets entered the Dardanelles, negotiations commenced for the conclusion of a treaty, offensive and defensive, between England, France, and Turkey. Those negotiations were brought to a close, and the treaty was signed, on the 12th of March. It was short, and only comprised four articles. By the 1st, the two western powers engaged to send troops, as well as a naval force, to defend the sultan's dominions.—By the 2nd, the three contracting parties engaged to communicate to each other, any proposal made to any one of them either for an armistice or

peace; and the sultan engaged not to agree to an armistice, enter into negotiations, or agree to preliminaries of peace with Russia, without the consent of the allies.—The 3rd bound those allies to withdraw their forces from the Ottoman territory, and to evacuate any fortresses they might occupy, within forty days after the conclusion of peace.—The 4th conferred on the British and French forces, freedom to act where and how they might think expedient, without being controlled by the Porte; property and the laws of the country were to be respected; and the wants of the allied forces were to be attended to by the Turkish authorities.

The time was now come for the decided step to be taken by the allies, and for the declaration of war against Russia to be formally made.—Captain Blackwood arrived in London on the 25th of March: the failure of his mission was soon known throughout the United Kingdom; and the public were therefore prepared for the announcement made in a message from the queen to the two houses of parliament—delivered on the evening of the 27th—that the negotiations with Russia had terminated. “No endeavours,” it was stated, “had been wanting, on her majesty’s part, to preserve to her subjects the blessings of peace;” but “her majesty’s just expectations had been disappointed;” and she “relied with confidence, on the zeal and devotion of” the two houses of parliament, “and on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects, to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia.”—A similar communication was made to the French legislative body the same day; and on the 28th of March, the “Declaration of War” appeared in the *London Gazette*. Most of the conclusions to be drawn from the acts and the negotiations we have detailed, were set forth in strong and forcible language in this document; in which the queen declared—“The unprovoked aggression of the emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte, had been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that, after his rejection of terms, which the emperors of Austria and France, and the king of Prussia, as well as her majesty, considered just and equitable, her majesty was compelled, by a sense of what was due to the honour of her crown, to the interests of

her people, and to the independence of the states of Europe, to come forward in defence of an ally whose territory was invaded, and whose dignity and independence were assailed.”

This declaration was accompanied by another, introducing a novelty in the carrying on a European war. As “her majesty was desirous of rendering the war as little onerous as possible to the powers with whom she remained at peace”—whilst she reserved the rights of a legal blockade, and also of preventing the carrying of despatches for the enemy—she waived “the right of seizing the enemy’s property on board of neutral vessels, unless it were contraband of war.” Her majesty also declared, that she would not issue letters of marque, authorising the fitting-out of privateers.—Simultaneously, similar declarations appeared in the *Moniteur*.

On the 12th of April, a long “Declaration” appeared in the *Journal of St. Petersburg*, in reply to those of France and England. It was well written; but the principal points in it will not stand a moment’s examination. It was contended, in this document, that the terms demanded by the allies could not be accepted without dishonour: it was inadmissible to “evacuate the principalities without even the shadow of a fulfilment, by the Ottoman government, of the conditions to which the emperor made the cessation of that temporary occupation subordinate; and equally so to evacuate them in the brunt of a war, which the latter was the first to declare, while it is actively carrying on offensive operations, and when its own troops occupy a fortified point on Russian territory.”—But this view quite ignored the facts, that Russia had not the shadow of the shade of a right to occupy the principalities, even if the conditions demanded had been as equitable as they were manifestly unjust; and that that occupation was a *casus belli* which would have justified the allies of the Porte in at once declaring war against Russia. That step they did not take till they had exhausted every available means of inducing the czar to act justly; and on his failing to do so, they could not—acting in good faith to Turkey—adopt any other course than that which they ultimately took.

The declaration of war was followed by further conferences at Vienna, which ended in a protocol, signed on the 9th of April, by the ambassadors of Great Britain,

France, Austria, and Prussia; by which—"as the consequence of a step taken directly by France and England, supported by Austria and Prussia, as being founded in right"—the previous engagements between the four powers were renewed; and "the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire" was declared to be "the *sine qua non* condition of every transaction having for its object the re-establishment of peace between the belligerent powers."—The next day, a treaty was signed at London, by Earl Clarendon on behalf of Great Britain, and by Count Walewski for the emperor of the French; by which the contracting powers engaged to use their efforts to re-establish peace between the emperor of Russia and the Sublime Porte, upon a solid and durable basis. [Art. 1.] Bound themselves to maintain naval and military forces sufficient to meet the emergency [Art. 2]; and not to accept any overture, or any proposition for the cessation of hostilities, or enter into any engagement with Russia, without having previously deliberated in common. [Art. 3.] Also, to renounce any special advantage from the events which might occur. [Art. 4.] And to receive into their alliance any other European power desirous of co-operating in the proposed object. [Art. 5.]—A treaty of "defensive and offensive alliance," concluded at Berlin, between Austria and Prussia, and signed on the 20th of April, for the purpose of "guaranteeing to each other, reciprocally, the possession of their German and non-German dominions;" another protocol, signed at Vienna on the 23rd of May, by the representatives of the four powers, confirming that of the 9th of April; and a convention between Austria and Turkey, signed at Constantinople on the 14th of June, which provided for the occupation of the principalities by the troops of Austria, to be withdrawn on the conclusion of peace between the czar and the Porte;—were further diplomatic arrangements resulting from the attitude assumed by Great Britain and France. The conferences at Vienna were, however, continued through the summer; and concluded by the adoption of four propositions, known, in diplomatic history, as "the four points of the 8th of August," which we subjoin, as they, from that time, formed the basis of negotiations with Russia; and, though peremptorily rejected by Count Nesselrode, in the name of the czar, when

first proposed for his acceptance, were ultimately embodied in the treaty of Paris.

"The three powers [England, France, and Austria*] are equally of opinion, that the relations of the Sublime Porte with the imperial court of Russia, cannot be re-established on solid and durable bases:—1st. If the protectorate hitherto exercised by the imperial court of Russia, over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, be not discontinued for the future; and if the privileges accorded by the sultans to those provinces, dependencies of their empire, be not placed under the collective guarantee of the powers, in virtue of an arrangement to be concluded with the Sublime Porte, the stipulations of which should, at the same time, regulate all questions of detail.—2ndly. If the navigation of the Danube, at its mouth, be not freed from all obstacles, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the acts of the congress of Vienna.—3rdly. If the treaty of the 13th of July, 1831, [which was signed in London, and related to the inviolability of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, which England, Austria, France, and Prussia promised to respect], was not revised, in concert, by the high contracting powers, in the interest of the balance of power in Europe.—4thly. If Russia did not give up the claim to exercise an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and if Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia did not lend their mutual assistance, to obtain, as an initiative from the Ottoman government, the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities; and to turn to account, in the common interest of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by his majesty the sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggressions on his dignity, and the independence of his crown."

We have brought the negotiations up to this point, because they are better understood when given in a connected form; and without some knowledge of the proceedings of the diplomatists, those of the military and naval commanders, and the relative positions of the different powers, cannot be properly understood. We shall now take up the history of the naval and military war, which preceded the fall of Sebastopol, as far as England's forces were engaged: and there are none of "England's battles" in which her brave sons behaved more gallantly than at Alma and Inkermann. Before we enter upon the narrative, however, we may remark, that public opinion, both in England and on the continent, was strongly in favour of the war; and so was the parliament of England; Mr. Cobden standing forth as its only conspicuous opponent. This manifestation was

Prussia at first withheld her assent from these propositions; but afterwards accorded it, though in a qualified form.

caused by the general conviction that the policy of Russia was systematically aggressive in the East.

"For a long period of time that power had been gradually, but surely, exciting the jealousy, the suspicions, and the fears of Europe. Since the peace of 1815, she had greatly increased in strength as a great military power. The Emperor Nicholas was believed to command almost a million of men under arms. He was the only monarch who had so extended the boundaries of his empire, and so established his influence in other states, as to threaten the balance of power in Europe. The man who wielded this vast military strength was proud, ambitious, passionate, and impatient of control. He had scarcely deigned to veil his designs upon Turkey, the conquest and fall of which would give him additional power, dangerous to the liberties of Europe. His influence over Prussia and Austria was gradually reducing those states almost to the condition of dependents, upon whose political and military support he could always rely. It was suspected, not without cause, that he had designs upon India, and had contrived artfully-devised schemes to secure Denmark, and obtain the entire command of the outlets of the Black Sea. An uneasy feeling was, day by day, growing up in western Europe, and especially amongst those who loved freedom and constitutional government. In England, it was, probably, greater than elsewhere. It had been nourished and excited by certain politicians, who saw, in the extension of the eastern frontiers of Russia, danger to our Indian empire. It had been fomented by several ingenious writers, who, in passionate appeals to the English people, denounced the rapid encroachments of a semi-barbarous power, and described the imperial eagle as hovering over our Indian possessions, and only awaiting the favourable moment to pounce upon its prey. Sir John McNeill's *Progress of Russia in the East* will not be readily forgotten. But Mr. Urquhart probably contributed most to bring about this feeling of anxiety and suspicion. The object of Mr. Urquhart's horror and detestation was Russia. He saw in events, however contradictory, new proofs of the matchless cunning of the Emperor Nicholas, and of the complicity of Lord Palmerston, his tool and his dupe"—

As he described him—we think very unjustly.—The French people were as much excited against Russia, and as earnest in desiring the discomfiture and humiliation of that power, as the English, though on somewhat different grounds. The Roman Catholic religion is established in France; and her people, especially the ultramontanes, entered warmly into the question of the "Holy Places;" supporting the claims and demands of the Latins, in opposition to those of the Greek Christians. The objects quarrelled about at Jerusalem, and respecting which the differences arose that culminated in the Russian war, "were, no doubt," as a popular periodical observed,

* *Quarterly Review*, April, 1863; pp. 516, 517.

"foolish and trivial." Mr. Kinglake, in his clever, but untrustworthy work, *The Invasion of the Crimea*, alludes with keen sarcasm to the key of the church, and the silver star, which the rival churches contended for. But they were the signs of a contest between those rivals; and the French people were more desirous even than their rulers, of avenging upon the avowed "protector" of the Greeks, the insults which they conceived *their* church, under his sanction, had received.—In the north, whilst the governments resolved on neutrality, the people of Denmark and Sweden were decidedly anti-Russian; and in Norway the government partook of that feeling. The authorities there fitted out a squadron of frigates, corvettes, brigs, and gun-boats, with which they were quite disposed to have joined the allies, if the government at Stockholm would have consented.—In Germany, Russia had great influence from the matrimonial alliances formed with Prussia, and several other reigning families. The people were more passive than in England or France; but, unlike the English and French, they were inclined to Russia, from a remembrance of the days of the "first empire," when that power aided them to throw off the yoke of Napoleon. Still, the Roman Catholics did not like to see the Greeks obtain a triumph over the members of their own church; and they would very readily have joined in what the emperor of Russia proclaimed as a religious war. The emperor of Austria was determined, however, from the first, not to take any active part in the contest, except to remove the Russians from his frontiers by procuring the evacuation of the principalities; whilst the king of Prussia, there is no doubt, could he have consulted his *personal* inclinations, would have sided with his brother-in-law, the emperor of Russia. He could not, however, stand alone against England, France, and Austria; but while he assented to the principles asserted in the protocols, and ultimately accepted, under certain restrictions, the "four points," he could not be induced even to join in the steps taken by Austria to procure the evacuation of the principalities. The contest rested therefore, between Russia on the one hand, and England, France, and Turkey on the other. Even so it was very unequal. It was found that the resources of the great Muscovite empire, large and diversified as they

undoubtedly were, had been considerably overrated: and the result proved that that empire was quite unable to contend with the three powers united against her. She had the advantage at the outset, because her government had been long employed in strengthening her army; but, had the contest been prolonged, the vast empire which Peter founded, and which, under Catherine and Alexander, had grown to its present magnitude, would have been shattered and destroyed. From this consummation the peace of March, 1856, timely preserved it; and it certainly is not for the interest of England, that the power,

which was once her firm ally, should be further humiliated or weakened; nor would it tend to the maintenance of the European equilibrium were such results to take place. If Turkey is necessary in the east, Russia is equally necessary in the north, to maintain the balance of power. But though at the time, and still more after the conclusion of the war, when the nations sat down to count the cost of the victories and defeats, there were many bitter complaints against the contest, as unnecessary, the general opinion, when passions and prejudices had cooled down, pronounced the war of 1854-6 necessary and indeed unavoidable.

CHAPTER III.

THE BLACK SEA FLEETS; OPERATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DECLARATION OF WAR; RUSSIAN FLEET IN THE BLACK SEA; BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA; LOSS OF THE "TIGER;" AN ALLIED SQUADRON ON THE COAST OF CIRCASSIA; DESTRUCTION OF THE FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE DANUBE; DEATH OF CAPTAIN PARKER; RESULT OF THE OPERATIONS IN THE BLACK SEA; THE BALTIC FLEET, ENGLISH AND FRENCH, OF 1854; THE ENGLISH FLEET SAILS FOR THE BALTIC; SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S INSTRUCTIONS; RUSSIAN FORCE IN THE BALTIC; OPERATIONS OF THE ENGLISH IN THAT SEA; BOMBARDMENT OF BOMARSUND; CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN; EXPEDITION TO THE WHITE SEA; ATTACK ON PETROPAULOVSKI.

ALTHOUGH the war with Russia was not distinguished by any great naval "battles," still the operations of the English fleets in the Black Sea, the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Pacific, in connection with those of France, were not unimportant; and as most of those of 1854 were antecedent to the Crimean campaign, we give them precedence in our narrative.

The allied fleets were first sent to the Black Sea—"so celebrated in ancient times, and of which moderns were," till the war of 1854—6 attracted attention to it, "so ignorant." It divides Southern Russia and Turkey in Europe from Asia Minor; being 720 miles across, in its widest part—*i. e.*, from the mouth of the Tchourouk-su, on the east, to the Bay of Burgos, in Roumelia, on the west; but where the Crimean peninsula juts out into its waters, it is scarcely 160 miles wide. From the estuary of the Bug, on the north, to the Bosphorus, on the south, the distance is about 320 miles: its area comprises 170,000 square miles.

We have already stated, that the united English and French fleets were ordered to

enter the Black Sea, in consequence of what has, not at all inaptly, been called the "Massacre of Sinope."* A formidable force had previously been collected in the sea of Marmora, near the island of that name, consisting of the following vessels:—

ENGLISH FLEET.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.	Commanders.
Britannia ...	120	970	—	Vice-adm. Sir J. W. Dundas; Capt. T. W. Carter.
Agamemnon	90	820	600	Rear-adm. Sir E. Lyons; Capt. W. R. Mends.
Trafalgar ...	120	960	—	Capt. H. F. Greville.
Queen,	120	960	—	" F. T. Mitchell.
Albion,	90	820	—	" S. Lushington.
Vengeance...	90	820	—	" Lord E. Russell.
Rodney	50	820	—	" C. Graham.
Bellerophon	80	650	—	" Lord G. Paulet.
Sanspareil ...	70	650	350	" S. C. Dacres.
Arethusa ...	50	500	—	" T. M. Symonds.
Leander	51	500	—	" Lt. V. King.
Highflyer ...	21	230	250	" John Moore.
Retribution.	20	300	400	" Ion. J. Drummond.
Terrible	20	300	400	" J. M. Clevery.
Furious	16	216	400	" W. Loring.
Tiger	16	216	400	" Gifford.
Niger	14	100	400	" L. G. Heath.
Firebrand ...	6	200	410	" Hyde Parker.
Fury	6	160	315	Commander Chambers.
Inflexible ...	6	160	378	" G. Popplewell.
Sampson ...	6	210	467	Capt. T. L. Jones.

*Public opinion has since universally condemned the Russian attack at Sinope.

FRENCH FLEET.

3

Ships.	Character.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Ville-de-Paris	Ship of war, 1st rank	120	—
Valmy	" "	120	—
Friedland	" "	120	—
Henry IV	" 2nd rank	100	—
Bayard	" 3rd rank	90	—
Jena	" "	90	—
Jupiter	" "	90	—
Charlemagne	(Mixed) "	90	450
Sericeuse	Corvette	30	—
Mcure	Brig 1st class	20	—
Vauban	Steam-frigate	20	510
Descartes	" "	20	450
Gomer	" "	24	450
Mogador	" "	16	450
Magellan	" "	14	450
Sane	" "	14	450
Caton	Steam-corvette	4	260

The English fleet was under the command of Vice-admiral James Wortley Deans Dundas; the second in command being Sir Edmund Lyons.—The French commander-in-chief was Rear-admiral Hamelin; and Rear-admiral de Tinan was the second officer. The united fleets, under their command, passed the Bosphorus, and entered the Black Sea on the 3rd of January, 1854; the orders to the admirals and captains, from the respective governments, being—

“To accompany the Turkish vessels, and protect them, on condition that they do not remove more than four miles from the Turkish territory; and should the Russians attack the vessels thus accompanied, the English commanders are to repel force by force.”

As soon as the fleets entered the Euxine, Captain Drummond, in the *Retribution*, accompanied by a French officer, was dispatched to Sebastopol, with letters from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and General Baraguay d’Hilliers, to the governor, apprising him of the arrival of the allied squadrons, and their object; and hoping “that he would feel it expedient to give the requisite instructions to the admirals commanding the Russian forces in the Black Sea, so as to obviate any occurrence likely to endanger peace.” The *Retribution*, in the midst of a dense fog, steamed into the port of Sebastopol unobserved by the sentinels. When discovered, shots were discharged at her, but she steamed on; and Captain Drummond succeeded in communicating with the shore, and delivering his despatches. Before the vessel left, some of the officers took drawings and plans of the fortress and its defences.

Soon after the return of Captain Drummond, the fleets returned to the Bay of Beicos, near the island of Marmora; having been only about three weeks in the Black

Sea. During that time, a Turkish squadron of transports, with troops on board, was escorted to Batoum, in Georgia; and Sinope was visited, and found in a state of desolation. “Whole quarters of the town were completely levelled with the ground; the harbour was full of wrecks; masts and cordage were floating about, as well as a number of half-burnt bodies; and the shore was covered with dead bodies which had been only half buried.”* At first it was intended to make Sinope the port of rendezvous, and measures were taken for that purpose. But, before the month of January expired, the squadrons left the Euxine, to the great displeasure of the ambassadors.—On the 30th, four English vessels, the *Agamemnon*, *Sanspareil*, *Terrible*, and *Sampson*, under Sir E. Lyons; and the *Charlemagne*, *Descartes*, *Gomer*, and *Mogador*, under Rear-admiral de Tinan, were dispatched to escort another Turkish squadron to Batoum, with provisions and ammunition for the support of the Asiatic army; but, with this exception, the naval armament remained inactive till April. The escort and its convoy visited Trebizond; and “it would be difficult to express the effect produced on the inhabitants by the appearance of the former. All the population flocked to the sea-side to witness the entry of the ships into the roads; and the town presented the most animated appearance. Public prayers for England and France were put up in the mosques;”† and there were many other proofs of the interest which was taken in the presence of the allies.

At this time, the following Russian vessels were in the Black Sea:—

Ships of the Line.—Twelve Apostles, Paris, Three Saints, Grand-duke Constantine, and Vladimir, of 120 guns each; Sviotoslaw, Rotislaw, Selaphœl, Three Hierarchies, Tro-Sviatitalia, Varna, Gabriel, and Empress Maria, of 81 guns each; Tchesme, 80 guns. *Frigates*.—Cagul, Koulefski, Kavarna, and Medea, of 60 guns each. *Corvettes and Brigs*.—Calyso and Pylades, of 18 guns each; Ptolemy, Theseus, and Æneas, of 20 guns each. *Smaller vessels*.—The Nearch, Streilla, Orlanda, Drolik, Ziabiaka, Lastoga, Smaglaga; 11 transports, and 64 gun-boats. *Steamers*.—Six large and six small; the Vladimir, Bessarabia, and Gromnostelz, being the most remarkable for their power, and the range of their guns.‡

After the allied fleets passed the Darda-

* Letter from an officer.

† Letter from the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.

‡ *Moniteur de la Flotte*.

nelles, the Russian vessels were confined to Sebastopol; and it is possible that some intimation that they would not leave the port was given to the allied admirals, and induced them to return to Beicos Bay. There they remained till April, when the fleets again entered the Black Sea, and anchored in Baltshik Bay, eighteen miles to the north-east of Varna. On the 9th of April, the intelligence was received by the admirals, and immediately circulated through the fleet, that "war had been proclaimed." It created the greatest excitement. In both fleets the men mounted the yards, and gave three cheers for "Old England and the Queen!" and for "France and the Emperor!" Officers and men were tired of inaction; and they all looked forward to approaching contests, in which honour and renown might be won for themselves and their country.

At that period, Odessa was one of the chief commercial *entrepôts* in the Russian empire, and the principal one in the Black Sea. A considerable trade was carried on between that port and England; a consulate was established; between seventy and eighty British merchants resided there; and the *Furious*, Captain Loring, was sent, a few days before the declaration of war was received, to bring them off. The vessel arrived off Odessa early on the 8th of April; and a boat was dispatched to the shore, with a small crew, under Lieutenant Alexander, who was instructed to see and communicate with the consul, as to the embarkation of the English residents. Two blank guns were fired, to warn the ship not to approach too near the shore; and when the boat arrived at the mole, the officer told Lieutenant Alexander, that the consul was not there; that he must return to his ship; and that he "was not permitted to say more."* The boat accordingly returned to the ship, the English colours and the flag of truce being still flying. It had got about a mile from the shore, "when seven shotted guns were fired. The first was evidently intended for the boat, as it fell about sixty or seventy yards short of her, and she was then somewhat southward of the line between the battery and the ship. The remainder, which all fell short, may have been intended for either boat or ship, as she pulled more

into a straight line."† Whichever was aimed at, the firing was a gross outrage, and a violation of international law that it was impossible to overlook.

The first step taken by the allied admirals was, to demand an explanation from General Osten-Sacken, who was the governor of Odessa. That officer stated that the flag of truce had not been insulted or violated; but, as the frigate had "advanced towards the mole," and "approached the batteries within cannon-shot," he, "faithful to his order, to prevent any vessel from coming within reach of the guns, thought it his duty to fire, not upon the flag of truce, which had been respected to the end of its mission, but upon a vessel of the enemy, which approached the land too nearly, after being twice fired at without ball."—This version of the outrage, contrary to the evidence of all the officers of the *Furious*, was also contradicted by the testimony of several disinterested witnesses—masters of trading-vessels—who witnessed the transaction. The admirals, therefore, determined to exact atonement. They had weighed anchor, and stood towards Odessa, previous to the receipt of the Russian general's letter, which, though dated on the 14th, did not reach them till the 20th. The next day the admirals sent a letter on shore, demanding that a number of British, French, and Russian vessels, which were anchored near the citadel, or under the batteries of Odessa—those of the allies having been detained after the declaration of war—should be delivered up to the combined squadron. No answer was returned; and, on the morning of the 22nd, the fleet appeared in front of the port, to the great alarm of the inhabitants who remained; many, on a warning received from the general on the 17th, having left; and those who were able to do so, had carried off their movable property. All "felt that the intention was, to avenge the insult offered to the English flag of truce, which was universally blamed."‡

Five English vessels, the *Sampson*, *Tiger*, *Retribution*, *Furious*, and *Terrible*; and four French, the *Vauban*, *Descartes*, *Mogador*, and *Caton*, with six rocket-boats, under Commander Dixon, were sent to bombard the forts and batteries, and to destroy the Russian ships and magazines: the united force being under the command of Captain Jones, of the *Sampson*. Odessa was strongly defended. At the south-east end

* Captain Loring's letter to Admiral Dundas.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Letter from Odessa, in *La Patrie*.

of the town, a slip of land juts out into the sea, which is called the Quarantine Mole. On this mole a battery of twelve guns was placed; and there the mercantile vessels of the allies and other nations were moored, all of which had their national colours flying from their mast-heads. There were six other batteries, placed in the best positions for defence, and they mounted about seventy mortars of large calibre. The attack commenced at 7 A.M. of the 22nd of April; and though the Russians stood to their guns well, and did some damage to the ships (the *Terrible* receiving the most), they could not preserve the magazines, stores, and vessels, against which the fire of the allies was directed. As the *Terrible* received the most injury, so her shot and shell did the greatest damage, setting on fire the warehouses and barracks nearest the sea, and causing a terrible explosion from a red-hot shot that fell into the powder-magazine. The result of the bombardment was, that all the batteries were silenced; the magazines of military and naval stores destroyed; many of the principal buildings injured; twelve Russian ships (including two frigates on the stocks) were burnt, or sunk in the harbour; thirteen transports, with their stores on board, captured; 200 men killed; 300 dangerously, and 600 slightly, wounded. All this was effected with the loss of three men killed and twelve wounded; and none of the vessels received injuries which could not be repaired at sea. Most of the neutral vessels, and some English and French ships, made their escape during the bombardment.

The work of destruction effected, as far as the allied commanders deemed desirable—for they had no wish or intention to injure private property, and only sought to destroy, or render useless, the *matériel* of war—the admirals ordered the firing to cease between 3 and 4 P.M., and the signal was made for the vessels to return to their anchorage. The Emperor Nicholas assumed that this was a defeat. Writing to General Osten-Sacken on the 8th of May, he said—"The heroic firmness and devotion of your troops, inspired by your example, have been crowned with complete success; the city has been saved from destruction, and the enemy's fleets have disappeared. As a worthy recompense of so grand an action, we grant you the Order of St. Andrew."—At the same time it was

decreed—the Russians say, "in accordance with the patriotic demands of the inhabitants"—that "the military stores, batteries, and all the other works of defence, destroyed by a division of the combined squadron, should be reconstructed at the expense of the city of Odessa."

A report having reached the allied admirals, that if they appeared off Sebastopol, the Russian fleet would leave the port, and offer battle,* led to the combined fleet leaving the neighbourhood of Odessa on the 26th of April, and sailing for the former port. The report appears to have been groundless; at all events, the Russians made no attempt to stir from their anchorage and the protection of their forts. The fleets continued in that latitude several days, during which the *Caton* and *Furious* examined the coast, and took the soundings of several bays; whilst other steamers went so near the entrance of the harbour of Sebastopol, as to ascertain, that at least twelve sail of the line, three sailing vessels, and a large number of steamers, were then in the port.—The *Tiger* and *Vesuvius* were also sent upon a cruise, accompanied by the *Niger*. The Black Sea is visited, as all naval men know, by dense fogs, which are, for a time, impenetrable to sight, almost to sound. In one of these the *Tiger* ran aground, during the night of the 11th of May, directly under the lighthouse of Odessa, and not more than 150 yards from a cliff, which rises there to the height of 100 feet; and to the edge of which cannon were instantaneously brought, as the unfortunate vessel lay, motionless and helpless, exposed to their fire; which was at once opened upon her, and as fiercely kept up as if she had been capable of defence: it was a repetition of the Sinope affair, on a small scale. The *Tiger* was set on fire in two places; Captain Gifford, his nephew and aide-de-camp, Mr. John Gifford, and several seamen, were wounded; and as it was equally impossible to get the vessel off, or to bring her guns to bear upon the enemy—whilst the *Vesuvius* and *Niger* were out of gun-range, and could not get to her assistance—the lieutenant, who took the command when Captain Gifford was wounded, at length struck his colours. Soon after, the *Niger* and *Vesuvius* came up, and commenced firing at the crowds on the cliff. They did some execution,

* Despatch of Admiral Hamelin to his government, dated May 1st.

that was evident; but the prisoners were all got on shore, and marched up the cliff; the *Tiger* was set on fire, and burnt to the water's edge; and the people dispersed. The *Niger* and *Vesuvius* then proceeded on their course, the former having had four men wounded by the fire from the enemy's guns. The number of prisoners taken was 201. They were not badly treated; and the *Furious* going to Odessa with a flag of truce, was allowed to send them money and clothing. The gallant Captain Gifford died soon after, of his wounds: his nephew also died. One hundred and eighty of the other prisoners were exchanged for the same number of Russians, captured in numerous merchant vessels, which had been taken by the *Fury*, *Tiger*, *Retribution*, and the French frigate *Descartes*. Twenty remained in captivity, as the allies had no more prisoners to exchange; and they subsequently reported, that nothing could exceed the kind and courteous treatment which both officers and men experienced from the Russians.

While the allies hovered about Sebastopol, Sir Edmund Lyons was dispatched, with a squadron, to assist the Turks in Circassia. It comprised the following vessels:—the *Agamemnon*, *Highflyer*, *Retribution*, *Sampson*, *Firebrand*, and *Niger*, English ships; and the French vessels, *Charlemagne* (bearing the flag of the vice-admiral, the Viscount de Chabannes), the *Mogador*, and *Vauban*. The first object of this expedition was to take Ghelendjik, a Russian fort, on the east shore of the Black Sea, on the Circassian coast. When the ships appeared off the fort, however, it was found that it had been abandoned, and the guns and garrison transferred to Anapa and Soujik-Kaleh. The squadron remained at Ghelendjik a short time, it being the object of Sir E. Lyons to open a communication with the Circassian leaders. Several of them went on board the *Agamemnon* and the *Charlemagne*; but the interview, it is stated, “produced no result, though each party seemed to be impressed with a favourable opinion of each other.” From Ghelendjik the squadron proceeded to Tchourouk-su, where it arrived on the 19th of May. Selim Pasha, with 800 men and three field-pieces, was taken on board, and landed the same evening, about two miles from Redouté-Kaleh, another fort of the Russians, on the Circassian coast. The fort was immediately attacked by the Turks

on shore, and by the *Agamemnon* and *Charlemagne* from the sea. The Russians only made a short defence, and then took to flight—so rapidly, that they omitted to fire the train laid to a quantity of gunpowder and other combustibles, which were intended to blow up the military quarter. They set fire to the civil part of the town; and by destroying a bridge, which had enabled them to cross a river, and get into the interior, prevented pursuit.

This squadron returned, after the fall of Redouté-Kaleh, to the Bosphorus; having, while on the cruise, made a number of prizes. The ships arrived in Beicos Bay on the 28th of May; and, about the same time, the main fleet returned to Baltchik Bay, leaving the *Terrible* and *Retribution* cruising off Sebastopol. Before these vessels rejoined the fleet, they several times encountered, and exchanged shots with, Russian vessels from Sebastopol.

On the 1st of June, the admirals declared, that, “to cut off all supplies intended for the Russian army, all the mouths of the Danube, communicating with the Black Sea, were efficiently blockaded.” The blockading squadron consisted of the *Firebrand*, the *Vesuvius* (which had recently joined the fleet), the *Fury*, and a small Turkish vessel, under the command of Captain Parker, of the *Firebrand*. These vessels stationed themselves off the mouths of the Danube in the first week in June; and, after he had made his observations, Captain Parker resolved to destroy several batteries, and other works, which the Russians had erected for the purpose of enabling them completely to command the navigation of the river.—The operations commenced on the 21st of June; and, by the 30th, all the batteries and fortifications at the Kilia and Sulina mouths of the Danube, with the barracks, stables, stores, and munitions, were destroyed. There was very little fighting. The garrisons were principally formed of Cossacks, who, after the English landed, sometimes remained, and kept up a little skirmishing—but that was all; they soon fled into the interior, and the nature of the country prevented their being followed. One more work remained—a gabion battery, on the north side of the river, about half a mile from the mouth of the Sulina. This Captain Parker resolved to examine, to destroy, if necessary, and then to proceed up the river, with a squadron of English and

French gun-boats, for the purpose of making a nautical survey. The attack on that fort was made on the 7th of July; the sailors and marines being conveyed in nine boats—eight gun-boats and a rocket-boat—five belonging to the *Firebrand*, and four to the *Vesuvius*. On this occasion, the only attempt at organised resistance was made. There was a bend in the river, just before the gabion was reached; there a sharp fire was opened on the boats, and nearly rendered the leading one, in which Captain Parker was embarked, unserviceable. The boat was pulled back to the others, and, calling to the marines to load and be ready to land, the gallant officer dashed on shore, and, in a few minutes, was shot through the heart. Commander Powell, of the *Vesuvius*, then took the command. He ordered the boats to the front; and a storming party being formed, under Lieutenant Jull, a brisk fire was kept up, on both sides, for a short time. Soon the enemy's guns were silent, and the storming party advanced at a run; but when they reached the battery, it was found deserted: the enemy had retreated at the rear; and so thick was the cover, that pursuit was vain.*—The joy at the success of this enterprise was greatly lessened by the death of Captain Parker, the youngest post-captain in the navy, "and the most promising young officer in the fleet, whose actions reminded one of the gallant deeds of the late war."† His body was removed to Constantinople, where a public funeral was awarded; and, throughout the entire English community, as well as the fleet, his loss was deeply lamented.

Several weeks of idleness passed away, and the public at home began to get very impatient at what was deemed the inactivity of the fleets. With so large an armament, it was thought that even Sebastopol might have been taken; but no attempt was made upon that fortress; nor was the blockade of the Danube, and of the other Russian ports, which was subsequently declared, effectively kept up. The admirals attempted to justify themselves—Admiral Hamelin in a despatch to his government; Admiral Dundas, in a letter to a friend, intended for publication, and which was sent to the press. Of the two documents, Admiral Hamelin's was the

most precise; and we insert his summary of the result of the operations to the 21st of May, nearly five months after the united fleets had passed the Dardanelles.—At the commencement of his despatch, the admiral remarked, that "it had not depended upon the allies that the acts of war were not more numerous or more important." But, besides the many vessels captured, wrote the gallant officer—

"The imperial port of Odessa has been completely destroyed by our steamers. The Russian fleet, defied in its ports, has not dared to leave them, for the purpose of avenging that check. It is interdicted, under pain of capture, for the Russian flag henceforth to plough the waters of the Black Sea, whilst hitherto the czar has put forth the pretensions of making it a Russian lake. All the Russian possessions on the coast of Circassia have been destroyed or abandoned, and, consequently, the flank of the Russian army in Asia finds itself uncovered. When these things are well considered, one cannot help acknowledging that the operations of the squadrons have already produced results which are pretty notable—all to the advantage of the western powers, and all to the detriment of Russian influence in the Black Sea."

Admiral Dundas took a similar favourable view of the campaign, except that he did not refer to Circassia. With the events in that country, except the capture of the fort of Redouté-Kaleh, the fleets had nothing to do. Most of the forts had been destroyed by the Russians themselves; the others had been taken by the Turks; but the black eagle still floated over Anapa; and the Russian army, recruited and strengthened by the garrisons and guns of the forts destroyed, was enabled to keep the field, both against the Circassians and the Turks. If prompt and efficient assistance had been given to the former, their independence might have been secured; and the Russian force would not have been enabled, some months after, to concentrate upon Kars, and, by capturing that place, in some degree to lessen the effect of disasters elsewhere. Whoever was in fault—whether the admirals acted under instructions from home, or upon their own judgment of the position, and of what was required from them—there is now no doubt but that the neglect of Circassia was "the great mistake" of the campaign in the Black Sea, in the first half of 1854.

There was dissatisfaction in the fleets as well as at home, at the inactivity which prevailed; and when, about the middle of July, rumours began to spread from ship to ship, that "the army was destined

* Commander Powell's despatch to Vice-admiral Dundas.

† Vice-admiral Dundas's opinion.

to attack Sebastopol, and that the fleet was to co-operate," the change of feeling was sudden and marked; officers and men exulting in the expectation of immediate action. However, for some time, nothing was done but to send, on the 20th, a squadron of seven English and seven French ships, under Sir Edmund Lyons and Vice-admiral Bruat, to again reconnoitre before Sebastopol. General Canrobert accompanied this squadron, which arrived off the port on the 26th; remained cruising about three days; and, on the 30th, returned to Baltchik. The impression which the appearance of the celebrated fortress then made upon the inspectors, did not induce the idea that it would make any lengthened defence. "The fortifications of the town appeared unimportant. There was a loopholed wall running round it; but there was no ditch; and it seemed to have only one round battery upon it. A good part of the hill on which the town stood, was unoccupied; and this gained, the arsenal, forts, ships of war, &c.," in the opinion of one of the reconnoitring party, "would be easily destroyed."* General Canrobert was also of opinion, that, if assaulted on the land side, Sebastopol would fall in three or four days.†—The result proved how mistaken both the military man and the civilian were.

Leaving the Black Sea fleets in Baltchik Bay, till their active services were required to escort the expedition to the Crimea, we will now revert to the Baltic, to which sea a formidable armament was also dispatched. Russia was very potent in the Baltic; and when the eventful step was taken by Nicholas, of ordering his armies to cross the Pruth, he "had in the Gulf of Finland, twenty-seven sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels. He had also a large disposable army at St. Petersburg, with all or any of which forces, he might, in the event of war, menace the English coast at a moment when we had no available force to oppose him."‡ Admiral Sir Charles Napier had drawn the attention of the Earl of Aberdeen, then premier of England, to these facts as early as the 5th of July

1853. The noble earl, however, then anticipated a peaceful solution to the Eastern question; and it was not till the beginning of 1854, that serious attention was turned to the state of affairs in the northern sea. The representations of our ambassadors at St. Petersburg and Copenhagen, as to the evident preparations making by Russia for some movement of her fleet—added to information received from the British consul at New York, that Russian agents were purchasing steamers in America—induced our ministers to think that it was quite necessary some measures of precaution should be taken. Communications were made to the French government; and the result was, that England and France both resolved to send a fleet to the Baltic.—The English vessels were collected at Spithead, where, at the beginning of March, the following ships were ready to start; and it was admitted, that finer vessels were never seen.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.	Commanders.
SCREW SHIPS OF THE LINE:—				
Duke of Wellington	131	1100	780	Com. Seymour, capt. of the fleet; Capt. Gordon, flag-capt. Capt. H. J. Codrington, C. B. Capt. Hon. H. Keppel. Capt. Lord C. Paget.
Royal George	121	990	400	
St. Jean d'Acre	101	900	650	
Princess Royal	91	850	400	
BLOCK SHIPS:—				
Edinburgh	60	660	450	Capt. R. S. Hewlett. " Hon. F. Pelham. " Wm. Ramsay. " Fred. Warden.
Bienheim	60	660	450	
Hogue	60	660	450	
Ajax	58	630	450	
	682	6450	4030	
SCREW FRIGATES:—				
Impérieuse	50	530	360	Capt. R. B. Watson. " H. R. Yelverton. " Astley C. Key. Capt. Hon. S. T. Carnegie.
Arrogant	47	450	360	
Amphion	34	320	300	
Tribune	30	300	300	
	161	1600	1320	
PADDLE-WHEELS:—				
Leopard	18	280	560	Capt. George Gifford. " James Wilcox. " C. H. M. Buckle.
Dragon	6	200	560	
Valorous	16	220	400	
	40	700	1520	

On the 23rd of February, Sir James Graham (then first lord of the admiralty) had appointed Vice-admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., to the command of this fleet: his flag-ship was the *Duke of Wellington*; Rear-admiral Chads, C.B., was the second in command, who hoisted his flag on board the *Edinburgh*; and Rear-admiral James H. Plumridge was the third in rank, whose flag floated over the *Leopard*.—Another division of the fleet was also preparing for the Baltic, to be under the command of Rear-admiral Corry. It was not

* The *Times*' correspondent.
 † Despatch from General Canrobert to the French minister of war.
 ‡ *The Baltic Campaign*, by G. B. Earp; written from documents furnished by Sir C. Napier.

ready so soon as the first division; but it ultimately comprised the following ships:—

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.	Commanders.
SAILING SHIPS OF THE LINE.				
Neptune	120	970	—	{ Rear-adm. Corry;
St. George	120	970	—	{ Capt. F. Hutton.
Prince Regent	90	820	—	Capt. H. Ayres, C.B.
Monarch	84	750	—	" H. Smith, C.B.
Cumberland	70	700	—	" J. E. Erskine.
SCREW SHIPS.				
Nile	91	850	500	Capt. G. R. Mundy.
James Watt	91	850	600	" G. Elliot.
Cæsar	91	850	400	" John Robb.
Majestic	51	750	400	" J. Hope, C.B.
	838	7510	1900	
SCREW FRIGATES AND SLOOPS.				
Euryalus	51	530	400	Capt. G. Ramsay.
Dauntless	33	390	580	A. P. Ryder.
Cruiser	17	260	60	{ Com. the Hon. G. Douglas.
Archer	14	170	202	Capt. E. Heathcote.
Desperate	8	170	400	{ Capt. E. C. T. D'Eyn-court.
Conflict	8	175	400	Capt. A. Cumming.
PADDLEWHEEL FRIGATES & SLOOPS.				
Penelope	22	300	650	Capt. J. C. Coffin.
Magicienne	16	260	400	" Thomas Fisher.
Odin	16	270	500	" Francis Scott.
Bulldog	6	200	500	" W. K. Hall.
Vulture	6	200	470	" P. H. H. Glasse.
Hecla	6	160	240	" W. H. Hall.
Driver	6	160	280	Com. Edw. B. Rice.
Gorgon	6	160	320	Capt. P. Cracroft.
Rosamond	6	160	286	Com. G. Wodehouse.
Basilisk	6	160	400	" Hon. P. Egerton.
Prometheus	5	100	220	" J. H. Selwyn.
Wrangler	4	60	160	Lieut. H. Burgoyne.
Alban	3	60	100	Capt. H. C. Otter.
Cuckoo	3	60	100	{ Lt.-com. A. G. E. Murray.
Locust	3	60	180	Lt.-com. G. F. Day.
Zephyr	3	60	100	" C. G. Crawley.
Lightning	3	85	100	" J. C. Campbell.
Pigmy	—	—	100	" J. Hunt.
	251	4160	7148	

A fleet of twenty-three ships, commanded by Vice-admiral Parseval Deschenes, was fitted out at Toulon and Cherbourg, and sailed from Brest, to join the English fleet in the northern sea. We subjoin the names and descriptions of those vessels:—

Ships.	Character.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Le Tage	Ship of the line,	100	—
L'Austerlitz	" (Screw)	100	500
L'Hercules	" 2nd rank	100	—
Le Jemappes	" "	100	—
Le Breslau	" 3rd rank	93	—
Le Duguesclin	" "	90	—
L'Inflexible	" "	90	—
Le Duperré	" 4th rank	80	—
Le Trident	" "	80	—
Le Semillante	Frigate 1st rank	60	—
L'Andromaque	" "	60	—
La Vengeance	" "	60	—
Le Poursuivante	" 2nd rank	50	—
La Virginie	" "	50	—
La Zenobie	" "	50	—
La Psyche	" 3rd rank	40	—
La Darien	Steam-frigate	14	450
Le Phlegéthon	Steam-covvete	10	400
Le Souffleur	" "	6	220
Le Lucifer	Small Steamer	6	200
L'Aigle	" "	6	200
Le Milan	" "	4	200
Le Daim	" "	3	120

It was arranged that the queen should review the fleet at Spithead before it sailed; and the day fixed for that ceremony was the 10th of March. On that morning, the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice, left London by a special express train, and travelled to Portsmouth, amidst a violent storm of wind and rain, which ceased when the royal party, who were received by Sir James Graham and the lords of the admiralty, embarked on board the *Fairy* yacht, which vessel, accompanied by the *Elfin*, steamed towards the fleet, moored in three lines off Spithead. The sun was then shining brightly; the shore was lined with spectators; the sea was covered with pleasure yachts and other vessels; every ship was profusely decorated with flags; the yards were manned by the crews; and as the *Fairy* steamed through the lines, cheers rent the air, intermingled with loyal and complimentary exclamations regarding the royal family.—The inspection over, the *Fairy* steamed for Osborne; her majesty announcing that she would return the next day, and receive the admirals and the other officers, before the fleet departed for the north. Accordingly, on the 11th, about one o'clock, the *Fairy*, the *Elfin*, *Fire-Queen*, and *Black Eagle*, with the queen, the royal family, and their suite, arrived at Spithead, and the admirals were received on board the royal yacht, and introduced to the queen. This ceremony over, they returned to their vessels, which got under weigh immediately, and stood out to sea. Whilst they were weighing anchor, the *Fairy* hovered about them; but when they formed into line, and were fairly started, the little yacht put on her steam; got in advance of the foremost, and gallantly led the way, her majesty standing all the time on deck, till the fleet reached St. Helen's, where the yacht tacked and stood for Osborne. As it passed the ships in returning, loud cheers again burst forth from the crews; and then the fleet—having been joined by the *Cressy*, of 81 guns, 750 men, and 400 horse-power, Captain Richard L. Warren—stood on its way; and, on the 18th (though the vessels were, on the 15th and 16th, much scattered by a fog), the entire squadron, except the *Royal George*, was safely anchored in Wingo Bay. That vessel arrived on the 19th.—Admiral Corry sailed on the 16th, his ships having first been

visited by her majesty in the *Fairy*. He, also, arrived safe in Wingo Bay.

Sir Charles Napier had sailed with sealed orders, which were opened when he reached the 55th degree of north latitude. He was directed—the Baltic being free from ice—to take up such a position near its entrance, as would enable him promptly and effectually to execute the orders of her majesty. At that time, the answer of the czar to the *ultimatum* of the allies had not been received; and he was ordered, therefore, “not to assume an attitude of positive hostility against Russia, nor to seek occasion for a conflict with the Russian fleets in their own ports.” He was, however, “to take care that no Russian ship of war passed by him into the North Sea, on account of the injury which it might inflict on British commerce:” nor was he, by “any overstrained forbearance, to allow any portion of the Russian fleet to place itself in a position to inflict injury on British interests.” If any Russian ships “attempted to pass him, he was to apprise their commanders that they could not be allowed to do so; if they persisted, he was to attack them;” and “if they took shelter in a neutral port, he was to watch them, and to prevent their leaving the Baltic.” He was further instructed “to take the most effectual means to protect Danish or Swedish ships and territory from any hostile attack by Russia,” should “an application to that effect be made to him by the governments of Denmark or Sweden.”*

At that time, besides having troops at Helsingfors, in the fortress of Sweaborg, and in Finland, Russia had a formidable naval force in the Baltic—forming a total of fifty-one vessels and 2,940 guns, distributed between Helsingfors and Cronstadt. The following is a list of the vessels in each port:—

HELSINGFORS.—*Ships of the Line*.—Russia, 120 guns; Pultawa, Proshar, and Vladimir, 84 guns each; Brienne, Assis, Ezekiel, and Andrew, 74 guns each.—*Frigate*.—Cæsarowitch, 44 guns. *Brigs*.—Ajax and Palinurus, 20 guns each. *Paddle-wheel Steamers*.—Olaf, 16; Smiloi, 12; and Gremiaschi, 6 guns.

CRONSTADT.—*Ships of the Line*.—Emperor Peter I., and Empress Mary, 120 guns each; St. George the Conqueror, 112 guns; Emgeiten, Krasnoi, Gunule, Volga, and Empress Alexandrina, 84 guns each; Narva, Beresina, Borodino, Smolensko, Finland, Katzbach, Culm, Ingermanland, Famyat Azofou, Sisoï the Great, Villagosh, Nation-

* *The Baltic Campaign.*

† *Ibid.*

mena, Fère-champenoise, and Michael, 74 guns each. *Frigates*.—Alexander Nevsky, 58 guns; Constantine, Cæsena, Amphithrite, and Castor, 44 guns each. *Brigs and Corvettes*.—Paris, Philoctetes, and Prince of Warsaw, 20 guns each. *Paddle-wheel Steamers*.—Kamschatka, 16 guns; Girssaschi, Ruric, Chrabior, Bogatir, Diana, and Hercules, 6 guns each.

Besides these vessels, there were, at Abo, Cronstadt, Helsingfors, Riga, and other ports, a number of gun-boats, and other small vessels, all well-armed. “The main-deck guns of the ships recently constructed, consisted of 48-pounders, with four shell 68-pounders. The upper deck was armed with 68-pounders. The whole naval force mounted 3,160 guns; and the full complement of men for the ships, was 33,750; but the actual number on board was 27,000, exclusive of the Finnish contingent, amounting to 1,000 men, who were, probably, reserved for fifty gun-boats in course of construction in Finland, for the most part at Abo, or its vicinity.”† With such a force it is unaccountable that the Russian admirals did not leave their ports, and give battle to their enemy. They must either have been singularly deficient in intelligence, or they must have known that the first hostile fleet that arrived in the Baltic was greatly inferior to their own; and if they had attacked Sir Charles Napier before he was joined by Admiral Corry or the French, they ought, from the superiority of force, to have obtained a victory as complete as that of the Nile or Trafalgar. But, during the whole of the season that the Baltic was navigable, the admirals kept their ships under shelter of their stone walls and heavy batteries; nor did the allies, when united, attack them.

The fleet entered the Baltic by the Great Belt, on the 26th of March. Kiel—a port “situated on the south-west coast of a small bay or arm of the Baltic, running up between the coast of Schleswig and Holstein on the south-west, and the islands of Funen and Laland on the north-east”—had been appointed as the rendezvous; and the ships having all concentrated there, on the 31st they sailed and steamed for Kiøge Bay, “on the east coast of Zealand, twenty-one miles to the southward of Copenhagen,” where they anchored on the 1st of April.

The intelligence of the declaration of war was received on the 29th of March; but it was not officially communicated to the fleet till the 4th of April. On that day the news was announced from the

Duke of Wellington to every ship in the fleet, in the following message from the admiral:—

“Lads!—War is declared, with a bold and numerous enemy to meet. Should they offer us battle, you will know what to do with them. Success depends on the precision and quickness of your fire. Also, lads! sharpen your cutlasses, and the day’s your own.”

The sailors received the message with shouts of joy; and on board the flag-ship of the admiral it was long before the cheering for her majesty and officers subsided; “peal after peal floating over the waters, until the most distant sounded like the echo of the other. Then hands were piped down, men under punishment were forgiven, and an extra glass of grog at supper-time* ended the day. There were similar proceedings on board the other ships.

Fresh instructions from her majesty’s government arrived with the declaration of war. “The admiral was ordered to maintain the most friendly relations with his French allies when they joined. Previous to this, he was to establish a strict blockade of the Gulf of Finland, and pay particular attention to the Aland Islands, ascertaining the exact strength of Bomarsund, and the nature of its approaches.” He was, however, to make it “his principal object to prevent the Russians from breaking his line of blockade;” and “to cut off all supplies from Finland to Aland.” When he had “made his surveys, he was to report whether Bomarsund was open to attack; and, if so, what amount of military force would ensure its success. He was also to look into Revel, and other fortified places, in the rear of his line of blockade;” but whether he should, or should not, attack those, was “left to his own discretion.”†

Some of Admiral Corry’s division had joined Sir Charles before the 4th of April; and most of the vessels entered the Baltic about that time, and reached Kioge Bay. While he remained there, Sir Charles Napier had attentively studied the map of the Baltic; and he determined, as soon as possible, to proceed to Hango Head, the most southernly point of the Gulf of Finland.—On the 4th of April, after the declaration of war was made known to the

fleet, Rear-admiral Plumridge was dispatched with a small squadron, consisting of the *Leopard*, *Tribune*, *Dauntless*, and *Lightning*, with orders to reconnoitre that part of the Baltic, and ascertain whether the ice had cleared away; to what extent the coast was fortified; and also whether secure anchorage could be obtained. Whilst waiting the result, Sir Charles Napier visited Copenhagen, and there ascertained that the Danish government meant to observe a strict neutrality. The Hanscatic League adopted a similar course.

In a few days, information was received from Admiral Plumridge, that the sea was free from ice as far as Helsingfors; and Sir Charles Napier, with twelve ships, stood towards the Gulf of Finland; leaving Admiral Corry to cruise between Dager Ort and Hufoudskar, with orders to intercept all vessels in that direction. The advance to Finland led to no results; and as the Russians had removed the beacons and lights, and there were no local pilots on board the English fleet—nor could any be obtained—the Gulf of Finland was not entered; but the squadron tacked to the west, and, on the 21st of April, anchored in the roads of Elfsnabben, “a noble harbour on the coast of Sweden, about fifteen English miles below Stockholm.” Whilst the ships remained there, the officers and crews were treated with great kindness and hospitality by the inhabitants; and the English *chargé d’affaires* at Stockholm, the Hon. Mr. Grey, visited Sir Charles on board his ship. On the 25th of April, the admiral returned with Mr. Grey to Stockholm, where he was honoured by the king with an audience; and a long conversation took place between the monarch and the officer. In this conversation, Sir Charles endeavoured to induce the king to take part with the allies. Amongst other things, he represented to his majesty, “that Russia was within four hours’ steam of Stockholm, and that Sweden must always be in danger so long as the former power possessed the Aland Isles.”‡ The king was friendly, but declared he intended to maintain his neutrality. Lord Clarendon, however, to whom the conversation was reported by Sir Charles, expressed, in reply, his opinion that “it had produced an excellent effect;” and added, “that if, with the French troops, which would join him at the end of the month, he could make the Aland Isles change masters, it would be ‘a right good

* Letter from one on board the *Duke of Wellington*.

† *Campaign in the Baltic*.

‡ *Ibid*.

deed."* Though the attack on Bomarsund was contemplated as one object of the expedition, Sir James Graham cautioned the commander-in-chief against rashness, as "he had a great respect for stone walls, and had no fancy for running even screw line-of-battle ships against them." The first lord of the admiralty said, he "believed Sweaborg and Cronstadt to be all but impregnable from the sea, and only a very large army could co-operate by land efficiently." He expressed his opinion that the Russian commanders would not come out of their strongholds to attack the English fleet. "They will wait," he wrote to the admiral—

"And watch an opportunity, in the hope that you will seriously cripple your force by knocking your head against their forts, when they may take you at a serious disadvantage, and inflict a fatal blow. These considerations must not be overlooked by you. I recall them to your mind, lest, in the eager desire to achieve a great exploit, and to satisfy the wild wishes of an impatient multitude at home, you should yield to some rash impulse, and fail in the discharge of the noblest of duties—which is the moral courage to do what you know to be right, at the risk of being accused of having done wrong."†

No wonder that Sir Charles was "cautious" after such advice.

The fleet under the commander-in-chief remained in Elfsnabben harbour till the 5th of May; and during nearly the whole of that month, continued cruising between Hango Head and Gottland. Sir Charles reduced the ships with him to six ships of the line, two block ships, two frigates, and two paddle-steamers, in "the hope that the disparity of his force to the number of the Russian ships, would induce them to come out and attack him;" which, however, they evinced no disposition to do.—Admiral Corry kept in the neighbourhood of Gottska Sound; and Admiral Plumridge was sent with a "flying squadron," consisting of the *Leopard*, the *Valorous*, the *Vulture*, and the *Odin*, to cruise in the Gulf of Bothnia, and destroy all the public stores collected there. He was successful to a great extent, as forty-six vessels, of from 100 to 1,200 tons, and tar, timber, saltpetre, and tallow, to the value of from £300,000 to £400,000, were destroyed. This service, though not one of much

honour, was attended with considerable danger; and, in one instance, the English met with a repulse. The admiral being informed that a screw-steamer was in the port of Gamla-Karleby, which would be of great use to the squadron, the *Odin* and *Vulture* were sent to that port, and, on the 7th of June, Lieutenant Wise went on shore with a flag of truce, to demand that this steamer, the property of the emperor of Russia, and all other public property, should be given up; promising that, if this were done, the town and private property should be respected. The answer being unsatisfactory, the boats of the two vessels, under Lieutenants Wise and Carrington, carrying twenty-one officers and 231 men, proceeded up the inlet on which the town is situated, with the intention of bringing off the schooner, and destroying any other public property. They had not advanced far before a fire of field-pieces and musketry was opened upon them, from a position so well concealed by houses and wood, that, while destructive to the British, they could not return it with any effect. The paddle-box boat of the *Vulture* was destroyed before she could get out of reach; three officers and four men were killed; two officers and nineteen men were wounded; and the crew of the paddle-box boat, twenty-eight in number, were taken prisoners. Finding that the enemy was numerous, from the number of guns and muskets, which poured-in a continuous fire, and that it was impossible for him to make any impression on the position, Lieutenant Wise gave the signal to retreat.‡ —In the Russian papers this repulse was made a cause of great exultation.

A party of men from the *Amphion* and *Conflict*, only 120 in number, displayed great gallantry at Libau, on the 17th of May. That town contains 10,000 inhabitants, and there were at least 500 troops stationed there. In the face of these odds, the little band went with a flag of truce, and demanded that some Russian vessels, which lay there dismantled, should be given up. The authorities refused at first; but the sight of the armed boats alarmed them, and they yielded, lest a larger force should be sent, and the town destroyed.§ Eight ships were found there, which the sailors got out of the port. They were four hours engaged in the task, and no attack was made upon them. Before they had finished their work they began to cou-

* *The Baltic Campaign.* There were several hundred soldiers on board the French fleet.

† *The Baltic Campaign.*

‡ Lieutenant Wise's report to Captain Glasse.

§ Captain Key's despatch.

sider it quite a pleasure party—a matter of course, as it were; and to regard every face looking at them as that of a friend, not a Russian.*—A more brilliant affair—because there was some severe fighting, and that, on the part of the English, against considerable odds—took place on the 19th of May. On that day, the *Hecla* and the *Arrogant* entered the Strait of Witsund, about twelve miles up which the town of Eckness is situated. It was known that three large Russian merchant ships lay there, loaded, and Captain Yelverton resolved to seize them. The ships had to proceed up the Strait, which was defended by batteries; and Captain Hall, who was enabled to get furthest up, as the *Hecla* was lighter of draft than the *Arrogant*, brought off one of the vessels; the other two being aground, under the fire of a battery, which the *Arrogant* could not get near enough to silence, were left behind. The other batteries were disabled; and Captain Hall landed, and brought off three guns as trophies. Though the batteries kept up a fierce fire for some time, accompanied by a constant discharge of rifles—"the broadside of the *Arrogant* being absolutely studded with shot and rifle-balls"—the loss in men was only two killed and four wounded on board that ship; and the same number of wounded one being Captain Hall, and one killed, on board the *Hecla*. The Russian loss was much greater.

It appears, from Sir Charles Napier's correspondence with the admiralty, that he made constant and bitter complaints about his fleet being so ill-manned; the ships were short of their complement of hands; and the crews were described as "a heterogeneous mass, scraped together from the streets of London, and elsewhere." But, in this expedition—commenced in little more than two months after the fleet left Spithead—we are told, that "the men were exposed to great trials and temptations, both from the almost uninterrupted sleet, with very cold weather, and the large number of spirit stores open in most places where they landed: but they acquitted themselves well; their conduct was excellent; and they inspired their officers with the greatest confidence in their devotion."†

* Letter from an officer of the *Amphion*.

† Despatch from Lieutenant Priest, of the *Leopard*.

‡ Letter from the fleet.

The comparatively "little" affairs in which the "flying squadron" was engaged, though creditable to the men, who displayed both a daring spirit, and a great capability of enduring hardships and fatigue, were not what the English expected from the large force in the Baltic: they were much dissatisfied that nothing more was attempted; and were disposed to think that the bravery and talents of Sir Charles Napier had been greatly overrated. "What would Nelson have done with such a force?" was a question which we heard repeatedly asked at the time; and it was inferred that he would have effected something much more important than we were likely to hear of, as the result of the Baltic expedition of 1854. Sir Charles, however, was resolved to proceed with caution. He remained in the Hango-roads during the month of May; but, though he thought it would be easy to drive the enemy from the forts erected there (four in number), and from the batteries, he declined the attempt, because, "as he could not hold them, it would be better to let them alone!" And when the *Dragon*, *Magicienne*, *Hecla*, and *Basilisk* opened a fire upon them, he ordered the firing to cease. It was with great difficulty the men could be induced to obey.

Early in June the admiral entered the Gulf of Finland with his squadron, and anchored in Baro Sound, "a well-protected anchorage, twenty-one miles to the south-west of Helsingfors."‡ There the French fleet joined. That fleet, though said to be ready for sea when Sir Charles Napier sailed from Spithead, did not leave Brest till the 11th of April, and arrived in the Great Belt on the 11th of May. On the 13th of June it reached Baro Sound; and, immediately afterwards, the two admirals consulted as to the course which the united squadron should pursue. Sir Charles Napier, thinking it in vain to attack Cronstadt or Sweaborg, was for attacking the Aland Isles. Admiral Parseval Deschenes wished to reconnoitre Cronstadt; and doubted the propriety of attacking Aland without troops. To carry out his views the fleets sailed to Cronstadt on the 22nd of June; and, after taking as close an examination of the fort and its defences as possible, the commanders appear to have been convinced that they could neither attack the fortifications, nor the ships which those fortifications protected, with any chance of

success. They, therefore, ordered the two fleets back to Baro Sound, where they resolved to prepare for a descent upon the Aland Isles, and to await in the Sound the arrival of troops which the French emperor promised to supply, if necessary. The two admirals deemed they were; though the result of an unauthorised bombardment of Bomarsund, by the *Hecla*, *Valorous*, and *Odin*, on the 21st of June—which was discontinued because the vessels had nearly expended all their shot and shell; the enemy, at the same time, having slackened his returning fire, and only sending forth an occasional shot—convinced Captain Hall, that, if his attack had been followed up, Aland might have been captured with very little loss. Sir Charles Napier and the French admiral thought differently. We believe they were wrong.

The northern termination of the Baltic is termed the Gulf of Bothnia. It commences at 60° N. lat., the Gulf of Finland branching off to the east; and the city of Abo stands on the point of land which runs out into the sea, where the junction of the two gulfs takes place. "The entire space across the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, from Abo to Stockholm, is little more than a succession of islands, between which the sea is so inclosed as to present, in many places, the appearance of a succession of inland lakes."* These isles lie in about 20° E. long., and are near 300 in number. Only about eighty are inhabited; and, on more than 200, there are no living creatures except a few wild birds or animals. They cover an area of between four and five hundred square miles, of which the largest island, called Aland, occupies 250. Most writers have estimated the number of inhabitants as at least 15,000. But Mr. Earp, writing from the information furnished him by Sir Charles Napier, says—

"They are only about 6,000 in number. They chiefly gain their livelihood as fishermen, and by carrying wood and other articles between Finland and Stockholm. The boats used in this traffic are of a very primitive description, and are so constructed as to carry wood and live fish at the same time. As these boats are not adapted to encounter bad weather, the inhabitants only sail with a fair wind; so that they cannot be accounted either a hardy or very expert race of seamen. They are Swedes, in language and extraction; and, in addition to their fisheries, possess a few cattle and sheep. Cultivation is at a very low ebb, there

being but little arable land; but forests, chiefly of lime and birch, are numerous. Most of the islands stand at a considerable elevation above the sea, and are intersected by granite peaks. There are no rivers; but lakes in the valleys are frequent. The religion is protestant; and the islands are divided into eight parishes, which have as many churches, besides chapels of ease, in extra-parochial districts."

Previous to the 14th century, these islands were independent, and governed by kings or princes of their own. In that century they were occupied by the Swedes, and became a province of that kingdom. A fortress, called the castle of Castelholm, was erected upon what is now a low granite rock, part of the island of Aland, where the Swedish governors resided till 1634. Its ruins still remain. Peter I. gained his first naval victory over the Swedes near these islands, in 1714. After the battle the Russians landed, and plundered the inhabitants, some of whom were carried off into captivity; the others fled to Sweden. The islands remained uninhabited till 1727, when settlers arrived there from that country. In 1742 the Russians took possession of the islands; and they have since remained under their dominion, except for a short period in 1808-'9, when the Alanders armed themselves, and expelled their rulers. The treaty of Frederickschaum, however, concluded in 1809, which gave East Bothnia, and that part of Finland not conquered by Peter I., to Russia, also secured to her the Aland Isles.†

The emperors of Russia have expended vast sums in fortifying what are considered the salient points in their dominions. In the Gulf of Finland, they rendered Cronstadt, as it seems, impregnable, to defend St. Petersburg. Since Finland came into their possession they have greatly strengthened Sweaborg, considered "the Gibraltar of the north," and other forts built by the Fins and Swedes, and added to their number; and, on the island of Aland, the Emperor Nicholas commenced the erection of several formidable forts, which occupied twenty years in completing, and cost £6,000,000. One large casemated fort, built on the shore at the head of the harbour, in the shape of a crescent, and which was forty feet high, mounted 120 guns, in two tiers. To the north-east and north-west, each about a mile and a-half from the Crescent fort, stood two strong marmello towers, mounting twenty or thirty guns each—called Fort Nottich, and Fort

* Hughes.

† *The Aland Isles*; translated from the German, by Sir Lascelles Wrexall.

Tzee. These works stood on the eastern point of Aland, and commanded the *Bomar Sund*, a narrow strait, which runs between Aland and a small island called Prastö, upon which, and on another island, Siguisklas, fortifications were also erected. Round the fortifications on Aland, houses were built, and all received the name of Bomarsund, from the strait.—These islands are a connecting link between Sweden on the west, and Finland on the east. They were little known; and, when the works were carrying on, they did not excite much attention; the only feeling inspired by them amongst chance visitors being, one of wonder that any government should expend so much money on such a situation. However, the capture of the isles elucidated the views of Nicholas. Some correspondence was found, which proved that his “ambitious, grasping policy loomed to the west, as well as to the east.” He did not intend to content himself with the Aland Isles. The acquisition of Gothland from Sweden, and Bornholm from Denmark, was contemplated. Those islands were also to have been fortified; and the czar looked forward to gaining the complete control of those two countries, and to the conversion of the Baltic into a Russian lake, as completely as he expected he had conferred that character on the Black Sea.* When the allies arrived at Bomarsund, more fortifications were in progress; and a survey of the sea, and of the adjacent territories, convinced our officers, “that, had it not been for the war, the fate of Sweden must soon have been sealed.”†

When it was determined, that, as an attack on Cronstadt or Sweaborg was inadvisable, one on Bomarsund should be made—and Sir Charles Napier had declared his opinion that it could not be undertaken, with safety, with less than 10,000 troops—the British government proposed to the emperor of the French, to send there 6,000 troops, which, with the English marines, and the soldiers already on board the French ships of war, would raise about the number of men required. Napoleon at once consented, but contributed a larger number of men than was applied for; 742 officers, and 9,064 rank and file, under the command of General Baraguay d’Hilliers, being embarked in the Calais roads, on the 14th of July, on board of

English transports: 500 engineers were also sent to the Baltic in French ships of war. The English ships, *Hannibal*, 91, Commodore the Hon. F. Grey, who commanded the squadron; the *Royal William*, 120; the *Algiers*, 91; the *St. Vincent*, 102; and three smaller vessels, escorted the whole. The squadron, and a part of its convoy, arrived at Led Sund—“a secure and comfortable harbour, formed by the island of Lemland (one of the Aland group) on the north, and a multitude of smaller ones on the south and west”—on the 30th of July. The English fleet had been there for some days, and had still to wait till the 5th of August before the remainder of the French ships joined. On the 7th the armament was off the north-west tower of Bomarsund; on the 8th the landing was effected; and, to the surprise of all—a hard struggle being anticipated—no opposition was offered. The disembarking was superintended by Admiral Chads and Captain Penaud, and completed in excellent order, the troops being enabled leisurely to take up positions where they could act with most effect.—Whilst the landing was going on, the *Amphion* and *Phlegethon* attacked a 7-gun battery, which stood on Transvig point, in front nearly of the Crescent fort. The Russians returned the fire with “wonderful precision;”‡ but, in forty minutes, the guns were silenced, and some marines and sailors were sent on shore to spike them. The gunners retreated to the fort.

From the 9th to the 12th of August, the troops were employed in erecting batteries, the positions being chosen by the French officers, General Niel and Lieutenant-colonel de Rochbouë; and the English General Jones, Brigade-major King, Lieutenants Nugent, Cowell, and Wrottesley. The English guns were landed from the ships, and dragged to their position by the seamen, there being no horses with the English fleet: they were drawn on sledges, “over execrable ground, the greater portion being steep rocky hills, and ploughed fields.”—“The exertions and good-will of the officers and men created much astonishment in the encampment of the French troops, who cheered them in passing; and, on some of the most difficult ascents, went in most voluntarily and cheerfully to the drag-ropes, and gave their assistance.”§ While the gallant fellows

* *History of the War in Russia and Turkey*; published in 1856.

† *Baltic Campaign*.

‡ Sir Charles Napier.

§ Despatch of Rear-admiral Chads.

were thus employed, the *Penelope*, in going through a narrow strait "between the islands of Prastö and Tofto, to watch the passage, unfortunately ran ashore on an unknown rock off Bomarsund;"* and the enemy, having discovered the position of the vessel, were firing shell and red-hot shot upon her, just as the tars, fatigued with the labour of dragging the caannon from the shore, were sitting down to their dinner. They were ordered to embark immediately, as their ships might be required. "The order was received with cheers; and, forgetting dinners and fatigue, they rushed down to their boats, in three-quarters of an hour, by a short route, but close under the enemy's fire."† The *Penelope* was got off by throwing her guns overboard, and she was thus saved from the fate of the *Tiger*. The next day, the remainder of the guns were landed in the same manner. "The band of the ship attended the parties; and the whole march was one of triumph over difficulties that had previously been considered almost insurmountable. The spirits of the men engaged in it were occasionally excited by a dropping shot from the enemy."‡

The three forts were taken with very little difficulty; and there is no doubt that, had Captain Hall's advice been followed, the capture might have been made without incurring the delay and expense of sending to Europe for 10,000 soldiers. There were eighty artillery horses on board the French ships: their cannon, in consequence, when landed, were got into position with much less expenditure of time and trouble than those of the British. They were, therefore, enabled to open a battery of four 16-pounders, and four mortars, on Fort Tzee, at 4 A. M. on the 13th of August, which continued during the day. The next morning the French recommenced firing, but no return was made. A body of chasseurs, finding that the guns of the fort were silent, offered to march up and ascertain the reason. The offer was accepted; and when the soldiers reached the gate, they found no one to oppose them. They entered; and, on reaching a sort of ante-room, they saw the commandant, who made a dash at the leading chasseur with his sword, but almost immediately surrendered. It was then ascertained that about fifty Russians had been

killed the day before; the remainder, few in number, had refused to fight; and, though supplied with liquor till they were intoxicated, they continued obstinate in their disobedience. They were made prisoners, and the fort was taken possession of by the chasseurs. General Jones had a battery of 32-pounders ready to join in the bombardment when the French commenced firing; but General Baraguay d'Hilliers directed him to withhold his fire till the next day. This battery was manned with seamen and marines from the *Edinburgh*, *Hogue*, *Ajax*, and *Blenheim*; and as it was not wanted for the west fort, on the morning of the 15th a splendid fire was opened from it on Fort Nottich. It was continued during the day; and, at 6 P. M., one side of the fort being knocked in, the Russian colours were struck, and the gates opened to the conquerors. The garrison (120 of whom remained), who had fought bravely, were taken prisoners to the British camp.

All this time, General Baraguay d'Hilliers was employed in establishing his breaching batteries against the great Crescent fortress; the ships of the allied squadron, meanwhile, directing a heavy fire against it, on the 14th and 15th, with their shell-guns, causing serious damage.§ The object was, to attract the notice of the enemy from General Baraguay d'Hilliers' operations; and it succeeded, for he met with little opposition, and was soon enabled to open his mortars on the fort; some of the guns from which were then directed on Fort Tzee, the commandant having found that it had surrendered into the hands of the allies. Soon a shot fell into the powder-magazine, which exploded, and the fort was set on fire. On the 15th, Captain the Hon. F. F. Pelham, of the *Blenheim*, landed a 10-inch pivot gun from his ship—placed it in the 7-gun battery disabled during the landing; and from it kept up "a beautiful fire on the enemy." He continued his bombardment on the 16th; and the garrison directed several heavy guns upon his little force. In the morning of that day, Admiral Napier, observing the shower of missiles which fell in and around Captain Pelham's battery, ordered several of the ships especially to direct their fire upon that part of the fort.

* Sir Charles Napier's despatch.

† Rear-admiral Chads' despatch.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ The ships engaged were the *Asmodée*, *Phleg-*

thon, *Darien*, *Arrogant*, *Amphion*, *Valorous*, *Driver*, *Bulldog*, and *Hecla*. Only two guns were fired from each ship.

This was done so effectually, that, about noon, the garrison displayed a flag of truce. The admiral immediately sent Captain Hall, of the *Bulldog*, on shore, who was joined by Admiral Parseval Deschenes' aide-de-camp, and by General Gouyon and Colonel Saan, two of General Baraguay d'Hilliers' staff. After a short parley, the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The British admiral soon after landed; and, with General Baraguay d'Hilliers, proceeded to the fortress, where the commandant, General Bodisco, an officer eighty years of age, delivered his sword to the latter, who immediately returned it to him. At that time, a detachment of French and English marines, assisted by the *Leopard* and *Hecla*, and the French frigate *Coccyte*, were bombarding the fort on the isle of Prastö. General Bodisco sent a priest to order the officer in command to surrender; and thus the Aland Isles, and their fortifications, erected at such an immense cost, passed from the hands of the czar.

When the Crescent fort surrendered, the French breaching batteries were not completed, so they never came into operation; and it is quite evident, that the French army, of whom only about 2,000 landed, was not wanted. The number of prisoners taken was 2,235, who were all sent to England. The quantity of *matériel* of war captured was considerable: 201 guns; 200 tons of powder; and large stores of provisions. The loss of the enemy in killed is not known; that of the allies was very trifling. *English*—Lieutenant Wrottesley, one marine, and three common sailors, killed; two officers, and eleven seamen and marines wounded. *French*—About fifty wounded. The number of men actually engaged on shore was: *English*—Sappers and miners, 103; marines, 685; total, 788. *French*—Chasseurs, 100; riflemen, 600; infantry, 2,000: total 2,700. Grand total, 3,488.

This bombardment may be said really to have concluded the Baltic campaign of 1854. The French troops returned home soon after: the fleets remained till all the fortifications on the Aland islands were destroyed; Sweden having declined taking possession of those islands, as she was in alliance with Russia, and such an act would have been one of direct hostility. While the work of destruction was going on, a small squadron (the *Odin*, *Alban*, *Gorgon*, and *Driver*), under Captain F.

Scott, reconnoitred the port of Abo, and ascertained the soundings of the channel leading to it, with the number of gun-boats (eighteen, with two guns and eighty men in each) and steamers (one large, and five small ones) which were moored there; but no attack was made. On the 20th of September the two fleets separated, Admiral Parseval Deschenes sailing for France; and, on the 27th, Admiral Plumridge, with six English ships, and two French steamers, that had been left at Ledsund, started for Kiel. The rest of the fleet, under Sir Charles, remained off Nargen till November; during which time, a not very amicable correspondence took place between him and Sir James Graham, who wished Sweaborg to be attacked; but as, before the French fleet left, the admirals had thought the enterprise could not be successfully carried out, the English commander would not run the risk of undertaking it alone: for which, we think, he cannot be blamed.—At the close of November, he left Nargen for Kiel; and, on the 7th of December, sailed for England. He arrived off the North Foreland on the 16th; and the ships being put in ordinary, he started for London, where, on the 22nd, he had an interview with Sir James Graham, who received him coldly; the impression being, both at the admiralty and with the public, that he had not effected what he ought to have done with the large force at his command.—On the 23rd, he received a letter, drawn up at the Board on the 22nd (after his interview with the first lord), signed by Admiral R. Dundas, and the Right Hon. W. Cowper, ordering him to strike his flag. Thus the professional life of Sir Charles Napier closed.

There was a "little campaign" in the White Sea, from June to October, carried on by the *Eurydice*, twenty-six guns, Commodore E. Ommaney, who had the chief command; the *Miranda*, fourteen guns, Captain E. M. Lyons; and the *Brisk*, fourteen, Captain A. J. Curtis. The object was, "to blockade the extreme northern ports of Russia, and thus," in connexion with the operations in the Baltic and Black Seas, "close up all the naval outlets by which that empire could communicate with the rest of Europe." The Russians had fortified the monastery of Solovetskoi, on the island of the same name; the "Monastery of the Cross," on Kio island; and another monastery on Auger island; all of

which were visited, and the public property captured or destroyed. Pushlachta, which "stands a few miles up a river falling into the Bay of Onega," was, on the 23rd of July, destroyed, the inhabitants having refused, when a flag of truce was sent on shore, to sell beef to the sailors, and joining the soldiers stationed there in an attack upon them. The united military and civilian force was soon dispersed; and it was then found that everything of value had been carried off. Having captured a number of cattle, which they would rather have purchased and paid for, the sailors re-embarked. The English ships were joined by two French ships, the *Psyche* and *Beauvanoir*, on the 12th of August, when a complete blockade of the White Sea was established, no vessels being allowed to enter or depart.—The last affair in which there was any contact with a hostile force, was at Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, "lying at the extreme angle of Kola Bay, a few miles to the eastward of North Cape." The surrender of the fort, garrison, and town, of all arms and ammunition, and of every other description of property belonging to the Russian government, was demanded. As a refusal was given, a bombardment commenced, which was kept up for some time, and returned with great spirit. The enemy did not silence their guns till the town had been set on fire in several places, when they fled. The quantity of stores, &c., captured, was considerable.—When the ice set in, the ships returned to England; the *Miranda* arriving at Portsmouth on the 1st, and the *Eurydice* and the *Brisk* on the 15th, of October.

The Russians complained very much of this expedition; asserting, that the sailors made unjustifiable attacks on defenceless villages and private property. But—though it was such an expedition as we have no pleasure in describing—it was perfectly justifiable, as it was directed solely against public property, the right to destroy which, in time of war, rests with belligerents. If the Russian fleets had not been confined to their ports, but had been able to make descents on the coasts of England and France, we have reason to believe, from what occurred in other wars, that devastation of private property would have been, with them, the rule, and not the rare exception, as it was in every case in which the British soldiers and sailors were concerned.

To close the naval events of the year, we must now pass to the wide Pacific Ocean, where a Russian settlement, on the coast of Kamschatka, was unsuccessfully attacked. A small squadron was cruising in that sea for the protection of British and French traders. It consisted of the following vessels:—*English*—the *President*, line-of-battle ship, of fifty guns; the *Pique* and *Amphitrite*, frigates of forty and twenty-four guns each; and the *Virago*, steamer, of six guns. *French*—*La Forte* and *L'Eurydice*, frigates of sixty and thirty-two guns; *L'Artemise*, corvette, of thirty guns; and *L'Obligado*, brig, of sixteen guns. In June, from the 17th to the 25th, this squadron was at Honolulu, the principal port of the Sandwich Islands, taking in provisions and water. There the commanders, Rear-admiral David Price, and Rear-admiral Fevrier des Pointes, were informed that three Russian vessels had been cruising about; that two of them, the *Aurora* and the *Dwina*, had sailed for Petropaulovski; and a third, the *Pallas*, for the river Amoor. As it was considered that these vessels might inflict considerable injury on the commerce of the allies in the Pacific, the commanders resolved to sail for the peninsula of Kamschatka, on the eastern side of which we find the bay of Avatscha, on whose shores, about eight miles from its mouth, Petropaulovski, or the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is the capital of Kamschatka, is built. Rear-admiral Zavioka was in command there; and when he became aware, about the 20th of July, that England and France had declared war against Russia, he set all the men he could command at work to strengthen the defences of the place; which is well protected by nature—"a sand-bank running parallel with the town, and dividing the bay into the 'inner' and the 'outer' harbour; thus opposing a formidable obstacle to the advance of a squadron, as the ships could only pass singly through the single entrance from the latter to the former."—The allied squadrons arrived off the bay on the 28th of August. By that time the Russian admiral had thrown up eight batteries in the best positions for defence, on which fifty guns, of large calibre, were mounted. The *Aurora* and *Dwina*, which had entered the bay not long before the allied squadrons arrived, were dismantled, and moored behind one of the batteries, so as to enable

them to bring their guns to bear on any vessels that might endeavour to approach the town. A strong detachment of regular troops formed the garrison; and the civil functionaries, and many of the inhabitants, had volunteered to assist the soldiers in defending their homesteads, should they be attacked.

At mid-day, on the 29th of August, the *President*, *La Forte*, the *Pique*, and *Eurydice*, entered the bay in the order in which they are named; the *Virago* taking the left of the *President*, and *L'Obligado* the left of *La Forte*. The *Virago*, at half-past four, commenced firing on the two dismantled ships, whose position was not far from the town. Whether her guns did any harm is not known; but bombs discharged from the town did not reach the vessels; they burst in the air. Some of the batteries also fired upon the intruding ships. As it was too late to make any decisive attack that day, the squadron anchored in the bay; and, "during the night, to deceive and annoy the Russian sentinels, lanterns were hung about the rigging, and guns fired to counterfeit signals. The enemy continued to fire from the batteries without effect."* The next morning, when the vessels had weighed anchor, and were making way for the town, Rear-admiral Price shot himself in the cabin of the *President*, and died shortly after. This led to the vessels returning to the anchorage of the previous night; and to Captain Sir F. W. E. Nicolson, of the *Pique*, taking the command of the English squadron; whilst that of the two united devolved on the French admiral.—What prompted the rear-admiral to commit this rash act has never been ascertained.

The attack was deferred till the 31st, when the English frigates were towed into position, with their broadsides to the batteries; and detachments of seamen and marines, English and French, were landed, to attack a 3-gun battery that commanded the entrance of the harbour: as they advanced the Russians spiked their guns, and fled. As the allies returned to their vessels, they were greatly annoyed by the guns from the dismantled *Aurora*—"the snake in the grass," as the British sailors called her; but, whilst the *President* and *La Forte*, and the British frigates, silenced a 5-gun and

an 11-gun battery, the fire from the other vessels cleared the decks of the *Aurora*: the fighting then ceased for that day.—On the next, nothing was done except to land the body of the rear-admiral, and bury it. The party who performed this duty was joined by three Americans, who pretended to be deserters from whalers, and wished to return on board with the English sailors. The latter brought them off; and they unhesitatingly gave to Captain Nicolson details of the amount and position of the enemy's force. From this information, a plan for making a combined attack, by sea and land, was drawn out, which the English officers wished to carry into immediate execution; and, had they not been deceived, there is little doubt it would have been successful. The French admiral appears to have been unwilling to hazard a second attack: he was overruled; and, "after a great deal of persuasion, he agreed to make another attempt on the batteries to the left of the town; and also to land six or seven hundred men for the purpose, if practicable, of occupying the latter."† This land attack was resolved upon in consequence of the information obtained from the Americans, as to the position of some batteries not visible from the ships; and as to the interior of the town, and the strength of the garrison by which it was defended.‡—The attack was well planned, according to the knowledge of the positions imparted to the allied commanders; but there is no doubt they were intentionally deceived. A path, which had been described as open and free, was found to be thickly encumbered with brushwood, lined by riflemen, and commanded by batteries. The daring assailants cleared every battery they came to: such an incessant fire was kept up, however, from the brush and under-wood, that several officers and many men were killed or wounded. Still the marines and sailors pressed their way gallantly up the hill, behind which the town was placed, and at last gained the summit. There the men, again seeing their officers fall, began to quail. "The difficulties of the land and the jungle were more than they could contend against, whilst an unseen enemy was firing upon them from all sides. After many attempts to rally, the incessant fire compelled them to retreat towards the beach," which they did in good order, carrying off all the wounded to the boats.§—In this attack the English lost twenty-

* Letter of an officer.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Captain Nicolson's despatch to the Admiralty.

§ Captain Burridge's despatch.

six, and the French twenty-seven, killed; the former had eighty-one, and the latter seventy-five, wounded. Amongst the English killed was Captain Parker, of the *President*, an officer who was very much lamented.

The allies could have entirely destroyed the town, but that was not their object: their aim was, to capture and disable the ships of war, to insure the safety of the English and French merchant vessels. But there was no possibility of reaching them, fixed as they were inside the spit that formed the two harbours. And it was found that, by land, unless the assailants were preceded by pioneers, to clear the way, the advance was impracticable, except at a certain loss of men, who could ill be spared. It was resolved, therefore, not to renew the attack, which had occasioned the Russians, according to their own account, a loss of thirty-seven killed, and three officers and seventy-five privates wounded. There was not much damage done to their ships: in the town, the fish-magazine was burnt, and thirteen houses and buildings injured by shot;* a number of their guns were also spiked and rendered useless; and stores and articles of subsistence were destroyed.—As the allies were short of provisions, they could not maintain a blockade; therefore, on the 5th of September, they buried their dead at Tarenski; on the 6th they refitted; and on the 7th they sailed, the English for Vancouver's Island, the French for San Francisco. Before the squadrons separated, the commanding officers exchanged letters, of which we subjoin copies, as they show the good feeling which existed between the sailors of the two nations—a feeling which appears to have prevailed wherever they acted together.—The first letter was

* Russian official account.

addressed, by the French rear-admiral, to Sir F. W. E. Nicolson.

“Frigate *La Forte*, Sept. 6th, 1854.

“Monsieur le Commandant,—If the landing was not happily effected, it is to be attributed to the difficulties of the ground; and, if our men were obliged to re-embark, we have at least acquired the certainty that the two nations can count upon each other; and that, if new circumstances should place us in presence of the enemy, our efforts will be crowned with success. Our crews, unaccustomed to fighting on land, showed great ardour. I beg of you, Monsieur le Commandant, to accept my thanks, and to present them to your captains, officers, and crews. I shall be happy to make known to my government, the courage, discipline, and devotion which they have shown.

“(Signed) Rear-admiral, Commander of the French Naval Forces,
“F. DES POINTES.”

To this the English commander replied—

“H.M.S. *Pique*, Petropaulovski, Sept. 6th, 1854.

“Sir,—It is with great satisfaction that I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me; in which you mention, in high terms, the conduct of our men while engaged on shore with the enemy. Allow me to convey to you, Sir, the heartfelt thanks of every officer and man in the British squadron, for the expression of your good opinion. I hear, from all quarters, the highest praise of the ardent courage of your men while advancing, and of their coolness and discipline during the retreat—remarkable qualities in seamen, who are, as you truly observe, unaccustomed to shore operations. Allow me to take this opportunity of expressing my deep sympathy for the losses sustained among the officers and men of your squadron.—I have, &c.,

“(Signed) F. W. E. NICOLSON,
“Captain and Senior Officer.”

The English vessels were fortunate enough to capture, on the 7th, the Russian government steamer *Amadis*, and a merchant vessel, named the *Sitka*, laden with stores for the garrison at Petropaulovski, and carrying ten guns. Her cargo was valued at 200,000 dollars.

CHAPTER IV.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT; INCREASE OF THE MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES; FIRST DEPARTURE OF TROOPS; THE ARMY AT MALTA · GALLIPOLI; SCUTARI; VARNA; THE CHOLERA AMONGST THE TROOPS; FIRE AT VARNA.

WHEN the British parliament opened, on the 31st of January, 1854, the state of the foreign relations formed a more prominent topic in the queen's speech, than it had done of late years.

"The hopes which I expressed," said her majesty—

"At the close of the last session, that a speedy settlement would be effected of the differences existing between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, have not been realised; and I regret to say that a state of warfare has ensued. I have continued to act in cordial co-operation with the emperor of the French; and my endeavours, in conjunction with my allies, to preserve and to restore peace between the contending parties, although hitherto unsuccessful, have been unremitting. I will not fail to persevere in these endeavours; but, as the continuance of war may deeply affect the interests of this country, and of Europe, I think it necessary to make a further augmentation of my military and naval forces, with a view of supporting my representations, and of more effectually contributing to the restoration of peace."

The proposals made by the administration, in pursuance of this intimation in the speech of her majesty, and to which parliament readily assented, were—to increase the British army, from a total of 102,283 men, to 112,977; the seamen, from 31,000 to 41,000; and the marines, from 10,500 to 15,500: a total increase of 25,694 men. The amount of the military and naval estimates was, in consequence, augmented, from £15,364,076 to £17,621,312. "This increase," as was remarked, "appears utterly insignificant for the necessities of a war with Russia; and we shall find that a considerable addition had to be made to the ministerial demands before the close of the session." But, till war absolutely burst upon us in all its horrors, the Earl of Aberdeen, her majesty's first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, appear to have been strongly of opinion that peace would be preserved. Half-measures were adopted, in consequence, which ultimately added to the difficulties of the position, and greatly increased the expense.

It was the opinion of the English gov-

ernment, that, *should* the western powers find themselves obliged to take part in the hostilities then going on in the Danubian provinces, it would be requisite to send an army to protect Constantinople from the advance of the Russians. As early as the beginning of January, therefore, Lieutenant-colonel Vicars, and three other officers, were sent to Roumelia, specially to examine the country on each side of the Turkish capital, "and report upon its salubrity; to ascertain what places were suitable for the encampment of troops, and where wholesome water was to be procured."* The illness of Colonel Vicars caused Sir John Burgoyne to be put at the head of this commission; and Major Dickson—who was well acquainted with the language and manners of the Turkish people—was sent out to assist him. Three other officers of engineers accompanied the major: the commission, therefore, consisted of eight members, who ably carried out its object.

At that time "the emperor of the French was known to be extremely averse to sending any troops to the East, hoping that the naval superiority of the allies would suffice for the protection of Constantinople; and foreseeing that, if an army were sent at all, it must be a force capable of meeting, on equal terms, the legions of Russia."† But—as the Turks were certainly not numerous enough to do more than defend their own country, even if they could do that successfully—it was seen, that "the position of the allied fleets, which had entered the Black Sea on the 3rd of January, might become critical." For, were the Turks defeated, and the Russians enabled to repeat "the movement which brought them to Saros and Rodosto, in 1829, they might have seized the European castles of the Dardanelles from the rear, and have obtained the command of that important passage, whilst the allied fleets were occupied in the Straits." It was deemed neces-

* Duke of Newcastle's evidence before the Sub-committee.

† *Edinburgh Review*, vol. ci., p. 266.

sary, therefore, that Roumelia should be protected;* and the objections of Napoleon being removed, it was resolved that an allied army, of French and English soldiers, should be dispatched to the East, in order to be ready for any event that might occur.—On the 9th of February, the official order was issued for sending the first detachment of English troops to Malta, the “immediate object being to protect the Turkish empire from invasion, then threatened by the Russian forces.” This stopping short of their ultimate destination was greatly condemned. The course was adopted on the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary of the colonies and of war; who recommended, “that 10,000 men should, in the first instance, be sent to Malta; that the steam transports which conveyed those troops, should return home to convey a similar number, while the advanced corps at Malta were transferred, by means of sailing transports and men-of-war steamers, to Turkey; so that the whole 20,000 or 25,000 men, which it was proposed to send out, would be landed there in one-half the time which would be requisite had more been sent out first to Malta.”†

It was resolved that the English contingent should consist of about 20,000 men; that General Lord Raglan, G.C.B., should be commander-in-chief, and have under him Lieutenant-generals the Duke of Cambridge, Sir De Lacy Evans, Sir Richard England, Sir George Cathcart, Sir George Brown, the Earl of Lucan, Strangways, and Tylden.—Besides the 1st battalion of the Coldstream and Scots fusiliers, and the 3rd battalion of the grenadier guards, twenty-three regiments of infantry were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for foreign service. A cavalry brigade was also ordered to accompany the expedition; and likewise the royal rifle brigade, five field batteries of artillery, and one brigade for small-arm ball-cartridge.—The total number of men which the admiralty were called upon to dispatch to Malta, in the month of February, was 11,442 (509 officers, and 10,933 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file), 272 women, 12 children, 1,598 horses, 750 tons of camp equipage, 850 tons of luggage, 989 tons of ordnance, and 1,088 tons of pro-

visions. The Board had scarcely any means of transport of its own available; and the merchant service was resorted to, which liberally supplied all in which the admiralty was deficient. Seventeen steam companies, without hesitation, placed their resources at the disposal of the government; and, for a time, the mail service, both with the continent of Europe as well as the distant colonies, was interrupted.

The first troops that left London were the 1st battalion of the Coldstream guards, comprising thirty-three officers and 920 privates, which marched out of the metropolis on the 14th of February. The grenadier guards (thirty-two officers and 946 privates) followed on the 22nd; and the Scots fusiliers (thirty officers and 932 privates) on the 28th. The latter—as the queen wished to take leave of them on the morning of their departure—marched, in close order, before the front of Buckingham Palace; her Majesty, the late Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Princes Alfred and Arthur, were in the balcony, in the centre of the building. An immense crowd was collected outside the pallisades which separate the ground in front of the palace from St. James's Park; and the scene was one of great excitement. As the troops marched past, and as they proceeded through London, on that and subsequent occasions, as well as at every station or town where they came in contact with the people, they received an ovation. If they were in the train, the cheers rang from the crowd collected on the way; if they marched through a town, “a thousand hands were stretched out to grasp those of the soldiers as they passed along. The officers, for the most part young-looking men,” on passing along the streets of London, “had full occupation in that sort of friendly greeting along the whole line of march; and many a swart hand, put out from the crowd, was grasped in the most cordial manner by men with the best blood of England in their veins.”‡ The men, on this and subsequent occasions, when marching to the port of embarkation—generally Southampton—always seemed in the highest spirits. The bands which accompanied them played favourite airs—those most popular being “The British Gren-

before the committee appointed in February, 1855 on the motion of Mr. Röebuck, to inquire into the management of the army, and its condition before Sebastopol.

† *Morning Chronicle.*

* *Edinburgh Review.* The article referred to was attributed, we believe correctly, to an *attaché* of the government.

† This was the Duke of Newcastle's explanation

diers," and "The Girl I left behind me;" and they received the enthusiastic cheers, and heartily expressed good wishes, of the multitude with evident pleasure and gratification. It was when embarked, and about to depart from their native land—many leaving wives and children to mourn at their absence—that a shade of sadness was seen to come over their brows. But it soon vanished; and was replaced by a cheerful adaptation of themselves to the circumstances by which they were surrounded; and no men could leave their peaceful homes for the battle-field with a stronger determination to do their duty, and to maintain, at all risks, the honour of their country, than the brave fellows who quitted England in February, March, and April, 1854, for the East; and many of whom perished in a distant land.

More troops were dispatched in March; and after the declaration of war, their number was further increased. The route of those who first left England was Malta, Gallipoli, and Varna. On landing at Malta, they were most cordially received by the Maltese, and the soldiers do not appear to have been subjected to so many inconveniences as they usually are when "campaigning" in a strange land. The regiments that first arrived pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of Valetta. "Our tents were pitched by the 41st, so that we had nothing to do but to go to our berths," wrote a sergeant of the 93rd, on the 21st of March.

"We were served each with a mattress and blanket, the former filled with straw. If at home, we should be quite comfortable with these; but here, the dew is so heavy at night, that, in the morning, we are almost as wet as if we had lain without any covering. We are, here, as if we were actually in the field. The officers are on rations like the men, the only difference being, that they may have theirs cooked as they please. Notwithstanding all our difficulties, every one seems wonderfully content. After we get the duties of the day over, I often go to town, and have a peep at the novelties; and generally, before returning, go into one of the *cafés* (most of which are conducted in the oriental fashion), and have some Eastern dish, or a cup of coffee." * * * "The arrival of letters and papers makes the camp a scene of rejoicing. The papers are read by one of the men in each tent, and silently and anxiously listened to by the others. We can see there is nothing for us but Turkey. All ranks are anxious for the conflict; all we want is to level bayonets with the Russians, and then the bear will get a proper squeeze."

The 12,000 men who landed at Malta in February, could not, however all be

accommodated in camp: there was not room enough for the tents; and "the *auberges* of the knights were filled: the forts of St. Elmo, St. Angelo, Fort Manoel, and the new Lazaretto, were bursting with troops; so, also, was it with the new barracks at Vederla: in fact, it was only wonderful that the caverns of the rocks, the sheltering-places of the milch-goats of the island, had not been also thought of, and secured for the soldiers."* Malta is very quiet in ordinary times; but the influx of strangers diffused excitement and animation throughout the island. The Strada Reale, the principal street in Valetta, was always crowded.

"The pavement, occupied by riflemen, and red-jackets of all sorts, looked like a double avenue of poppies, relieved here and there by their green leaves. The entrances of the hotels—the Imperial, Dunsford's, and Baker's—were assailed by weary, gaping people, earnestly desiring shelter, and generally repulsed by the answer, 'No room.' Then private lodgings were tried, some being of the most extraordinary kind, and in the most objectionable neighbourhoods. A swarthy householder would usher one into the newly-swept charcoal closet, with laudatory remarks on its security from noise and cold—he might have called it light and air. However, so it was, and people were compelled to put up with all sorts of abodes, at all sorts of prices."†

In entering on the campaign, the soldiers who composed the "army of the East"—of which the 12,000 at Malta may be considered as the advanced guard—possessed, it should be observed, many advantages unknown to the soldiers of former wars. The contents of the knapsack were reduced, and so arranged, as, without causing any diminution in the comforts of the soldier, to deduct several pounds from the weight. Many of the men were armed with the Minié rifle, the successor of "Brown Bess," as the old musket used to be called; and the officers carried revolvers, a novel weapon in warfare at that time, and one that proved exceedingly effective. The difference also between the Minié rifle and the "Brown Bess" of former campaigns was exceedingly great, and its importance, especially where superior numbers had to be encountered, could hardly be over-estimated. An ambulance corps had also been organised. This useful innovation is described as

"Composed of pensioners, under Captain Grant, who had been staff-officer of the pensioners at

* *Our Camp in Turkey*; by Mrs. Young.

† *Ibid.*

Waterford. The objects it was intended to promote, were the relief of the broken-down soldier on his march, by carrying part of his burden; and the prompt and careful removal of the wounded from the field of battle, to some spot where their wounds could be dressed, and other assistance rendered, before they were taken to the hospital. Twenty carts, four store-waggon, and a forage-cart, accompanied this corps, each cart being drawn by two, and each waggon by four, horses. The carts were on two wheels, and were covered with white painted canvas, with curtains and aprons.*

In the early part of the field movements of 1854, this ambulance corps was found of great utility. It broke down in the Crimea; but that is not to be wondered at, as it was so very unequal to the services it was then called upon to perform.

The French contingent, it was arranged, was to consist of about the same number of men as the English, and to be commanded by Marshal de St. Arnaud, a distinguished African officer, who, since the *coup-d'état* of December, 1852, had been minister of war to the Emperor Napoleon. Prince Napoleon, General Canrobert, General Bosquet, and General Pelissier, it was arranged, should command divisions; General d'Allonville, the cavalry; General Labauf, the artillery; Colonel Tripiet, the engineers, and Colonel Martimprey, the staff. The army comprised the 6th, 7th, 20th, 26th, 27th, 39th, and 74th regiments of the line; the 7th light infantry; one regiment of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons; five battalions of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, three regiments of Zouaves from Africa, one regiment of Algerine tirailleurs, a corps of Spahis, four companies of sappers and miners, and 11½ batteries of artillery.—Of these forces, it was the first time that the Chasseurs de Vincennes, the Zouaves, and the Spahis, had taken part in a European war. The Chasseurs de Vincennes were riflemen, trained to peculiar celerity of movement, using what is called “the gymnastic pace,” which enables them to take 180 steps in a minute. Hence their name “Chasseurs,” *i. e.*, light-horse, “of Vincennes.” They are also known as “Chasseurs-à-pied;” or light-horse on foot. “The Minié rifle first became famous in their hands.—The Zouaves had their origin in Africa, where Marshal Clausel, in 1830, ordered a native corps to be organised. It took its name “from the *Zoovouas*, a native tribe, famous for their intrepidity, industry, and readiness

in adapting themselves to circumstances.” For several years the attempt was made to compose this corps of the natives, “very few Frenchmen being permitted to enlist.” As, however, the Arabs would not come forward in sufficient numbers, a body of disaffected Frenchmen, who called themselves “volunteers of the charter,” and who had been sent to Algeria because they made themselves too troublesome in France, was incorporated with them. Since then, more Frenchmen, and Europeans not of French origin, have been admitted into the corps; the nucleus of which, says the Duke d’Aumale—in an article on the “Origin of the Zouaves,” that appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1854—“is composed of children of Paris, and natives of the environs of Algiers.” One regiment of Zouaves, called the *tirailleurs indigènes* (*i. e.*, native riflemen), was then formed entirely of natives: in the other regiments serving in Algeria, French and natives mix indifferently; but most of the regiments serving in France, are composed exclusively of Frenchmen, and other Europeans. Their uniform is a blue cloth jacket, with red facings, open in the front, so as to display the throat; a red waistcoat, blue pantaloons, tight round the hips, but very large and loose in the thighs; gaiters, of yellow embroidered leather, extend from the knee to the instep, stretching over the shoe; and the head-dress is a red fez cap, springing from a roll of cloth.—The Spahis—who went from Algeria to the East—are, “by birth, dress, and equipments, purely Arab;” and there is no European corps whose privates are so richly caparisoned. Their uniform is an embroidered Moorish jacket; pantaloons of fine cloth; and the head and shoulders are enveloped in white burnoos. Their saddle-cloths are profusely decorated, though with little taste. The most curious part of their equipment is their saddles, which come up to the waist in front, and have backs reaching to the shoulders. While, in front, their appearance is martial, seen in the rear, they look like “invalided old women, going to the hospital in sedan chairs.” They are brave; but have little discipline, and “are a very picturesque, wild, savage-looking set of men.”

The French contingent did not leave Toulon till March. A few days previously, Marshal de St. Arnaud, on assuming the command, had issued a general order, in

* Letter from the camp.

† Letter from an officer.

which he told the soldiers, that "they were going to defend allies unjustly attacked;" to "accept the defiance which the czar had cast at the nations of the west;" and to "fight side by side with the English, the Turks, and the Egyptians;"—"France and England, formerly enemies and rivals, being now friends and allies. In fighting each other they had acquired mutual esteem, and were, together, mistresses of the seas."—About a thousand officers and men of this contingent—General Canrobert being amongst the former—landed at Malta on the 23rd of March; and there the troops of the two nations met, for the first time, as friends. They were most cordially welcomed both by the English and Maltese; and the day after their arrival, the guards and several regiments of the English infantry, being inspected in the presence of the French officers, the latter "expressed their complete approbation of the discipline and appearance of our troops."—On the 28th, a body of Chasseurs de Vincennes and Zouaves arrived; and their appearance, that of the latter especially, greatly interested both officers and privates of the English army.

Before March expired, Malta lost all its charms; the greater part of the army began to complain of inaction; and the arrival of Sir George Brown, on the 24th, was hailed as the signal for departure. However, no sign was made till after the arrival of Sir John Burgoyne, on the 30th. Then orders for embarkation were given: on the 31st, the *Golden Fleece* departed with some of the guards; and departures took place daily, till all had left. Their destination was Gallipoli—a town situated on the isthmus of Isthonia, which unites the peninsula of Gallipoli, the ancient *Thracian Chersonesus*, with the mainland. "That peninsula extends to the south-west, between 40° 3' and 40° 38' N. lat., and 26° 10' and 27° E. long; separating the Dardanelles, or Hellespont, from the Ægean Sea, on the south-east, and from the Gulf of Saros on the west and north. The town, the ancient Callipolis, forms a crescent, extending round the bay." *Why* this place should be chosen for the encampment of the allies, no one could imagine; and the English and French governments were greatly censured for making it the *point d'appui* of their armies. But the occupation of Gallipoli was recommended by the commission sent out early in the year to

survey the country; and also by the French engineer, Colonel Ardent. It was selected as a "rendezvous, sheltered from the attacks of the enemy; capable of being easily defended; of easy access for the disembarking and provisioning of the army; whilst it would allow the latter to advance or fall back upon its base of operations," whichever was required. It prevented the Russians from advancing, in that direction, from Adrianople, occupying the fortresses of the Dardanelles, and cutting off the retreat of the allied fleet from the Black Sea; and it enabled the allied army entirely to cover Constantinople. These were all essential objects, as it was expected the war would have to be *defensive*, to protect Turkey; not *offensive*, to attack Russia. But they were not explained to the public till the allies had left Gallipoli, at the request of Omar Pasha, for Varna; and as, to the uninitiated, the halt in Roumelia appeared to be only another theatre for inaction, public displeasure was intense.

Gallipoli, however, it was found, and the country around it, could not accommodate the entire force. The French contingent was landed early in April, the greater part having proceeded there direct from France. Only a portion of the British had arrived, and taken up its cantonments, when, on the 13th of April, the *Himalaya* reached the port with nearly 1,800 men on board. Sir George Brown—who had taken the command, as Lord Raglan had not arrived, and had ascertained the nature of the position—ordered that vessel, and those which followed, to proceed to Scutari—a town on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople; where a fine range of barracks, erected by the sultans Selim III. and Mohammed VI., was placed at the disposal of the English. There several regiments were accommodated; and the others occupied a camp, "delightfully situated on the summit and sides of a hill overlooking Stamboul, and the calm brilliant sea between the two continents." The camp at Gallipoli—or rather at the village of Boulahir, near that town—also occupied a pleasant site.

"The ground on which it was pitched was covered with soft turf, intersected with little winding paths, leading either to the French camps, or to favourite bathing-places on the various bays. The fine headlands rustled with crops of young barley; and among all the vivid green, the eye was relieved by patches of purple blossoms, the marsh-mallow, and many flowering weeds. Below,

lay the smooth, blue, lovely water of the gulf, tranquil as an inland lake; and three miles across it, stretched the high land of Roumelia, dotted with Greek villages, and dark with fine woods. The camp consisted of streets of bell-tents; the officers' tents being usually clustered in the rear of that used as an hospital.*

April, and the greater part of May, were spent at Gallipoli and Scutari; the sappers and miners, and engineers, aided by some few of the infantry, being employed in intrenching the position at the former place, and raising earthworks to impede the advance of an enemy on Constantinople. During the time, many of the evils were felt at the former place, which were subsequently experienced in such intensity in the Crimea. The British hospital and commissariat departments were found lamentably deficient. The French fared better; for they were much more plentifully supplied when they landed, and, subsequently, had far fewer scruples in helping themselves. The town of Gallipoli was divided between them and the British; but they secured by far the most eligible portion; and the Turkish governor dying soon after their arrival, they took the civil and military government into their own hands, establishing a police, and enforcing strict obedience to its rules and ordinances. They also fixed a tariff, which included the price of all articles of consumption; and their stragglers "were found tearing up hedge-stakes, vines, and sticks for fuel; and 'looking out,' with wide open eyes, for contributions for the '*pot-au-feu*.'"—The British, on the contrary, scrupulously respected private property, and paid the natives the prices demanded for poultry, and other articles, which they brought to the camp. The assumption of authority by the French in Gallipoli, did not, "it is pleasant to learn, lessen the cordiality between the two armies;" the men "fraternised" together very agreeably; the officers interchanged hospitalities; and all went on without the slightest interruption to the general harmony.

Lord Raglan and the Duke of Cambridge did not leave London till the 10th of April. They proceeded to the East *via* Paris, where they arrived on the 11th, and were present, on the 12th, at a review of the army of that capital by the emperor. This review "was more than a mere military manœuvre; it had a political importance, which did not escape the notice of any of the numerous spectators who thronged

the *Champ de Mars*;"† and who gave the English officers a most cordial and hearty reception. The friendly feeling evinced "amongst the pedestrians—that is to say, the lower or more numerous part of the spectators—towards the English, was, in fact, so great, as to excite surprise."‡ This feeling was evinced whenever the strangers appeared in public during their stay, which extended to the 18th of April; when Lord Raglan proceeded to Gallipoli, and the Duke of Cambridge went on a mission to Vienna; the object of which was, "to urge on the Austrian government the propriety of taking a more decided part in the question which was agitating Europe."—Marshal de St. Arnaud left Paris at the same time; arrived at Marseilles on the 19th; and on the 27th he left France for Turkey. Prince Napoleon had left a day or two earlier, and was the first to join the army, landing at Gallipoli on the 29th of April. Lord Raglan arrived on the 2nd of May; Marshal de St. Arnaud on the 7th; and the Duke of Cambridge on the 9th. His royal highness had been most warmly received at Vienna; but, though listened to by the emperor and his ministers with great attention, and replied to with the utmost courtesy, his visit produced no effect.

The allied commanders visited Constantinople soon after their arrival at Gallipoli; and it is seldom that the quiet and somewhat apathetic Turks have been roused into such a state of animation and semi-enthusiasm, as they displayed on the occasion of this visit. The sultan set two of the palaces apart for the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Napoleon, during their stay in Roumelia. The latter availed himself of the padishah's hospitality, and lived in all "the pomp and ceremony" of royalty; the former preferred sharing, with his brother officers, the simplicity of the camp at Scutari, where Lord Raglan chiefly resided.—Soon after his lordship's arrival in the East, instructions from home reached him; in consequence of which, Lord de Ros was sent to visit Omar Pasha—the commander of the Turkish forces in Bulgaria; who had been successful in checking the progress of the Russians in the Danubian principalities—and also to inspect Varna and Shumla. On his return, two councils of war were held, on the 17th and 18th of May, between the commanders-in-chief

* *Our Camp in Turkey.*

† Editor of *Le Pays.*

‡ *Galignani.*

and the heads of their staff; the result of which was, that Lord Raglan and Marshal de St. Arnaud resolved to proceed to Varna, to have themselves an interview with Omar Pasha. They left Scutari on the 18th, after the second council of war had been held—Lord Raglan in the *Caradoc*, and Marshal de St. Arnaud in the *Berthollet*: the members of their respective staffs, with Riza Pasha and Mehemet Kepsresli Pasha, the sultan's ministers of war and the interior, accompanied them. The ships kept near each other, and arrived off Varna at 9 A.M. on the 19th. Omar Pasha—who had come down from Shumla the previous day—at once went off to them, and a council was held on board the *Berthollet*, at which the Turkish general “entreated that a large portion of the allied troops might go to Varna, knowing well how great would be the moral effect of such a movement.”* The allied commanders heard all that the Turkish general could say on the subject; and then, having made a personal inspection of Varna, they started, at midnight, for the head-quarters of Omar Pasha, at Shumla—a fortified city of Bulgaria, fifty-eight miles south-west of Silistria, standing in a gorge on the north declivity of the Balkan range of mountains, and considered one of the keys of the Turkish empire. The defences of this place were inspected; the Turkish army reviewed; and the country round reconnoitred, that the allied commanders might be aware of the exact position they were required, by the Turkish general, to take up.—On their return to Shumla, they found that important news had arrived. The Russians, unable to make any impression on the Turks in the Danubian provinces, and having sustained several defeats, were ordered, by the emperor, to secure, at all risks, a position on the right bank of the Danube. In March they crossed the river, and occupied the Dobrudscha—the frontier district of Bulgaria, on the north-east; the first division of troops landing there on the 21st. Omar Pasha made no effort to prevent the occupation of this district, as his force was much inferior to that of Prince Gortschakoff; and “he considered it indispensable

to direct all his attention to his head-quarters at Shumla, to muster there the available strength of his extended lines.”† The enemy, in consequence, established himself in the Dobrudscha—the most unhealthy part of Turkey in Europe. Soon after, Prince Gortschakoff was superseded by Prince Paskiewitsch; and the latter undertook the siege of Silistria, the capital of Bulgaria. The outworks of that city were attacked on the 28th of April; but, after a slight bombardment, the Russians retired, and nothing was done till the 11th of May, when field-pieces were brought up, and another bombardment took place. The firing was renewed every day till the 17th, when the regular investment of the city commenced; and on the evening of the 20th, information was received at Shumla, that Silistria was formally besieged. This intelligence induced Omar Pasha to urge, still more forcibly, his request that the allies should send a part of their force to Varna. The generals, though they proceeded to the East in consequence of orders from their respective governments, were left to act at their own discretion after they arrived there, orders to that effect being sent from England on the 22nd and 23rd of April;‡ and they resolved to comply with the earnest request of the Turkish general.

On the 23rd of May, the generals and Turkish ministers returned to Constantinople: the former proceeded to Scutari; and orders were given to the troops to prepare immediately to advance to Varna. About the same time reinforcements arrived at Gallipoli and Scutari: those men, also, were ordered to Varna, which is “a seaport on the west coast of the Black Sea, about 180 miles, by sea, from Constantinople,” and “forty-seven miles from Shumla, which lies nearly due west.” Preparations for embarkation were commenced as soon as possible, and vigorously carried on. The French were the first to dispatch, on the 25th of May, a troop-ship up the Bosphorus, with four or five hundred men on board; thus anticipating us at Varna as they did at Gallipoli. It was not till the 29th that the English light division sailed: it arrived in the bay of Varna in the evening of the 30th, and was followed by the rest of the army, “which was distributed on the heights south of Varna bay, and at various points on and near the Shumla road, Devna, Aladyn, and Monastir; places which, though surrounded by landscapes

* The Duke of Newcastle's speech in the Lords, December 12th, 1854.

† Omar's despatch to the Seraskier.

‡ Speeches of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Sidney Herbert.

picturesquely grand, will long live drearily in the remembrance of the British army in Turkey.*—The three French divisions arrived at Varna simultaneously with the British, and encamped on one of the promontories which flank the town of Varna. "The position was magnificent, commanding a superb view of the Black Sea and the harbour, at that time crowded with vessels of war; and allowing a bird's-eye view of the town and fortifications of Varna and its great lake, and groupings of French and English" and Turkish "tents, scattered over the plain."† While the allies remained there, both the armies received considerable reinforcements; Sir George Cathcart, with a reserve division of infantry, arriving from England, and General Forey, with 3,000 French troops, from Constantinople. For a time the troops were not uncomfortable in their encampments; they were well supplied with corn, meat, bread, rice, sugar, coffee, &c.—large quantities of those articles having been sent to Varna: nor were liquids wanted; "banners, with 'beer, brandy, all sorts of supplies,' inscribed thereon, stretching across the streets." Shopkeepers, who had thriven well at Gallipoli, removed from thence to Varna, with the army; and there were, "soon, not only hams, tongues, and such vulgar necessaries, at command in the Varna bazaar, but Marseilles biscuits, *eau de fleur d'Orange*, and *bon-bons*," with "champagne and Burgundy, preserved soups, and vegetables;" and "the prices were not exorbitant."‡ The camps were also very pleasant; the tents being "everywhere interspersed with bowers of green leaves;" which were continually renewed. "Nothing could be more agreeable than these retreats; their fresh coolness, and the admission of air they permitted, forming such a delicious relief to the heat, and want of circulation of air, from which, after 7 P.M., the occupants of the bell-tents suffered so terribly."§ The commanding officers of both armies had pleasant quarters; but the Duke of Cambridge lived almost entirely in camp, with the first division, at Aladyn; his royal highness and Brigadier-general Sir Richard Airey promoting the amusements, not only of that

division, but of the army generally; and contributing all in their power to the comfort of the men.

Soon after the armies were encamped, a commission of English, French, and Turkish officers was appointed—with Sir George Brown as chairman—to inquire into the whole system of transport and internal communication, with a view to ulterior movements. Lord Cardigan was also "sent forward, by the commander-in-chief, with the light cavalry, to reconnoitre the line of the Danube. It was not well known where the Russians were at the time the siege of Silistria was going on; and he was ordered to ascertain the position of their army and outposts."|| That siege was carried on from the 11th of May till the 23rd of June, and is one of the most memorable on record—so gallant and determined was the defence of the Turks, animated by the example, and guided by the counsels, of two English officers, Major Nasmyth and Lieutenant Butler, the latter of whom received his death-wound during the operations. Failing in assaults, and suffering from the loss inflicted upon them by the daring sorties of the garrison, on the 23rd of June the Russians retreated. They recrossed the Danube; and, followed by Omar Pasha, were expelled from the principalities, which, under the treaty with Turkey, were taken possession of by Austrian troops, and held till the conclusion of peace.

As soon as Lord Raglan heard of the retreat of the Russians from before Silistria, he sent off two of his aides-de-camp to Earl Cardigan, "with peremptory instructions, by no means unsatisfactory to him, to proceed immediately, with a strong body of cavalry, to ascertain what had become of the Russian army, as his lordship was totally ignorant whether they were about to proceed to Varna, and attack the allied position, or return to their own country."¶ The noble earl immediately set out at the head of two squadrons of light horse, composed of the 5th dragoon guards, 17th lancers, 8th hussars, and 13th light dragoons. They travelled over the country, which was a perfectly wild desert, for a distance of 300 miles. His lordship's orders were to proceed to Trajan's Wall, on the confines of the Dobrudscha; and the squadrons advanced 120 miles without seeing a single human being, a house in a state of repair, or inhabited, or any

* *The Story of the Campaign of Sebastopol*; by Lieutenant-colonel E. Bruce Hamley.

† *Our Camp in Turkey.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*

¶ Speech of Earl Cardigan, at the Guildhall, London, February 6th, 1855. ¶ *Ibid.*

animal, except those which frequent the wildest regions. Cossacks and Bashi-Bazouks had alternately desolated the country through which the squadrons passed; there was great difficulty in finding food for the men, and forage for the horses; the troopers had no tents, and they bivouacked in the open air for seventeen nights. They ultimately ascertained that the Russians had retired towards the Danube, and returned to the camp by way of Rustchuk and Shumla.

Soon after the noble earl returned to the camp, the fatal disease of cholera broke out.—A considerable part of the British force was encamped in the valleys in the neighbourhood of Varna, and in close contiguity to the lake of Devna, of which Omar Pasha had expressly warned them to keep clear. We must suppose that a sanitary map of Bulgaria, framed by a German doctor well acquainted with the country, in which Devna and the neighbourhood of Varna are marked as "*pestilentielleux*," was not known to the commanders-in-chief, or they would have avoided those localities, and gone to the spots which the Turkish commander described as "healthy, surrounded by abundance of good water, with a fine climate to restore the men and horses after their sea voyage."* The disease attacked both the armies and the fleets; being most deadly in the month of July, when the heat was intense; the temperature, under the tents, being 100°, and on the outside, 108° to 110°. There was, also, a plague of flies: those insects filled the atmosphere, and descended into the tents, completely blackening the interior, and falling into the dishes, and on the provisions as they were passed from hand to mouth. From these causes, discontent began to prevail in both armies, but more especially in the French; and to check it, in some measure, Marshal de St. Arnaud ordered a division of Zouaves, under General d'Espinasse, to make a *reconnaissance* in the Dobrudscha, supported by a corps of Bashi-Bazouks, which General Yussuf was endeavouring to bring into some sort of military order. These troops left the camp on the 24th of July; reached Kostendji on the 28th, and encountered a party of Cossacks on the 29th, whom they dispersed. The Bashi-

Bazouks encamped that night at Babadagh, on the east shore of Lake Rassein; the French at Kerjelouk. Both corps were attacked with cholera, supposed to be caused by drinking water from poisoned wells. General Canrobert arrived on the 1st of August, to witness the desolation—the dying and the dead lying round in all directions. He ordered an immediate retreat; and with great difficulty reached the camp with the remaining portion of the force. The amount of the loss has never been officially stated. General Klapka, the Hungarian, who was with the army, and wrote an account of the war, estimates it at 2,000 men. The late Horace Vernet, the celebrated painter, who accompanied the expedition, says, that nearly 1,000 Bashi-Bazouks, and upwards of 5,000 of the French troops, perished; and W. H. Russell, the correspondent of the *Times*, says, "the expedition cost the French more than 7,000 men." The English buried several hundred men who died of cholera; but their loss was very much less than that of the French. The Duke of Cambridge and Prince Napoleon, both of whom were attacked with the disease, were removed, the first to Constantinople, the latter to Therapia, where they soon recovered their health, and hastened to rejoin the armies.

The disease gradually passed away, and the health of the soldiers and sailors was restored; but a fire at Varna greatly interfered with their comforts. It broke out in the night of the 10th of August, and continued for some hours into the 11th, destroying "upwards of 700 houses, three mosques, about a hundred spirit canteens, and two or three hundred storehouses belonging to the allies, with all their contents." The English lost "all their magazines of biscuit, barley, sugar, coffee, tea, soap, &c.;" and the French "a large quantity of army accoutrements, as well as provisions and other stores."† Only the utmost exertions of some of the English soldiers and the Zouaves, preserved the powder-magazines, over which, at the greatest hazard to themselves, these daring fellows continued throwing wet blankets, till the wind, providentially changing, sent the flames in another direction.—The loss was estimated at £1,000,000; and the troops were, for some days, deprived almost entirely of necessaries, such large quantities having perished in the flames.

* Duke of Newcastle's evidence before the Sebastopol committee.

† Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*.

CHAPTER V.

WHY THE CRIMEA WAS INVADED; THE CRIMEA; SEBASTOPOL; ITS FORTIFICATIONS; INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ALLIED COMMANDERS; LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD RAGLAN; CONSULTATIONS OF THE ALLIED COMMANDERS; RESOLUTION ADOPTED TO GO TO THE CRIMEA; PREPARATIONS FOR EMBARKING; CONDITION OF THE ARMY; DIVISIONS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY AND COMMANDERS; LORD RAGLAN; THE EMBARKATION, VOYAGE, AND LANDING. FIRST NIGHT ON SHORE; MARCH TO THE BULGANAK.

THE siege of Silistria raised, and the principalities evacuated, the purpose for which the allied armies entered Turkey was achieved; and the Turkish empire free from the presence of invaders—its capital no longer in danger—the British and French armies, it was supposed by many, would return home, be disbanded, and the war declared at an end. But, having been forced into war, to obtain justice for their ally, the western powers, from the first, contemplated, if their armies were not required to protect the Turkish soil from invasion, and to keep Constantinople out of the hands of the invader, to strike a blow at Russian ambition, and to cripple that power to humiliate and annoy, which the czars had always been so ready to call into action against the Sublime Porte. From the time that the expedition left the English and French shores, its ultimate destination, after Turkey was freed from invaders, was a subject of deliberation with the cabinets of London and Paris; and they were not long in coming to a determination that the Crimea was the nucleus of Russian power in the East; that the safety of Turkey required that the force the czar had collected there should be dispersed; and that the port which had been so strongly fortified, and where docks had been constructed capable of containing no small number of the largest ships which at that time any nation had built, should be dismantled, and reduced to its original insignificance.

The Crimea—the ancient *Taurica Chersonesus*; and, in the history of the middle ages, known as Crim Tartary—lies between 44° 20' and 46° 10' N. lat., and 32° 40' and 36° 30' E. long. It measures 200 miles, where longest, from Cape Karamoun to the north of Eupatoria, on the west, to Cape Fanar, in the Straits of Kertch, on the east; and 125 miles from the isthmus of Perekop, which connects it with Russia

on the north, to Cape Kirkineis, on the south; its area containing about 10,050 square miles. Peopled by the Cimmerians—whose name is preserved in that of the “Cimmerian Bosphorus,” or Straits of Kertch, and who were expelled by the Scythians—the Crimea successively passed, after the decay of the latter nation, into the hands of the Milesians, the Heraclidæ, and the Goths; and was conquered by a son of Zinghis Khan, A.D. 1223. When the Tartar empire was overrun by the Turks, the Crimea was taken possession of by the conquerors, but continued to be governed by Tartar khans, who acknowledged the sultan as their suzerain. When Russia was at war with the Turks, early in the last century, the Crimea was invaded by Marshal Lacy: but it was under Catherine II. that it was finally annexed to the Russian empire; and that in spite of the opposition of the Porte, which in vain protested against the proceedings of the czarina—declaring, that it “could not consent to the occupation of the Crimea, which was the barrier of Turkey against Russia.” Catherine founded Sebastopol, where the little Tartar village of Aktiar formerly stood, thinking it a favourable spot for the site of a city, and the construction of a port, where the naval force of Russia in the Black Sea might be sheltered. The city rose under the auspices of Catherine and her successors, Alexander and Nicholas; and though it did not attract the attention of the European powers for some years, the Russians became fully aware of its importance to them: nor were they blind to the interest which other powers, especially England, might have in depriving them of it. Although, wrote the Count Pozzo di Borgo, on the 28th of November, 1828, “it may not be probable that we shall see an English fleet in the Black Sea, it will be prudent to make Sebastopol very secure against attacks from

the sea. If ever England were to come to a rupture with us, this is the point to which she would direct her attacks, if she only believed them possible" to be successful.—At that time the construction of the vast docks was begun; and, soon after, the strengthening and extension of the fortifications was commenced. Both were carried on under the superintendence of Mr. John Upton, an Englishman; who, previous to 1826, was postmaster at Daventry, and surveyor of the roads in Northamptonshire, under Mr. Telford. In that year he left England, having obtained the appointment of chief engineer at Sebastopol, from the Russian ambassador—an appointment he held for twenty years, together with a colonel's commission in the Russian service. He finished the docks; but, although the fortifications had been carried on to a considerable extent, after the Emperor Nicholas succeeded to the throne, some of the most important for the purposes of defence were not completed till after the invasion by the allies became imminent; whilst those on the south, or land side of Sebastopol, except the Malakoff, do not appear to have been thought of till after the city was invested.

Sebastopol is situated near the south-west extremity of the Crimea, on the south side of an extensive harbour, which runs inland four-and-a-half miles from west to east. Four bays, or creeks, run inland from the south side of this harbour. 1st. Artillery, or Commercial Bay, which is about a mile from the entrance of the harbour, to the east. 2nd. About half a mile further east is South Bay, or the Inner Harbour—the largest of these bays, as it extends fully one mile and a-half from north to south. The main town of Sebastopol is situated on the west side of this bay; the ordnance storehouse, hospital, barracks, the admiralty, and other public establishments, lying to the east. 3rd. Karabelnaia Bay runs to the south-east, at right angles with South Bay, issuing from its north-east corner. At the end of this bay the extensive docks were situated. 4th. Three-quarters of a mile from South Bay, and about one mile from the head of the harbour, is Careening Bay. All these bays, except the last, were devoted to various purposes connected with the Russian fleet. To the south-west of the harbour was Quarantine Bay, which took a south-easterly direction, the Lazaretto being

built on the west side. Proceeding to the south-west, towards Cape Chersonese, we find—1st, Chersonese; 2nd, Streletka, or Arrow; 3rd, Peschana, or Round; 4th, Kamiash; and, 5th, Kazatch Bays. The two latter were very useful to the French, when encamped to the south of Sebastopol.

Before the war, there were six forts or batteries on the south side of the harbour. Quarantine Fort, at the north-east corner of Quarantine Bay; a strong casemated battery, mounting fifty guns. To the north of this fort, at the entrance of the harbour, was Fort Alexander, erected on a small piece of land projecting some distance from the shore. There were two tiers of forty-two guns each in this fort, all of large calibre. On the west of Artillery Bay, was the battery of Sebastopol, or Fort Mentschikoff, mounting fifty guns. At the east side of the entrance to Artillery Bay, stood Fort Nicholas, "built on the casemated principle, and the largest fort on the south side." It mounted 192 guns, and defended both Artillery and South Bays. Fort Paul was on the east side of the South Bay; and the sixth was a battery erected between Fort Paul and Careening Bay; the powder-magazine was situated to the east of that bay. On the north side, there was Fort Constantine, directly opposite Fort Alexander, built "on a projecting cape, surrounded by a shallow shoal which prevented vessels from approaching nearer than 600 yards." This was a casemated fort, and mounted 104 guns in three tiers. A little to the north was the Telegraph Battery, mounting seventeen guns. To the north of this fort, and a short distance from the shore, was a fort, to which our sailors gave the name of "The Wasp," from the rapidity with which its guns were served, and the mischief that resulted from its firing on various occasions. About a mile to the eastward of the two last-named forts, and half a mile inland, was the North, or Star Fort—a strong building surrounded with earthworks. Upon the shore of the harbour, on the east side of a small port, called the port of Sievarna—at the head of which stood a few farm-houses or cottages, also called Sievarna, or the Northern Village—was Sievarna fort. Fort Michael and Fort Gortschakoff were also built on the north shore, opposite Forts Nicholas and Paul; and there were two batteries—one nearly opposite Careening Bay, the other further

to the east. All these works were to the north of Sebastopol. A crenelated wall ran along the west and south sides of the city, to the extremity of Artillery Bay; and from thence it skirted the Karabelnaia suburb (the Wapping of Sebastopol), to Careening Bay. This wall was three feet thick, and had, in front, a ditch, the earth of which was thrown up to form a glacis, covering the mason-work in many parts. Besides this wall, till after the bombardment commenced, the only work for the defence of the city on the south side, was the Malakoff, "a lofty, large, round white tower, which completely commanded the suburb of Karabelnaia, and the south-east part of the town."

Very little was known of the actual position of Sebastopol—of the nature of its defences, or the number of its garrison, when the allied forces went to the East. But the two governments—according to some authorities, at the suggestion of the Emperor Napoleon—having decided that, if it were unnecessary to keep the armies in Roumelia or Bulgaria, the Crimea was the part of the Russian dominions which it would be most desirable to invade, Lord Raglan was instructed, in a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, dated the 10th of April, to cause "careful, but secret inquiry to be made into the amount and condition of the Russian force in the Crimea; and the strength of the fortress of Sebastopol." About the same time, a state paper was drawn up in Paris,* in which "Russia, mistress of the Black Sea," and "having only to extend her hand to touch the Bosphorus," was said to have "placed the Mediterranean under menace of the fleets of Sebastopol;" and to have become, from her power in this quarter, a "rival to England and France," making "Germany bend beneath the weight of the colossus that leant upon her;" and causing "Greece, Italy, Spain, Egypt, and all the secondary states, to find themselves hurt, by the same blow, in their security and independence." Simultaneously with the conferences which led to the drawing up of this state paper, Marshal de St. Arnaud received similar instructions to those sent to Lord Raglan; and hence we find that *reconnaissances* were made of Sebastopol, soon after the armies and fleets repaired to the East. When it was known that the

siege of Silistria was raised, the communications from home to the commanders-in-chief took a more decided form, as appears from the following "private" letter, addressed by the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Raglan:—

"War Department, June 28th, 1854.

"Since I last wrote to you, events unknown to you at the date of these letters have been brought to us by the telegraph, and the raising the siege of Silistria, and the retreat of the Russian army across the Danube (preparatory, probably, to a retreat across the Pruth), give an entirely new aspect to the war, and render it necessary at once to consider what shall be our next move.—The cabinet is unanimously of opinion, that, unless you and Marshal St. Arnaud feel that you are not sufficiently prepared, you should lay siege to Sebastopol, as we are more than ever convinced, that, without the reduction of this fortress, and the capture of the Russian fleet, it will be impossible to conclude an honourable and safe peace. The emperor of the French has expressed his entire concurrence in this opinion; and, *I believe*, has written privately to the marshal to that effect. I shall submit to the cabinet a despatch to you on this subject, and, if it is approved, you may expect it by the next mail. In the meantime, I hope you will be turning over in your own mind, and considering with your French colleague, what it will be safe and advisable to do."

This letter reached Lord Raglan on the 13th of July. The same day, Marshal St. Arnaud received a despatch in cipher, a great part of which he found it impossible to read. He made out, however, that he was ordered not to march his army towards the Danube; and to be prepared for the troops being conveyed from Varna by the fleet. After in vain trying to make out the symbols, the marshal sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Trochu, to Lord Raglan, to communicate that portion of the information he had obtained from the despatch. His lordship's private letter threw light upon the subject; and the arrival of a despatch from England, written the day after that private letter, put the two commanders in possession of the views of the English government; in which, it soon transpired, the cabinet of France concurred. In this despatch, Lord Raglan was reminded of the instructions given him on the 10th of April. It was pointed out to him at that time, that, "whilst it was his first duty to prevent the advance of the Russian army on Constantinople," it might become essential "to undertake operations of an offensive character; and that the heaviest blow which could be struck at the southern extremities of the Russian empire,

* This document was published in the *Moniteur* of April 16th, 1855.

would be the taking or destruction of Sebastopol." The subsequent events in the Danubian principalities, rendered it necessary for his lordship, "without delay, to concert measures with Marshal de St. Arnaud, and Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, suited to the circumstances in which those events had placed the allied forces." The safety of Constantinople from any invasion of the Russian army being secured, any further advance of the allied army was, on no account, to be contemplated; and "I have." Therefore, continued the duke—

"On the part of her majesty's government, to instruct your lordship to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol, unless, with the information in your possession, but at present unknown in this country, you should be decidedly of opinion that it could not be undertaken with a reasonable prospect of success. The confidence with which her majesty placed under your command the gallant army, now in Turkey, is unabated; and if, upon mature reflection, you should consider that the united strength of the two armies is insufficient for this undertaking, you are not to be precluded from the exercise of the discretion originally vested in you; though her majesty's government will learn, with regret, that an attack from which such important circumstances are anticipated, must be any longer delayed.—The difficulties of the siege of Sebastopol appear, to her majesty's government, to be more likely to increase than diminish by delay; and as there is no prospect of a safe and honourable peace until the fortress is reduced, and the fleet taken or destroyed, it is on all accounts most important that nothing but insuperable impediments—such as the want of ample preparations by either army, or the possession, by Russia, of a force in the Crimea greatly outnumbering that which can be brought against it—should be allowed to prevent the early decision to undertake these operations. This decision should be taken solely with reference to the means at your disposal, as compared with the difficulties to be overcome."

His grace then proceeded—the communications by sea being in the hands of the allied powers—to point out the importance of endeavouring "to cut off all communication, by land, between the Crimea and the other parts of the Russian dominions." This could "be effectually done by the occupation of the isthmus of Perekop;" and he suggested, that a sufficient number of the Turkish troops should be sent there, if they could be spared, with English and French officers to assist by their advice; whilst important assistance might be ren-

dered by Admiral Dundas, if he had been able to obtain any vessels of a light draught, which would prevent the passage of Russian troops to the Crimea, through the Sea of Azov. His grace then continued:—

"I will not, in this despatch, enter into any consideration of the operations which it would be desirable to undertake in Circassia, or on the coast of Abasia. The reduction of the two remaining fortresses of Anapa and Sujik Kaleh would be, next to the taking of Sebastopol, of the greatest importance, as bearing upon the fortunes of the war; but not only is their fall of far less moment than that of Sebastopol, but the capture of the latter might possibly secure the surrender of the Circassian fortresses. In the event, however, of delay in undertaking these operations being inevitable, and the transports being, in consequence, available for any other service, I wish you to consider, with his highness Omar Pasha and Marshal de St. Arnaud, whether some part of the Turkish army might not be conveyed by steam from Varna, and, by a combined movement with the forces of General Guyon and Schamyl, so entrap the Russian army in and around Tiflis, as to compel its surrender to superior numbers."

This despatch was the subject of anxious discussion between Lord Raglan and General Sir George Brown. At that time, neither the English nor French commanders had any specific information as to the strength of the Russians in Sebastopol; but Lord Raglan told Sir George, "they believed, and hoped, there might not be above 70,000 men in the peninsula." Under these circumstances, Sir George said, "most assuredly the Duke of Wellington would not have accepted the responsibility of such an undertaking as that which was proposed to Lord Raglan. Nevertheless, he recommended his lordship to accede to the proposal of the government, as it was evident they had made up their minds at home; and if his lordship declined, they would send out some one to command the army, who would be less scrupulous." Lord Raglan, also, looked upon the instructions contained in the private letter and the public despatch, as little short of an absolute order; and he determined to obey them.* His lordship's determination was strengthened by his being aware that the emperor of France quite concurred in the views of the British cabinet; and that if he resolved to go to the Crimea, Marshal de St. Arnaud must go with him. He felt it right, how

* Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, ii., 115—118. The historian professes to have derived his authority for the account he gives of this correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, and conversation with Sir George Brown, from Lord Rag-

lan's private papers. He tells a curious story:—that, when the Duke of Newcastle read the despatch of the 29th of June to the cabinet, the members, with one or two exceptions, were in a state of somnolency!

ever, to consult the latter; and a council of war—present, the two commanders-in-chief, the two English and the two French admirals—was held at De St. Arnaud's head-quarters, on the 18th of July, at which it was formally resolved that the expedition should be undertaken. In announcing that resolution to the duke, in a despatch written on the 19th of July, his lordship expressly stated, that it had been—

“More in deference to the views of the British government, as conveyed in his grace's despatch, and to the known acquiescence of the Emperor Louis Napoleon in those views, than to any information in possession of the naval and military authorities, either as to the extent of the enemy's forces, or their state of preparation, that the decision to make a descent upon the Crimea was adopted. The fact must not be concealed, that neither the English nor the French admirals had been able to obtain any intelligence on which they could rely, with respect to the army which Russia might destine for operations in the field, or to the number of men allotted for the defence of Sebastopol. Marshal de St. Arnaud and himself were equally deficient in information upon these all-important questions, and there would seem to be no chance of their acquiring it.”

On the 3rd of August, the Duke of Newcastle wrote another private letter to Lord Raglan, stating, that the reply to the despatch of the 29th of June, had created in his grace's mind “feelings of intense anxiety and interest;” and announcing, that her majesty had, after reading his lordship's note, written as follows:—“The very important news conveyed, of the decision of the generals and admirals to attack Sebastopol, has filled the Queen with mixed feelings of satisfaction and anxiety. May the Almighty protect her army and her fleet, and bless this great undertaking with success.”—In this aspiration the duke heartily joined. “May, however, victory, and the thanks of a grateful world, attend your efforts! God bless you, and those who fight under you!” were the last words of his letter.*

When the determination to invade the Crimea was come to, measures were immediately taken to carry it into effect. As a first step, Sebastopol was again reconnoitred; but a very imperfect idea was formed of its strength.† At that time the armies

* Kinglake.

† See *ante*, p. 470.

—† Marshal de St. Arnaud thus described the army, French as well as English, in a letter to his brother.

§ *The Past Campaign*; by N. A. Woods, correspondent of the *Morning Herald*.

were somewhat recovering from the effects of the disease by which they had been attacked; but they “were not constituted or organised”—were “without artillery or cavalry—ambulances or baggage—means of transport or provisions;”‡ all had to be procured. It is not necessary to enter into details to show *how* the means of transport and sustenance were collected; but collected they were. Sir George Cathcart arrived from England with reinforcements; troops and artillery also joined the French army; the commissariat of both forces were busily engaged in procuring stores; and the able-bodied men were employed in making fascines and gabions, and preparing sand-bags for the construction of batteries. Transports were also collected; and the English bought up all the *caïques*, or Turkish boats, about fifty feet long, and eight broad, which were fastened together, and planked over at top, so as to form a raft sixteen feet across. This plan was suggested by Mr. Roberts, a master in the navy; and these rafts were found very effective in embarking and landing the troops. By the middle of August nearly 600 vessels of all kinds had accumulated in and near Varna bay; and some of the English transports, which had brought the recently-arrived reinforcements, “were the very pick and flower of England's commercial marine—leviathan steamers of 2,500 and 3,000 tons, and sailing vessels, as large as three-deckers of twenty years previous. The French transports, on the contrary, were a most contemptible medley of the coasters of all nations, ranging from brigantines of seventy tons to small barques of two or three hundred, but rarely higher.”§

While these preparations were going on, “two Austrian commissioners Colonel Kalik and Lieutenant-colonel Lowenthal, aides-de-camp to General Hess,” arrived at the head-quarters of Lord Raglan. They had a long conference with his lordship and Marshal de St. Arnaud; their object being to induce the commanders-in-chief of the allies to march their armies to the Danube, for the purpose of supporting the Austrians in the principalities. They could not succeed; being told that the English and French cabinets had long waited for the decision of the government of Vienna as to its plan, and now their armies were about to attack Russia in a different quarter, and they could not comply with the wishes of

the commissioners. But the allied generals felt that they "could not leave Varna till the Austrians had taken steps for keeping the peace in the principalities;" and by the presence of their troops in Wallachia and Moldavia, precluded the return of the Russians.* As soon as it was known that the former had crossed the frontier, the movements of the allies were accelerated; and, by the 23rd of August, the preparations for the embarkation were nearly complete.—Up to that time, "the French according to the statement of one of their officers, high on the staff, had lost nearly 7,000 men, dead of cholera and fever; and had, at that moment, not fewer than from 12,000 to 15,000 men invalided. This number of sick men required upwards of 4,000 effective men as extra hospital orderlies, camp guards, cooks, &c.; so that their army was, probably, 25,000 men less than on leaving France. The English had lost less than 700 men altogether; and there were then, in the various hospitals, 1,900 men under medical treatment; but many of them were but slight cases. A week previously the number of sick had been 2,400."† The British army was, previous to the order for marching on Varna to embark, "scattered all over the country, from Monastir to Varna, a distance of twenty-five or twenty-six miles. The light division was encamped at Monastir; but the regiments of which it was composed were scattered widely from each other, and stretched almost from Pravadi to the plains of Monastir. The cavalry brigade, under Lord Cardigan, was at Koslanski; and the second division, which was commanded by Sir De Lacy Evans, and which was more healthy than any other, was encamped between Aladyn and Devna."‡

The embarkation of the troops stationed at Varna commenced on the 24th of August; and, on the 25th, all the English and French divisions, at a distance, began to move on that port. The English army then comprised, in round numbers, about 27,500 men, divided into six divisions; five of infantry, and one of cavalry. To each division of infantry a division of artillery was attached, comprising two field batteries of four guns (9-pounders), and two howitzers (24-pounders). There was, also, a

troop of horse artillery with the cavalry.—The different divisions were arranged as follows:—

"*First Division*—Lieutenant-general the Duke of Cambridge. The Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scotch Fusilier Guards; Major-general Bentinck: the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders; Brigadier-general Sir Colin Campbell.—*Second Division*—Lieutenant-general Sir De Lacy Evans. The 30th, 55th, and 95th Foot; Major-general Pennefather: the 41st, 47th, and 49th; Brigadier-general Adams.—*Third Division*—Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England. The 1st (Royals), 28th, and 38th; Brigadier-general Eyre: the 44th, 56th, and 68th; Brigadier-general Sir John Campbell.—*Fourth Division*—Lieutenant-general Sir George Cathcart. The 20th, 21st, and 1st battalion of Rifles; Brigadier-general Goldie: the 63rd, 46th, § and 57th; § Brigadier-general Torrens.—*The Light Division*—Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown. The 2nd battalion of Rifles, 7th Fusiliers, 23rd, and 33rd; Major-general Sir William Codrington: the 19th, 77th, and 88th (Connaught Rangers); Brigadier-general Buller.—*Cavalry Division*—General Lord Lucan. The *Light Brigade*: 4th, 8th (Hussars), 11th (do.), 13th, and 17th (Lancers); Brigadier-general the Earl of Cardigan: the *Heavy Brigade*; the 2nd (Scots Greys), 4th (Dragoon Guards), 5th (do.), 6th Inniskillens; || Brigadier-general the Hon. J. Scarlett."

Of this army, Lord Raglan was, as our readers are aware, the commander-in-chief: his lordship's military secretary was Colonel T. M. Steele, of the Coldstream guards; and his aides-de-camp were—Major Lord Burghersh, unattached; Lieutenant-colonel P. Somerset, Coldstream guards; Captain R. Kingscote, Scots Fusilier guards; Lieutenant the Hon. S. J. G. Calthorpe, 8th hussars: extra ditto—Lieutenant the Hon. L. Curzon, of the rifle brigade.—Brigadier-general Cator, R.A., was at the head of the ordnance; Brigadier-general W. B. Tylden, R.E., commanded the royal engineers; and the commissary-general, William Filder, directed the commissariat.—The deputy adjutant-general was Brigadier-general J. B. B. Estcourt; and the quartermaster-general, Brigadier-general Sir Richard Airey. Sir John Burgoyne arrived on the evening of the 25th, quite unexpectedly. He was attached to the army without any actual appointment; and was sent chiefly to advise Lord Raglan as to the best mode of attacking Sebastopol, and to give his valuable opinions on engineering matters; but was not, in any way, to interfere with Brigadier-

* Sir George Brown's speech at Elgin.

† *Letters from Head-quarters*, vol. i., p. 122

‡ *Campaign in the Crimea*; by Lieutenant Peard.

§ These two regiments were *en route*, and did not join till after the battle of the Alma.

|| This brigade did not join till after the battle of the Alma.

general Tylden.* Attached, also, to Lord Raglan's personal staff, were Colonel La-goudie, and Commandant Vico—two French officers of the "*Etat-Major*," who formed the medium of communication between his lordship and Marshal de St. Arnaud. Colonel Sir Hugh Rose and Major Claremont were attached to the personal staff of the marshal, for a similar purpose.

In placing Lord Raglan at the head of this army, the British government exercised a wise discretion. We are not disposed to subscribe to Mr. Kinglake's opinions on many subjects; but we believe he gives a fair and just estimate of his lordship's character, with whom he was on familiar terms.

"From his very boyhood, until the autumn of 1852, Lord Fitzroy Somerset had passed his life under the immediate auspices of the [first] Duke of Wellington. The gain was not without its drawback; for, in proportion as the great duke's comprehensive grasp and prodigious power of work made him independent and self-sufficing, his subordinates were, of course, relieved from the necessity, and even shut out from the opportunity, of thinking for themselves. But still, to have been in the close presence and intimacy of Wellington, from the very rising of his fame in Europe—to have toiled at the desk where the immortal despatches were penned—to have ridden at his side, and carried his orders, in all the great campaigns—and then, when peace returned, to have engaged in the labours of diplomacy and military administration, under the auspices of the same commanding mind—all this was to have a wealth of experience which common times cannot give."†

Of these advantages Lord Raglan ably availed himself; and the experience he obtained during the thirty years in which he administered the current business of military offices in times of peace, was "a good preparative for the command of an army" in time of war. He was sixty-six years old when appointed, in 1853, to take the command of the English forces; but, except at very rare intervals, "his well-braced features, his wakeful attention, his uncommon swiftness of thought, his upright, manly carriage, and his easy seat on horseback, made him look the same as a person in the strong mid-season of life." Conversant with all the vicissitudes, and acquainted with all the cares and anxieties of real war, his lordship had little regard for mere military show, for mere personal pre-eminence: yet his "manner was of

such a kind as to be not simply ornament, but a real engine of power. It swayed events. There was no mere gloss in it. By some gift of imagination, he divined the feelings of all sorts and conditions of men; and whether he talked to a statesman or a captain, his hearer went away captive." He was, too—

"Gifted with a diction very apt for public business, and of a kind rarely found in Englishmen; for, though it was so easy as to be just what men like in the intercourse of private friendship, it was still so constructed as to be fit for the ear of all the world; and whether he spoke or whether he wrote—whether he used the French tongue, or his own clear, graceful English—it seemed that there had come from him the very words that were the best, and no more. It was so natural to him to be prudent in speech, that he avoided dangerous utterance, without seeming cautious or reserved."‡

It was not till the 25th of August that the troops positively knew their destination; though, after the *reconnaissance* made of the coast of the Crimea, on the 20th of July, by Sir Edmund Lyons and General Canrobert, a rumour became current in the armies that Sebastopol was to be attacked. On the 25th, Marshal de St. Arnaud addressed a "general order" to his troops; in which, after praising them for the "fine spectacles which they had exhibited, of perseverance, of calmness, and of energy, in the unhappy circumstances in which they had been placed"—he told them, they "were then called to the Crimea, a country as salubrious as their own; and to Sebastopol, the seat of the power of Russia, in whose walls they would have to search together for a pledge of peace, and a return to their own hearths."—Lord Raglan issued no order informing the troops of the country they were about to invade, which most persons thought had better not have been proclaimed to the world just at that period; but he gave instructions for the embarkation, sailing, and landing of the troops, that "were distinguished by clearness and simplicity; embraced all possible situations, and left nothing to chance."

The embarkation of the armies at Varna—which took place under the able arrangement of Admirals Sir E. Lyons and Hamelin—occupied more than a week; the English being conveyed from the shore to the ships by the rafts before mentioned; whilst the French used lighters for the same purpose. A numerous commissariat train accompanied the British army; and

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† *Invasion of the Crimea*: vol. ii., 16—22. ‡ *Ibid.*

6,000 gabions, 9,000 fascines, and 90,000 sand-bags, were embarked. The number of English troops that embarked—the sick and the necessary attendants being left on shore at the hospital—was, in round numbers, 25,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and sixty field-pieces, with the necessary horses and ammunition; and six weeks' provision for the men, and forage for the horses. The French numbered 24,000 infantry, and they had seventy guns; but they only took a squadron of cavalry to perform escort duty; and four horses instead of six to each gun. Attached to the French force were five or six thousand Turkish troops, who were embarked in their own vessels. The French met with a sad accident in the course of the embarkation. On the 1st of September, a steamer came in contact with a boat full of Zouaves, sunk it, and twenty of the poor fellows were drowned. The English army—thanks to the care and activity of the gallant tars—did not lose a man. “The embarkation is proceeding rapidly and successfully,” wrote Lord Raglan, on the 29th of August—

“Thanks to the able arrangements of Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, and the unceasing exertions of the officers and men under his orders. It is impossible for me to express, in adequate terms, my sense of the value of the assistance the army under my command derives from the royal navy. The same feeling prevails from the highest to the lowest; from Vice-admiral Dundas to the youngest sailor. An ardent desire to co-operate, by every possible means, is manifest throughout; and I am proud of being associated with men who are animated by such a spirit, and who are so entirely devoted to the service of their country.”

There was one great mistake made—how, or by whom, cannot now be explained. At home, not only were means provided for conveying ammunition with greater ease to the men, by the use of light carts, of a peculiar construction, made at Woolwich; but “an ambulance corps was organised, with light spring-waggons, containing layers of stretchers, with seats for the sick and wounded,”* with an ample supply of hospital stores. These were left behind; and thus not only was a most judicious “Memorandum,” respecting the care of the sick and wounded, and the use of the ambulance equipment, issued by Dr. John Hill, inspector-general of hospitals, rendered useless—but the basis was laid for much of that suffering which ren-

dered the winter of 1854-'55 a period of such intense misery to many of our troops. The French were more thoughtful: they embarked most of their men on board the ships of war; and numbers of their little transports were laden with tents, ambulances, litters, and hospital stores. Our transports were filled with the troops none being embarked on board the men-of-war, because, on the English fleet depended the defence of the entire armament, should the Russian admirals venture to leave the port of Sebastopol to attack it. But after the landing, all that was left at Varna might easily have been sent for, and removed to the Crimea. No one, however, appears to have thought of taking this simple course, till the consequences of the neglect were forced upon the commanders by the melancholy state of the army.

The rendezvous of the ships and transports was Baltchik Bay; and, on the 4th of September, the final arrangements at Varna—embarking stragglers, closing departments, &c.—were made. On that day, Marshal de St. Arnaud embarked on board the *Ville de Paris*; and Lord Raglan on board the *Caradoc*, Commander L. H. Derriman—a steamer which had recently arrived in the Black Sea. The 7th was appointed for leaving Baltchik Bay, where the ships of war and the transports continued to arrive during most of the 5th and 6th.—Marshal de St. Arnaud was restless and dissatisfied with waiting till the 7th: and, by his direction, the French sailing vessels weighed their anchors, and made sail on the 5th.—On the morning of the 7th, at a signal given by the discharge of three guns from the *Agamemnon*, the British made preparations for sailing: by seven o'clock all was ready; and the magnificent fleet started, in six columns, a division in each. The Isle of Serpents was appointed as the general rendezvous. This is the sole island in the Euxine; and is, in fact, “only a small rock, about a mile and a-half in circumference, on which a lighthouse is erected for the convenience of vessels entering the Danube,” from the Delta of which it is about twenty-three miles distant. The French vessels that left Baltchik on the 5th, made for Serpents' Island, where they awaited the arrival of the British. The latter reached the island at 5 A.M. on the 8th of September; and as the vessels hove in sight, they “were hailed with enthusiastic cheers, ten times

* *Story of the Campaign*; by Lieut.-col. Hamley.

repeated."*—When the two fleets were united, the *coup-d'œil* was magnificent. "Round the *Ville de Paris*, on board of which were Marshal de St. Arnaud and General Canrobert, were drawn up 400 vessels, carrying at least 50,000 soldiers;"† and "though more numerous armies have traversed the Euxine, yet so complete and imposing an armament never before moved on the waters of any sea."‡

Soon after the union of the fleets, Marshal de St. Arnaud intimated his wish for an interview with Lord Raglan. The object of the French marshal was to have another consultation as to the place of landing; which, it had been determined, after the *reconnaissance* in July, should be near the mouth of the Katcha, a river running to the north of Sebastopol, between the town and the Alma. The emperor, it appears, when he gave his first instructions respecting the expedition to the Crimea, was of opinion that the landing should be made on the south coast; and that Kaffa, the ancient Theodosia, was the most eligible spot for the disembarkation to take place. "Although that part of the coast was forty leagues distant from Sebastopol, it, nevertheless," his imperial majesty thought—

"Offered great advantages. First, its bay is wide and safe; capable of holding all the vessels of the squadron, and those with provisions for the troops. Secondly—if the army was once established on that point, it would afford a real basis for operations; as all the reinforcements coming from the Sea of Azov and the Caucasus could be cut off. A gradual advance could be made towards the centre of the country, taking advantage of all its resources. Simpheropol, the strategic centre of the peninsula, would be occupied. An advance could then be made on Sebastopol; and probably a great battle be fought on the road. If lost, and a retreat made in good order on Kaffa, nothing would be compromised: if gained, to besiege Sebastopol; its complete investment, and its surrender, would follow as a matter of course."§

Some of the French officers were of opinion that it would be dangerous to embark to the north of Sebastopol, and were in favour of going to Kaffa: indeed, the "timid counsels"|| of some of them went to recommend the putting off the expedition. Marshal de St. Arnaud, who was then confined to his bed by illness, was

in favour of going to the south, but not of putting off the expedition; and he deemed it necessary to reconsider the former question with Lord Raglan. His lordship— from having only one arm, the other being lost at Waterloo—was unable to get on board the *Ville de Paris*; but he deputed Admiral Dundas to see the marshal, and ascertain his wishes. On entering the cabin, where the French commander-in-chief was in bed, a paper was presented to him, "which represented that the season was too far advanced for the siege; that it would be dangerous to disembark on the northern side of Sebastopol, where they were doubtless expected, and that it would be more expedient to proceed to Theodosia, and lie by for the winter." Admiral Dundas returned to the *Caradoc* with this paper, accompanied by several French officers. Lord Raglan at once refused to entertain the proposition, but proposed another *reconnaissance* of the west coast, which it was agreed should be made on the 10th.¶ On the 9th, the fleets took the direction of Cape Tarkan (a promontory sixty-three miles north of Sebastopol), which forms the southern termination of a piece of land projecting into the sea on the west coast of the Crimea, Cape Karamouu lying to the north. The vessels anchored on the 10th, and the proposed *reconnaissance* of the coast, from Eupatoria to Cape Chersonesus, was made. Lord Raglan was joined, on board the *Caradoc*, by Sir John Burgoyne, Sir George Brown, and Sir Edmund Lyons. The *Primaquet* steamer accompanied the *Caradoc*, having on board Generals Canrobert, Martimprey, Thierry, and Bizot; Colonels Trochu and Lebœuf; and Admiral Bouet-Villaumez. The *Agamemnon* and *Sampson* followed these vessels, keeping some distance in their wake. A south-south-east direction was first taken to Sebastopol, and the *Caradoc* ran as near that port as was at all safe. The fortifications appeared to be of immense strength, and they bristled with guns. Twelve large ships of war were counted in the harbour; and the masts of many more could be distinctly seen in Artillery and the South Bays. There were also two or three camps near the town; but, apparently, not for

* Letter from a French officer.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ State paper, in the *Moniteur* of April 16th, 1855.

|| The emperor was annoyed at these "timid counsels;" and, in a letter to Marshal de St. Ar-

naud, complimented him for resisting and overcoming them.

¶ See an article in the *Quarterly Review*, for January, 1857; and *Letters from Head-quarters*, by a Staff-officer.

more than 5,000 men. The vessels then proceeded northwards, examining the mouths of the Belbec, the Katcha, and the Alma rivers; and the naval men, both English and French, objected to landing at the Katcha, as agreed to after the *reconnaissance* in July, because the bay was far too small for the enormous flotilla. The survey of the coast was continued as far north as Eupatoria—"a thriving commercial town, with a population of from ten to eleven thousand inhabitants, principally Crim Tartars, with a sprinkling of Greeks, Armenians, Karaite Jews," and Russians—and then the vessels returned to the fleet.—The next day, the officers who had been engaged in the *reconnaissance*, met on board the *Caradoc*; and, after a serious consultation, it was resolved—

"1st. That the landing, in place of being effected under fire of the enemy, in the bays of Katcha and the Alma, shall take place on the beach between those rivers and Eupatoria, at the point marked on the map 'Old Fort.'—2nd. That on the same day, the occupation of Eupatoria shall take place, with the aid of 2,000 Turks, a French battalion, and an English one; two Turkish ships of the line, and a French one.—3rd. That, in three or four days after its landing, the army shall march towards the south, with its right defended by the sea, and with a squadron of fifteen steam-ships of the line, or frigates, which shall follow the troops along the shore, to protect them with their artillery, and to insure them food and supplies."

These resolutions were taken to Marshal de St. Arnaud, who assented to them, as did Admirals Dundas and Hamelin. The decision thus come to may be ascribed to Lord Raglan; and to it, and his lordship's subsequent arrangements, "General Canrobert ascribed the signal success of the disembarkation."

After the council broke up, on the 11th, the signal was given, and the vast fleet again got under weigh. On the 12th it was off Kalimata Bay, where it anchored for the night. After dark, "all the vessels hoisted position lights, and the effect was magnificent. It looked like an illumination on the most gigantic scale. The sailors called it 'Regent-street.'"* The next morning, at five o'clock, the fleet began to weigh anchor; but it was ten before all the vessels were in motion. Then "all the shipping was collected in one dense mass, with the English line-of-battle ships leading, and the French and Turkish fleets

on the off-shore side, a flying squadron of sailing and steam-frigates being in advance of all. In this order the whole fleet advanced for some hours, passing along a shore which was flat, marshy, and unhealthy. It seemed literally covered with cattle, and stack upon stack of hay and barley."† At mid-day, Eupatoria Point was approached; and, by 3 P.M., the whole fleet was well in the bay, and soon after moored within five miles of the shore. The *Spitfire*, Captain Spratt (another recent arrival), was sent to sound the coast; and, as she approached Eupatoria, "the people flocked out by thousands." The houses in the town had a handsome, attractive appearance, and "the balconies were crowded with ladies and gentlemen—Russians of course, who, sitting in chairs, were laughing, chatting, and talking, with a *sang-froid* and good-humour which it was difficult to understand. Some of the gentlemen were in uniform; but the majority were in the plain morning dress of London or Parisian society. The ladies were handsomely dressed—nearly all of them, however, in that peculiar *melange* of costume which prevails so much at this time of the year at Southend, Boulogne, or Margate. Some of them were eating fruit; pointing out the colossal line-of-battle ships, thirty-seven of which were in the bay; and occasionally laughing." * * "At this part of the town, also, were carts, precisely like our butchers' carts in England, driving up and down the streets; one or two private carriages, and about a dozen bathing-machines upon the beach."‡ A boat from the *Caradoc* was sent on shore, displaying a white pillow-case as a flag of truce. The governor had no means of resistance, and surrendered at discretion; but it was determined not to take formal possession till the troops were landed.

The landing, it was arranged, should take place on the morning of the 14th; and all the details relative to the disembarkation of the English, were planned, under the direction of Sir Edmund Lyons, by Captain Mends, of the *Agamemnon*; the admiral having arranged, with Admiral Hamelin, the particular spot where each army was to be put on shore. The French were to land on the south, opposite Old Fort; and the English further to the north; a buoy being laid down, according to some authorities, to mark the position of each squadron. In the night, the fleet proceeded

* *The Past Campaign.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *The Past Campaign.* Mr. Woods was on board the *Spitfire.*

some miles to the southward; and, by 7 A.M. on the 14th of September, the roadstead began to fill with vessels of war and transports, which "soon anchored in Kalimata Bay, in the most perfect manner, and without the slightest confusion; with this exception, that through some mistake the French steamers took up the buoys we had laid down for our ships, consequently we were landed without any, and the French landed first."* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe (the "field-officer" who wrote the *Letters from Head-quarters*, and was on Lord Raglan's staff, being a nephew of his lordship) also says—"There was some confusion in consequence of the French taking up our centre buoy as their left; so in that manner they threw us out by half a mile, which caused much crowding." Captain Mends, though he had the arrangement of all the details of the landing, knew nothing about this buoy, which, Mr. Kinglake says, the French "wilfully" misplaced, and thus "materially delayed the landing of our army."† In his public despatch, announcing the landing, Lord Raglan makes no allusion to the buoy; but, in a private despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, of the same date (September 18th, 1854), his lordship says—

"It had been settled that the landing should be effected in Old Fort Bay, and that a buoy should be placed in the centre of it, to mark the left of the French and the right of the English; but when the *Agamemnon* came upon the buoy at daylight, Sir Edmund Lyons found that the French naval officer had deposited it at the extreme northern end, and had thus engrossed the whole of the bay for the operations of his own army. This occasioned considerable confusion and delay; the English convoy having followed close upon the steps of their leader, and got mixed with the French transports; but Sir Edmund Lyons determined to make the best of it, and at once ordered the troops to land in the bay next to the northward."

So we conclude there was a buoy; but we do not believe the French removed it "wilfully," for the purpose of impeding the landing of the British—an idea which Captain Mends repudiates, saying, that he "desires to observe, that, during two years of very close intercourse with the French naval service, their whole conduct, so far from being such as to bring our harmony into grievous jeopardy, was that of chivalrous, loyal allies."‡

The French certainly were the first to land, and plant the tricolour to the cry of

"*Vive l'Empereur!*" This was about two miles lower down the coast than where the English landed. There was some confusion at first amongst the vessels of the latter; but the landing was effected with less trouble than could be expected, and with little or no loss; and, "before dark, the whole of the British infantry, and some artillery, and most of the French troops, were on shore."§ Not the slightest opposition had been offered by the enemy, who only made his appearance in the form of a Russian officer, with four mounted Cossacks in attendance, who watched the movements of the allies, and took notes, which were doubtless sent to Prince Mentschikoff. There was a Russian camp about eight miles to the south of the English landing-place; and whether the troops stationed there would have offered the allies any molestation, if left to themselves, is uncertain. But the *Sampson*, *Fury*, and *Terrible*, with three French steamers, made for the spot, and when about a mile and a-half from the shore, opened a fire with shells, none of which touched the camp, except those from the *Sampson*. By the discharges from that vessel, which were continued for about an hour, the tents were mostly destroyed, and the soldiers were seen to depart, and make for the south. The steamer then returned to the fleet.

The English landed on a narrow beach opposite the salt lake Sasik; and, in bivouacking for the night, they took up a good position, their left being entirely protected by that lake, and their right extending to the French left. The Turks were on the extreme right to the south of the French. Little is said of these auxiliaries by any of the newspaper correspondents, or by the numerous officers and privates, whose "Letters from the Camp" were published during the war; but they were always under good discipline, and proved themselves to be able and active soldiers. They landed early on the 14th; and having their tents, and all the stores they required, they were comfortably cantoned before the night came on.—The French soldiers had their *tentes d'abri*, which are very small, and, when struck, the materials are divided, and distributed amongst the men, who carry them strapped over their knapsacks; and Marshal de St. Arnaud "had a large marquee as his sleeping-room; another as

* Lieutenant Peard.

† *Invasion of the Crimea*.

‡ Letter in the *Times* of March 20th, 1863.

§ Lord Raglan's despatch.

large for his sitting-room; an immense Algerine tent as a dining-room; and all his staff and attendance were equally well off, according to their respective ranks.”*

It was very different with the English, who had landed without tents, except a “small marquee for Lord Raglan, a bell-tent for stores, and another which was used as a sort of military office. His lordship’s personal staff had each got what are called dog-kennel tents, being about the size of those canine residences.”† The men and officers had taken three days’ provision in their knapsacks, each day’s ration for men and officers being 1 lb. of meat, 1 lb. of bread, 2 oz. of rice, 1½ oz. of sugar, 1 oz. of coffee, and half a gill of rum, for which 4½*d.* were paid. These three days’ rations were ready cooked; and each private had also to carry his blanket, great-coat, a pair of boots, a pair of socks, a shirt, and foraging cap; his water canteen, his fire-arms and bayonet, with cartouch-box, and fifty rounds of ball-cartridge for the Minié rifle, and sixty for the smooth-bore. Each officer had his great-coat rolled up, and fastened round his body like a sash; a wooden canteen for water, a small ration of spirits, whatever under-clothing he could store away, his forage cap, a revolver, and a store of ammunition. Thus it will be seen that both privates and officers had their “burdens.”

The first night on shore, all, officers and privates, bivouacked under the open sky, Sir De Lacy Evans being, we are informed, almost the only exception; his servant had provided him with a tent. The Duke of Cambridge rode about most of the night, a mackintosh thrown over his shoulders, conversing with, and encouraging the men. Sir George Brown slept under an *araba*, or Turkish cart. The Earl of Errol, who held a commission, was accompanied by the countess, who endeared herself to the soldiers by the interest she took in their welfare. Her ladyship was fortunate enough to obtain lodgings with a Tartar family, where she enjoyed comparative comfort. The earl did not leave his men; and the officers, with very few exceptions indeed, shared all the hardships of the latter. The Prince of Saxe Weimar, who then held a commission in the English army, was asked, subsequently, how he passed the night? “We did as well as we could,” was the reply. “We got the brushwood,

and heaped it together for a bed, and then wrapped our cloaks round us tightly; but, at the best, it was no treat.”—The men made huge fires with broken barrels, planks, and the brushwood. They got their supper round those fires; and then, wrapping themselves up in their blankets, lay down, and tried to sleep. Not an hour had elapsed before a drenching rain came on, and the poor fellows were wet to the skin. The cholera had lingered in the army from the time it left Varna; there had been several deaths on the voyage; and the hardships of this night increased the prevalence of the disease. Yet the soldiers bore all cheerfully; and young men, members of the first families in England, who were then serving their first campaign, “roughed it” with the private, and shared his privations; and went through all the subsequent miseries of the following winter with a power of endurance which could never have been expected to exist in men tenderly educated, and used to a profusion not merely of the necessaries, but the luxuries of life.—Such are Englishmen, when called upon to serve their country; and such is a soldier’s life, when “campaigning” far away from his native land.

The rain continued till four o’clock on the morning of the 15th of September. It was not light till about five; “and from that hour till eight was perhaps the worst time of all, as the men were saturated, and the raw, keen, morning air was more unendurable than the rain, and seemed to penetrate to the very bones.”‡ But after eight the sun shone with considerable warmth; and the men soon applied themselves to make the best of their position. At an early hour, the cavalry and the remaining part of the artillery commenced landing. The heavy surf on the beach impeded the operation, and several boats were dashed to pieces, and some horses drowned. The tents were landed that day; and the men had no difficulty in getting supplies from the natives, while they had anything they could bring in.—The 16th, 17th, and 18th were spent in the encampment, giving the men time to rest and recruit. On the last day the enemy was first seen. About eighty of the 11th hussars were sent out to reconnoitre in the south. They were met and pursued by a much larger number of Cossacks, and retired in skirmishing order. They reached the camp without

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*† *Ibid.*‡ *The Past Campaign.*

loss, as the enemy kept at too great a distance for his guns to take effect.

The 18th of September was spent in preparations for an advance to the south, and the troops were ordered to strike tents at daybreak on the morning of the 19th. It was, however, nine o'clock before the six divisions were prepared to march, being delayed by the very inadequate means of transport. The tents were sent back on board ship, there being no conveyance for them. The sick were also re-embarked. In the march, the French took the right next the sea; the English the left, next the interior: and whilst the French had both flanks covered—the right by the Turks, the sea, and the ships; the left by the English—the English rear and left flank were exposed. The cavalry was sent in advance of the latter, under Earls Lucan and Cardigan. The waggon-train and commissariat were placed in front; and when they had got some little distance, the army marched. The route extended for fifteen miles—the first part over an extensive monotonous plain, without a drop of water, or shade of any kind; and as the morning was hot and sultry, the men were greatly fatigued: “many fell down in the ranks, attacked by cholera, or from becoming faint and exhausted from want of water. If they recovered shortly, they followed with the rear-guard; if not, they were left to the tender mercy of any passer-by.”* This was owing to the want of ambulance carts and waggons—a want much to be regretted. The medical men did all they could, occasionally administering small doses of brandy and water, which afforded great relief. Yet the spirits of the soldiers did not fail. The latter part of the route was “through dreary steppes, with long irregular ridges of hills at intervals, running down towards the sea. Curious thistles, and long dry blades of grass abounded; and numerous hares fell victims to the advancing army, by running into the ranks, thus giving a little amusement to the fatigued men.”†

The destination of the allies was the Bulganak, a small stream just twenty miles from Sebastopol, on which the imperial post-house is situated. The advanced division reached that stream about 2 P.M.,

* Lieutenant Peard.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

when some Cossacks were discovered on a rising ground about a mile off, on the opposite side of the river. Lord Cardigan was sent forward with the 8th, 11th, and 13th light dragoons: the 17th lancers subsequently came up, and the light and 2nd divisions were ordered up to support the cavalry. It was found that the enemy had a considerable force of cavalry and artillery; and as Lord Raglan had no wish, at that time, to bring on a general action, Lord Cardigan had orders to retire, by alternate squadrons; which he was very unwilling to do, as he wished to charge the Russians, which would have been even a more injudicious movement than the charge at Balaklava, which was so destructive, though so brilliant. The enemy advanced, and opened fire from his artillery; the troop of horse artillery attached to the cavalry returned the fire from their 6-pounders, but without effect. The troop of horse artillery and 9-pounders, attached to the light division, under Captain Maude, was then ordered up, and their fire soon caused the Russians to “limber-up,” and retire. The British had four men wounded, and one horse killed; the Russians, it was subsequently ascertained, lost twenty-five men, killed and wounded.‡ “On this, the first occasion of the English encountering the Russian force, it was impossible for any troops to exhibit more steadiness than did the portion of cavalry engaged.”§ While this affair was going on, Lord Raglan dispatched Colonel Lagoudie to Prince Napoleon, to request him to take more ground to the left. The message was delivered; but the colonel, on his return, rode directly up to a party which he supposed to be Lord Raglan and his staff: they were Russians, and the colonel was made prisoner. The Russians also took a French officer, who was coming across to the English camp. As it was found they remained hovering between the flanks of the two armies, the French silently crept upon them with a battery of 9-pounders, which scattered them in all directions.||

The army bivouacked that night on the left bank of the Bulganak; Lord Raglan's head-quarters being at the ruined imperial post-house, which had been burnt that morning by the Cossacks.

§ Lord Raglan's despatch, September 23rd.

|| *The Past Campaign.*

CHAPTER VI.

ADVANCE TO THE ALMA; BATTLE OF THE ALMA; NIGHT AFTER THE BATTLE; BURIAL OF THE DEAD, AND REMOVAL OF THE WOUNDED; GENERAL ORDERS; THE QUEEN'S THANKS TO THE ARMY.

THE night of the 19th of September was passed quietly in the bivouac; fires being lit in different parts of the ground, and the soldiers making themselves as comfortable as circumstances permitted; they being without tents or knapsacks—articles that could not be dispensed with having been selected from the latter, and packed in the great-coats and blankets. The first thing was to cook and eat their rations, and then to lie down in ranks, their arms piled before them. Some of the officers made an apology for a tent with their great-coats, suspending them by means of the branches of the trees, or long poles, and laid down underneath them. The night was cold, and there was a heavy dew, which caused the men to suffer considerably; and many died ere morning.* At Lord Raglan's head-quarters there was consultation and discussion during most of the night. Marshal St. Arnaud visited his lordship there, with several members of his staff: Sir John Burgoyne, Sir George Brown, with other English officers, were present; and—that the enemy should be attacked the next day being fully understood—the course of operations was determined upon. It was then arranged that the French, under General Bosquet, protected by the fleets, should ascend the hills, and turn the enemy's right; that the divisions of General Canrobert and Prince Napoleon should attack in front; and that the English should assault the left wing of the Russians, and outflank it. This important point settled, as was supposed, the commanders, imitating the men, endeavoured to get a brief repose.—Leaving them in their rude and rough quarters, we will, before we describe the operations of the 20th of September, endeavour to give our readers some idea of the site on which they took place.

The Alma is a small river, which rises in the mountains in the east of the peninsula, and falls into the sea, about twelve miles to the north of Sebastopol. The river, at

* Lieutenant Peard.

the approach to the *embouchure*, where the battle was fought, takes a nearly direct course, from east to west, to the sea. The north bank, which is approached by gentle and smooth slopes, was, on the 20th of September, 1854 as it probably is now, lined with gardens and vineyards, divided by low walls of stone. The south side presents a series of hills and ravines, on and in which an army might have so posted itself as almost to defy attack. The most westerly cliff is 350 feet high. To the east, connected with this cliff by a plateau or table-land, is another eminence, called, from an unfinished telegraph tower standing upon it, the Telegraph Height, which has steep, but not inaccessible sides, and a low flat bank, running parallel with the river, varying in breadth from 200 to 600 yards. To the east of the Telegraph Height the hill breaks and inclines; and, at no great distance, the post-road to Sebastopol springs from a bridge, which crosses the river, and is carried over the hills. This road is wide at the north approach from the bridge, and narrows as it proceeds. Mr. Kinglake compares its shape to a vine-leaf. Still further east, "the ground rises gradually to a commanding height, and terminates in a peak, called the Kourganè Hill. Around its slopes, at a distance of about 300 yards from the river, the ground so swells out as to form a strong rib—a rib which bends round the front and flank of the bastion there built by nature, giving a command towards the south-west, the west, the north-west, and the north-east. Towards the west, this terrace (if so it may be called) is all but joined to mounds," which rise "across the mouth of the pass (or post-road), at a distance of a few yards from the bridge," and "are so ranged as to form, one with the other, a low and uneven, but almost continuous embankment, running from east to west, and parallel with the river. This natural rampart controls the entrance to the pass from the north."—"Behind all these natural ramparts there are hollows

and dips in the ground, which give ample means for sheltering or concealing troops."* About a mile from the mouth of the Alma, on the north bank, stands the village of Almatamack—or, as Mr. Kinglake calls it, "the white homestead." At a distance of something more than two miles to the eastward from Almatamack, on the same bank, and opposite the post-road, is the village of Bourliouk, which was a large straggling place in 1854; the cottages, farm-houses, and farm-buildings connected with it extending some distance to the east. Further to the east, on the south side of the river, is the village Alma. From Bourliouk to the eastern extremity of the Russian position, the distance was two miles; the whole extent of that position, therefore, which commenced on the furthest west cliff, was upwards of five miles. There were several fords across the river, besides the bridge; and in some places the water was very shallow—not more than knee-deep.†

Prince Mentschikoff had, to defend this position, 3,400 cavalry, 33,000 infantry, and 2,600 artillerymen, with 106 guns. He placed his left on the Telegraph Height, and his right on the Kourganè Hill, leaving the western cliff undefended; indeed, between the Telegraph Height and the sea, the only force was a battalion of infantry, and a half-battery of field guns, stationed at a village in the rear, called Ulukal Akles. On the Telegraph Height, and the ledge which divides it from the sea, thirteen battalions, of 750 men each, were posted; with two batteries and a-half of artillery—the whole number of men being between ten and eleven thousand. They formed the left wing of the Russian army, and were commanded by General Kiriakoff. —The centre, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff, comprised four battalions of light infantry, one battalion of rifles, a battalion of sappers and miners, and two batteries of field artillery, of sixteen guns, called "The Causeway Batteries." The right wing, commanded by General Kvetzinski, was posted on the slopes of the Kourganè Hill, on the jutting rib of which, at the distance of 300 yards from the river, a breastwork, forming a redan, was thrown up, in which guns were placed—twelve,

* Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*.

† *Letters from Head-quarters*.

‡ We have chiefly followed Mr. Kinglake in this account of the numbers and positions of the Rus-

sian army; his authorities are two Russian officers, Anitchkoff and Chodasiewicz. § Correspondence found in the prince's tent which was captured.

according to Prince Gortschakoff; fourteen, says Mr. Kinglake; while other authorities say there were "only six or eight," and those "not guns of position, but field-pieces and howitzers." Higher up, on the same hill, and more to the right, was another breastwork, also armed with a battery of field guns. These works are, by Mr. Kinglake, termed the "Great" and the "Lesser Redoubt." Around them, sixteen battalions of infantry, two battalions of sailors, and four batteries of field artillery were posted; "eighteen guns being placed in line above the road leading to the bridge, which swept the whole of the British front, causing a very heavy loss." On the extreme right, and forming a curve round to the rear of the centre, the cavalry and three batteries of horse artillery were placed; the former comprising 3,400 lances. Besides these forces the prince had another body, which he called his "Great Reserve," comprising seven battalions of infantry, with two batteries of artillery, which was posted across the post-road to Sebastopol.‡

The allies advancing to attack these positions greatly outnumbered the collective force of the Russian army; Marshal St. Arnaud's force consisting of 30,000 French, and 6,000 Turkish infantry, with sixty-eight guns; whilst Lord Raglan had under his command 1,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry and artillerymen, and sixty pieces of field artillery: making a total of 62,000 men, and 128 guns. In the battle there were something more than 13,000 Russians and sixty guns opposed to the French; and in that portion of the enemy's position which the English attacked, there were 26,000 men and sixty guns. Our army, therefore, had an equal force in number to contend with; but their formidable position caused the advantages to be greatly in favour of the enemy. So convinced was Mentschikoff of this, that, writing to the emperor, he said—"I am awaiting the French in an impassable position; even if there are 200,000 of them, I shall throw them into the sea."§

The English rose in good spirits on the morning of the 20th of September, when "a thick haze covered the land, which was

sian army; his authorities are two Russian officers, Anitchkoff and Chodasiewicz.

§ Correspondence found in the prince's tent which was captured.

soon dispelled by a light breeze," and "the sun rose bright and clear, the atmosphere becoming soothingly calm, no external sign or signal announcing the strife which was so near at hand"—The French were in motion by 6 A.M. At that time, Sir Edmund Lyons, in the *Agamemnon*, with the in-shore squadron, "moved majestically along the coast, and took up a position off the mouth of the Alma. Soon after, a column of infantry, preceded by skirmishers, descended by the hill above the Bulganak, and slowly advanced by the sea-side. This was General Bosquet's division, accompanied by the Ottoman troops. They were soon followed, more inland, by the divisions of Prince Napoleon, General Canrobert, and General Forey. The whole halted about a mile from the Alma."*

The British were not ready quite so early as the French; but they soon "fell-in;" and the advance to the Alma commenced "in an oblique line, the divisions of General Bosquet and Suleiman Pasha being nearly two miles in advance of Lord Raglan's army. About 11 A.M. they came within sight of the heights of Alma."† At that time Lord Raglan, the Duke of Cambridge, and Sir George Brown, met Marshal de St. Arnaud, Generals Canrobert and Bosquet, and rode along the front of the armies, to reconnoitre the enemy, and make final arrangements for the battle. "In personal appearance the French marshal was pale, thin, bent, and emaciated; but he seemed in good spirits, and pleased when the English cheered him heartily as he passed. There was certainly something touching and chivalrous in the feeling which induced him, even in his last hours, when suffering from a mortal disease, and daily growing more feeble, to remain at the head of his army, and lead it to the field."‡—It was found, in this *reconnaissance*, that it would be a hazardous attempt to carry out the plan agreed upon the previous evening, as it was doubtful whether the English could succeed in out-flanking and turning the enemy on the right. It was, therefore, "arranged that Marshal St. Arnaud should assail the enemy's left by crossing the river at its junction with the sea, and immediately

above it; and that the remainder of the French divisions should move up the heights in their front; whilst the English army should attack the right and centre of the enemy's position;"§ the advance of the English to be delayed till the French had succeeded in turning the Russian left

"The combined armies advanced on the same alignment; her majesty's troops in contiguous double columns, with the front of two divisions covered by light infantry, and a troop of horse artillery; the 2nd division, under Lieutenant-general Sir De Lacy Evans, forming the right, and touching the left of the 3rd division of the French army, under his imperial highness Prince Napoleon; and the light division, under Sir George Brown, the left—the 1st being supported by the 3rd division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England; and the last by the 1st division, commanded by the Duke of Cambridge. The 4th division, under Lieutenant-general Sir George Cathcart, and the cavalry, under Major-general the Earl of Lucan, were held in reserve, to protect the left flank and rear against large bodies of the enemy's cavalry, which had been seen in those directions."||—"At half-past twelve, the line of the allied army, occupying an extent of more than a league, arrived on the Alma, and was received by a terrible fire from the tirailleurs;" the Russians having posted in the trees, gardens, and houses, on the side of the stream, and in the village of Bourliouk, masses of sharpshooters, who were well covered, and enabled to do great execution with their rifles.¶ Bosquet's division pressed forward; the fleet opening its fire, which was very effective, and materially aided the French. Captain Peel, also, moored a boat across the stream, which tended to facilitate the passage of our allies. Bosquet had discovered two passes to the heights he was ordered to carry. One was a mere mountain-path, running close by the sea, by the hill-side; the other a narrow ravine, more to the east, communicating with the village of Almatamack, which the enemy had evacuated and set on fire as the French advanced. The general ordered Brigadier d'Autemarre to occupy the village, and

* *Quarterly Review*, December, 1854. Mr. Lardner, M.P., who witnessed the battle from the main-top of the *Agamemnon*, was the author of the article from which our quotations are made.

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ *Review of the Crimean War*: by Col. Adye.

§ Lord Raglan's despatch, written after the battle.

|| Lord Raglan's despatch, September 23rd.

¶ Despatch of Marshal de St. Arnaud, Sept. 21st.

advance by the ravine; and Brigadier Bouat to scale the heights by the mountain-path, leaving his guns at the village, as it was impossible he could take them with him. Both these brigades were composed of Zouaves, to whom scaling the heights was no great difficulty; and they had no other to contend with. The brigade of D'Autemarre, which, by great exertions, trailed a few guns up the ravine, only found a few Cossacks at the top, who soon ran off; and that of Bouat, which was followed by the Turks, did not encounter a single enemy on the way. The Russians were here taken quite by surprise; for, considering the ground impracticable, and that it was impossible an enemy could advance in that direction, they had made no attempt at defence.—General Bosquet's division, protected by the fleet, having appeared on the heights, was the signal for the general movement to begin. Mentschikoff detached several batteries and other troops from his centre to meet the Zouaves; and St. Arnaud sent his second line, under Canrobert and Prince Napoleon, to the support of his first. They were warmly received, on reaching the river, by the Russian skirmishers: but on they pressed; "each man passed where he could; and the columns ascended the heights under a fire of musketry and cannon, which was powerless to arrest their march."* They had been, in some degree, protected by the fire of the batteries of Prince Napoleon, which had been placed to the east of the village of Bourliouk. "It was about 2 P.M. when the French gained the crest [of the plateau, uniting the west cliff with the Telegraph Height], and Canrobert then found himself face to face with the left centre of the Russian army, concentrated near the unfinished telegraph tower. His own artillery had been obliged to make a *detour* to gain the heights, and had not joined him: that of the enemy, hitherto engaged with Bosquet, now turned, and concentrated their fire upon his columns. The Prince Napoleon, on his left, also met with equal opposition. St. Arnaud then ordered forward General Forey's two brigades of reserve. Arriving with their artillery, they gave timely support to Canrobert and Prince Napoleon;† and checked a retrograde movement which had

been made both by the Zouaves and some troops of the line. There was a battery in the telegraph tower; and the retreating troops rallying again, a party of Zouaves and soldiers of the line made a desperate bayonet charge upon the gunners at this battery. Two Zouaves, Lieutenant Poitevin and Sergeant-major Fleury, were the first to reach the battery; and the former raised over it a tricolour which he held in his hand. Both fell covered with wounds, and their comrades rushed forward to avenge them. The Russians made a gallant defence; the struggle was fierce and destructive; and "around and within the station were heaped the dead and the dying: but the enemy at length gave way before the repeated and impetuous charges, and fell back."‡ During this time, "Bosquet continued to advance along the heights, and threatened the Russian left, which enabled Canrobert to order an attack on the front; and the enemy was then driven back, retreating with heavy loss. Thus far the battle in this direction was gained, the French having accomplished a most difficult and gallant advance, for which their activity and dashing qualities were well suited. But a sterner and far more terrible struggle had commenced on the left."§

We have seen the order in which the British army advanced, and the condition under which it was to commence its offensive movement. Whilst the infantry, waiting for the signal, laid down to cover themselves from the fire of the enemy, the artillery opened upon the Russian guns; skirmishing parties were thrown out to attract the attention of Mentschikoff's troops, and facilitate the movements of the French; and showers of rockets were discharged, which caused the enemy much confusion. When, however, Marshal de St. Arnaud found it necessary to order his reserve to the support of Canrobert and Prince Napoleon, he "sent the most urgent request to Lord Raglan to advance without further delay. 'We are massacred,' declared his aide-de-camp, in the somewhat exaggerated language peculiar to our allies. The moment appeared critical. Regardless of the overwhelming masses of artillery in front, and no longer adhering to the original plan, the British commander gave the order to move forward."|| The troops

* Marshal de St. Arnaud's despatch.

† Colonel Adye.

‡ *Quarterly Review*.

§ Colonel Adye.

|| *Quarterly Review*, and *Letters from Headquarters*. This statement has never been questioned or contradicted.

sprung immediately to their feet; and under a fierce fire from the Russian artillery on the slopes, and from skirmishers concealed within and behind dismantled houses, and in the vineyards, "the two leading divisions deployed into line, and advanced to attack the front, and the supporting divisions followed the movement. Hardly had this taken place, when the village of Bourliouk, immediately opposite the centre, was fired by the enemy at all points, creating a continuous blaze for 300 yards, obscuring their position, and rendering a passage through it impracticable. Two regiments of Brigadier-general Adams' brigade (part of Sir De Lacy Evans' division) had, in consequence, to pass the river at a deep and difficult ford on the right, under a sharp fire; while his 1st brigade, under Major-general Pennefather, and the remaining regiment of Brigadier-general Adams, crossed to the left of the conflagration. Though opposed by the enemy's artillery from the heights above, they pressed on towards the left of their position with the utmost gallantry and steadiness,"* and, forming into line, advanced up the hill.

The light division was further to the left, and had to cross even under greater disadvantages. "The banks of the river itself were, from their rugged and broken nature, most serious obstacles; and the vineyards, through which the troops had to pass, and the trees which the enemy had felled, created additional impediments, rendering every species of formation, under a galling fire, nearly an impossibility." The men, "nevertheless, persevered in this difficult operation;" and in the face of the heavy fire, this division, like the others, crossed the river—the men pulling the grapes, and eating them, as they passed through the vineyards to the water's edge. Having reached the south side, they pressed up the Kourgané Hill; "and the 1st brigade, under Major-general Codrington—materially aided by the judicious and steady manner in which Brigadier-general Buller moved on the left flank, and by the advance of four companies of the rifle brigade, under Major Norcott"†—kept up a telling fire on the Russians, and succeeded in reaching the Great Redoubt, on which the colours of the 23rd were planted, and

where a regular hand-to-hand fight occurred; the divisions concentrating on the hill. The Russians were in great force there, and the light and 2nd divisions maintained the action for some time; but they were fighting against great odds. Sir George Brown, on his grey horse, led on the former; and Sir De Lacy Evans advanced at the head of the latter, dashing at the crowded heights. The slaughter was immense. Colonel Chester was shot at the head of his regiment (the 22nd). Lord Chewton, of the Scots fusiliers, was prostrated by a bullet; and before he could be rescued he was attacked by half-a-dozen Russians, who mutilated him frightfully with the butt-ends of their muskets. Nineteen sergeants of the 33rd were killed, mostly defending their colours; and there was a fierce struggle for the colours of the fusiliers, which were borne by Lieutenants Lindsay and Thistlethwayte, who literally cut their way through the enemy. The men of their regiment, "led by Colonel Yea, were swept down by twenties; but this was no time for a roll-call. Brigadier-general Pennefather, with the 30th, 55th, and 95th by his side, was to be seen cheering on his men, and rolls of musketry pealed from their advancing lines. The 41st, 47th, and 49th, under Brigadier-general Adams, bravely charged on to the thick of the battle. The 7th, greatly reduced, halted to rally for a few moments; and the officers and men of the 23rd, 15th, 33rd, 89th, and 77th, were falling by fifties. Sir George Brown's old grey at last fell; but the gallant general, jumping up in an instant, shouted, '23rd, I'm all right—be sure I'll remember this day;' and led them on again as if nothing had happened."‡

All these operations occupied no very long time; and whilst they were going on, Lord Raglan had crossed the river—having, while he was crossing, on noticing the effect produced by the enemy's guns, ordered Turner's battery to be brought up—and passing along the post-road, taken his stand "upon a bit of open ground, which gradually rose higher and higher, to some seventy or eighty feet. It was a sort of landing-place, and from it could be seen the whole of the Russian guns" [the eighteen that commanded the road], "almost in a line with the party. Lord Raglan at once saw the immense importance of getting up guns there, where they could enfilade those of the enemy;

* Lord Raglan's despatch, September 21st.

† Lord Raglan's despatch.

‡ Lieutenant Peard.

and three aides-de-camp were sent, one after the other, to know why Turner's battery did not arrive.* And it was an anxious moment. "The light and 2nd divisions maintained their ground for some time; but the heavy fire of grape and musketry to which they were exposed, and the consequent loss in killed and wounded, obliged Codrington's brigade to retire from the Great Redoubt; and the other regiments made a retrograde movement—falling back, but not flying, though their ranks were in great disorder. "By this time, however, the Duke of Cambridge, at the head of the 1st division, had succeeded in crossing the river, and had moved up in support; and a brilliant advance of the brigade of foot-guards, under Major-general Bentinck"—though the men were thrown into temporary confusion by meeting the retiring light division—"drove the enemy back, and secured the final possession of the work," and of a gun which had been previously captured. "The Highland brigade, under Major-general Sir Colin Campbell, also advanced in admirable order and steadiness up the high ground to the left, and, in co-operation with the guards and Major-general Pennefather's brigade, which had been connected with the right of the light division, forced the enemy completely to abandon the position they had taken such pains to defend and secure."† The infantry retreated; the artillery limbered up their guns, and made off; and British soldiers were firmly established on the hill.

The advance of the light division, in line, to assail the Russian forces and the redoubt, surprised the enemy. "We were all astonished," writes Chodasiewicz, one of the Russian field-officers, "at the extraordinary firmness with which the red-jackets, having crossed the river, opened a heavy fire, in line, upon the redoubt. This was the most extraordinary thing to us, as we had never before seen troops fight in lines of two deep; nor did we think it possible for men to be found with sufficient firmness of *morale*, to be able to attack, in this apparently weak formation, our massive columns." The attention of the enemy being taken up in repelling the attack of this division, supported as it was by the 2nd, caused the resistance to the 1st division to be less than that made

against the others, though both guards and Highlanders had their ranks considerably thinned, and suffered great loss by the constant fire from the 18-gun battery. It was not till those regiments were making their way up the heights, that an aide-de-camp informed Lord Raglan that two guns of Turner's battery had arrived. The delay had been occasioned by one of the wheel-horses being shot in crossing the river. With the guns, however, was only one bombardier, besides the drivers; but the "officers of General Strangway's staff dismounted, and served the guns themselves. The first shot, aimed at the Russian 18-gun battery, fell short. The second shot, however, went through a Russian tumbril, and killed two horses."‡ By that time the gunners and two more guns having joined, the firing went on rapidly.

Wodehouse's battery of artillery of the 1st, Franklin's of the 2nd, and Anderson's of the light division, had not crossed the river; but Wodehouse's and Anderson's "unlimbering on the right of the road so often mentioned, directed a fire on the knolls in front of them. The Russian artillery on these knolls, attacked in front, and having their flank and rear threatened by the French, and by a field battery which had crossed the river, now began to retire in succession from the left, and the covering masses of infantry soon followed. A few minutes afterwards the 18-gun battery also limbered-up, and began to retreat."§ The three brigades—Pennefather's, Codrington's, and the guards—had by this time formed line on the ground they had won. And, the Russian guns having ceased firing, the guns of Wodehouse's battery were limbered-up, and they were taken across the river by Lieutenant-colonel Dacres, to the right of the 30th regiment. "The slopes in front were still covered with the enemy's skirmishers, obstinately contesting the ground with our own, and giving way, if at all, very slowly. Over the heights behind the contested battery, the helmets of a Russian column might be seen; and, presently, the solid mass, apparently about 2,000 strong, marched over the hill, and began to descend towards the British line. A shell from a gun, laid by Colonel Dacres himself before the gun detachment came up, dropped among the Russian skir-

* Letters from Head-quarters

† Lord Raglan's despatch.

‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

mishers; the other guns, coming up in succession, opened their fire on the column, and struck it every time. Franklin's and Anderson's batteries crossing the river, came up and opened on the left, and Paynter's followed; and the column, after marching about fifty yards down the hill, halted, turned about, and, disappearing over the crest, was seen no more."*

Another column was observed in a ravine to the right, which was, at first, mistaken for our allies. However, it was soon ascertained that it belonged to the enemy, and a few shells dropped into the ranks caused them speedily to disperse; the batteries were then limbered-up, and advanced in pursuit, thus carrying the battle to the rear of the Russian right. There was still a battery of seven guns on the top of the heights, on their extreme right, to a heavy but ill-directed fire from which the Highlanders found themselves exposed.† And now three heavy masses of infantry were seen advancing slowly down the hill "It was an anxious moment; for, if they only had courage to charge, their very weight must have swept the thin British line before them. These three columns could not have numbered less than 9,000 men, for they were three entire regiments, which as yet had not been into action, each regiment nominally consisting of 3,000 men. Yet such was the imposing air, and perfect formation of the British troops opposed to them, that they never advanced out of the slowest walk. The 1st division paused for a moment; it was only to 'lock-up' more closely. Some one said to Lord Raglan—"The guards are going to retire." But he knew them better, for he said, 'No such thing; they'll carry the battery. It's time for us to go and join them.' Leaving directions with Captain Turner to fire upon the Russian columns of infantry advancing down the hill opposite the 1st division, his lordship descended into the valley, and rode over it in the direction of the guards. Before his lordship and his staff had got half-way, they saw the 1st division and the Russian columns approaching towards each other, at a distance of sixty yards apart. The brigade of Highlanders having been brought round, so as to take the Russian columns in flank, the whole division sent in a withering volley, which perfectly staggered the enemy, literally knock-

ing over every man in their two front ranks. They stopped, fired a random volley, turned and fled, without another attempt at staying the victorious course of the British troops. The moment the Russians turned, down went the bayonets; and the whole division charged up the hill, dashing through the battery, and capturing a gun which some Russian artillerymen were in the act of carrying off. Cheering as they went, they bayoneted hundreds of the flying enemy."‡ The light and 2nd divisions also advanced; the latter charging up the valley, and capturing a gun and limber complete. "All the artillery were now over the river, and came into action on the knolls and high grounds at intervals in the valley, the retreating enemy losing hundreds of men, from their effective fire."§

Thus ended the battle of the Alma. The French on the right, and the British on the left, had been alike successful: the enemy was in full retreat; many hundreds threw away arms and accoutrements, that they might fly the faster; and the pursuers found the ground strewed with them as far as they followed their foe, which they did to the further heights, about a mile and a-half from the Alma. There the victorious troops congregated together, and gave a cheer that will never be forgotten by those who heard it. Lord Raglan rode up and down the ranks, and the cheering was renewed, as it was when the officers were seen shaking hands, and congratulating each other. Lord Raglan and Sir Colin Campbell met. "The latter was on foot, as his horse had been killed in the earlier part of the action. He went up to his lordship, and, with tears in his eyes, shook hands, saying, it was not the first battle-field they had won together, and that now he had a favour to ask, namely, that, as his Highlanders had done so well, they might be allowed the privilege of wearing a Scotch bonnet. To this Lord Raglan, of course, gave a smiling assent; and, after a few more words of friendship on both sides, they parted."||

Very different was the meeting between the Russian commanders. Mentschikoff was, of course, downcast and broken-spirited at losing, in three hours, a position which he had assured his imperial master must detain the enemy at least three weeks.¶ Before the final rout, he was

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Letters from Head-quarters.* § *Ibid.* || *Ibid.*

¶ This was his statement in one letter found in his tent.

passing from that part of his position which the French had gained, to his right. "He met on the road a lone man—a lone man on foot, walking away from the field. He looked, and came to make out that the lone pedestrian was Prince Gortschakoff, the chief to whom he had entrusted the command of the whole centre and the whole of the right wing of his army. 'What is this?—What is the matter?—Why are you on foot?—Why are you alone?' These, as was natural, were the questions put to Prince Gortschakoff by his troubled and amazed commander. 'My horse,' said Gortschakoff, 'was killed near the river. I am alone, because my aides-de-camp and the officers of my staff are killed or wounded. I have received shots; and, in a spirit scarce worthy of an historic moment—scarce matching with the greatness of the disaster which his overthrow now brought upon a great and mighty empire—Prince Gortschakoff showed the rents which the shot had made in his clothes!'"*

Lord Raglan and Marshal de St. Arnaud also met on the heights, and exchanged congratulations. The English commander then pressed upon his colleague the advantages that might result from a pursuit of the enemy; offering to send the cavalry (which had not been engaged), and two or three batteries of horse artillery, with any force the French commander would detach for that purpose. The marshal declined acceding to Lord Raglan's views, as he could spare no infantry, and his artillery had exhausted their ammunition. His lordship urged the necessity there was for immediately following up the blow that had been inflicted on the enemy, but in vain; and he was obliged to submit. "The French had upwards of 12,000 men who had never been actually engaged, besides the division of Turks (6,000 men);" the British "had only the 3rd division, and a portion of the 4th—in all, perhaps, 7,000 men—that had not taken part in the action: in fact, not more than sufficient for the immediate necessities of the camp. It was a great error on the part of the French, and one of which they repented when too late."†

Such is the account given by a member of Lord Raglan's staff, of the reason why the enemy was not pursued. There are those, however, who tell us that the French

commander-in-chief made the proposal to pursue the Russians, and that Lord Raglan refused to sanction it. We think the "officer at head-quarters," Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe, is the best authority, and most likely to know what were the views of his uncle—the relation in which the English commander-in-chief stood to him. Whoever was to blame—permitting the Russians to go off unmolested, was one of the great mistakes of the campaign; for had they been pursued, Sebastopol must have fallen immediately. The enemy "left the field in two bodies, or rather crowds. One of about seven or eight thousand men, with several pieces of artillery, kept off to the left into the interior of the country; the other, and a far more numerous body, about 22,000 strong, rushed into a deep hollow, behind the hills, and from which there was only one narrow outlet—the road leading to Sebastopol. They were some time getting out of this basin; but nothing could be done to prevent their escape, as between three and four thousand cavalry covered them."‡ This body arrived at the Katcha at about one in the morning of the 21st; when "there were neither commanding officers nor soldiers—nothing but a mob." The fugitives had lost all the solidity which the instinct of self-preservation had caused them to retain when leaving the field. After gaining the road, they soon became insubordinate, and broke into unruly and ungovernable squads. As "night fell on their hurried march—a march which they felt certain was being closely followed by the allies—their confusion augmented. The whole force resembled a disorderly rabble. Cavalry, infantry, artillery, were mixed together in a crowd, intent only on pushing forwards. Even the men carrying the wounded threw them on the ground, and left them." On arriving at the Katcha, they swarmed over the bridge, leaving their guns. The village of Katcha stands on the right bank of the river. This "they pillaged, breaking open all the houses, and destroying everything. Not till the following morning were the officers able to repress the insubordination, and get them to assemble." It was three o'clock in the afternoon before they got to Sebastopol. Then seventy pieces of cannon remained on the left bank of the river, "without a man near them. It was past ten on the

* Kinglake.

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*‡ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

night of the 21st before they were all got across.*

Whilst the enemy were making this tumultuous retreat, the allies were occupied in taking care of the wounded, and preparing to pass the night on the ground they had won. With respect to the first operation, the arrangements of the French were infinitely superior to those of the British. They were provided with "canvas cots, slung over the backs of mules; large comfortable ambulances and hospital stretchers, by which the disabled soldiers were carried to the ships—the various conveyances being designed for peculiar degrees of injury." All their wounded were, therefore, removed before dark. The English officers had appointed, on the previous day, a number of bandsmen, fifteen or twenty to each regiment, who were to carry the wounded to the rear, and deposit them carefully near the baggage. After the action commenced, they were found inadequate to the task, and privates from the different regiments were ordered to assist them. As the fighting grew fiercer, it was found that men could not be spared from the ranks for this purpose, and many poor fellows were left where they fell. When the fighting ceased, every effort was made to get them removed. Lord Raglan gave up one of his tents for their use; and the houses which had escaped the fire in the village of Bourliouk were converted into temporary hospitals. His lordship was occupied till a late hour in the night in giving instructions, and in endeavouring to provide accommodation for those thus left on the field; and most of the other officers followed his example. So exhausted were the men generally, however, that it was found impossible to remove them all; and two or three hundred remained on the ground—"lying all night as they fell. The yells of despair and pain from the dying that night were awful; the smell emitted from burning human flesh, set on fire by the bursting of shells, was sickening; and wounded horses, shrieking in their agony, galloped madly about over the dead and the living."†

The number of the British wounded was—officers, seventy-five; non-commissioned officers and privates, 1,539: total,

1,614. There were twenty-six officers, and 327 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed: total, of killed and wounded, 1,967. Two drummers and sixteen rank and file were missing: of the horses, twenty-six were killed, and one wounded.—The French had 136 killed, and 1,200 wounded. Among the latter were General Canrobert and General Thomas; the former slightly, the other severely: fifty-nine other officers were wounded, and four killed.—The loss of the Russians must have been much more considerable than that of either of the allies. Their official accounts return 1,762 killed, 2,315 wounded, 405 contused. There were not many prisoners made, except the wounded: these amounted to eight or nine hundred. The Russians displayed no colours, so they lost none; and they carried off all their guns, except two, which were taken by the English. "Two general officers, Major-generals Karganoff and Shokanoff, fell into our hands, the former being very badly wounded."‡ The latter was an old man, who did not long survive his capture. He told some of the English who conversed with him, that Sebastopol was strongly fortified, and they would require more strength than they then had before they could take it; and being questioned by Lord Raglan, he said, "the number of Russians on the ground was about 50,000; that they did not expect the allies would ever take their position; and added, that they had come to fight men, and not devils, as the red-coats seemed to be."§

Those red-coats, after the battle, were terribly distressed. They suffered during the day from thirst; and when the fighting ceased, it was some time before their rations were served. Then the casks were broken up for fuel, and fires were kindled by the aid of the long grass and nettles, which abounded on all sides. The meal finished, they were glad to stretch themselves on the ground, their great-coats spread underneath, and their blankets wrapped round them. This was the general rule; but "many of the officers, and not a few of the privates," we are told, "employed themselves, during the night, in offices of humanity." The surgeons and their assistants—sadly too few in

* *The Post Campaign.* The author gives these particulars on the authority of a gentleman then at Sebastopol, to whom they were related by some of the Russian officers.

† Letter in the *New Monthly Magazine*; from an officer engaged in the battle.

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley

number—were similarly employed. Our allies also slept on the ground where they had fought so bravely; the tent of Marshal de St. Arnaud being pitched where that of Prince Mentschikoff stood in the morning. The prince's carriage, pocket-book, and some correspondence, fell into the hands of the French.

The 21st and 22nd of September were occupied in burying the dead, and attending to the wounded. All the latter were carried on board the ships, and conveyed to Scutari, where the large barrack was appropriated as an hospital. On the first day, 600 sailors and marines were sent on shore, to assist in carrying them to the boats. This was "a labour in which some of the naval officers even volunteered to participate; an act," wrote Lord Raglan, "which I shall never cease to recollect with the warmest thankfulness."—And it was not only the wounded in battle who had to be conveyed to Scutari. The cholera still prevailed in the camp, and many officers and soldiers sank under it. In the night of the 20th, Major-general Tylden, who commanded the royal engineers, died of the disease; and the Hon. Major Wellesley, who had been acting with Sir R. Airey as quartermaster-general, fell a victim the next day. The former was succeeded by Lieutenant colonel Alexander, R.E.

Every attention was paid to the Russian wounded, and their dead were laid in the ground, as well as our own. Out of fifteen or sixteen hundred corpses of the enemy, scarcely a dozen appeared to be above the age of twenty-five; and the majority were much younger. Not a single officer was recognised; but, as they wore the coarse short great-coats of the privates, most probably there were some amongst the dead. The men were, generally, "very small-sized, though stout, muscular, and active-looking." Besides their invariable grey great-coats, they wore "blue coats, blue trowsers, with a narrow red band, and stout leather boots, reaching almost to their knees. Their stout, white leather cross-belts were scrupulously clean, as was all the rest of their uniform. On their heads were handsome black leather helmets, and brass chin-plates, with a spiked top. In front was a large handsome imperial eagle, also in brass, surmounted with a Russian inscription, and the number of the regiment. Each man also bore the regimental

number, marked on the cloth of his uniform. Their firelocks were old, and almost worthless, compared with our Minié. Their bayonets were wretched. They had large convenient knapsacks, of undressed cow-hide, rough-looking, light, and serviceable. Each had in it two coarse cotton shirts, two pairs of socks, a pair of cloth mitts, a strong pair of leather boots, and one pair of trowsers. All these were arranged in excellent order, and beautifully clean. Nearly every other man's knapsack contained a pack of cards. No books were found, except four or five Korans, in Turkish and Arabic; proving that there are many Mohammedans in the Russian ranks.*—The spoils of the dead were collected by the English and French soldiers—officers and men; the former seeking for some trophy, such as a brass eagle, as a memento of the day; the latter appropriating anything that was useful or valuable. Money was found on the soldiers, most frequently in their boots; and several of the English privates are said to have obtained gold pieces when they pulled off the boots of the dead.

The commanders-in-chief lost no time in sending to their respective governments despatches, containing accounts of the engagement on the 20th; and whilst they praised, as they deserved, the valour and good conduct of their own troops, each paid a just tribute to his allies. "I will not attempt," said Lord Raglan—

"To describe the movements of the French army: that will be done by an able hand. But it is due to them to say that their operations were eminently successful; and that, under the guidance of their distinguished commander, Marshal de St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the greatest ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed."

The marshal, in a letter to the emperor, said—

"On our left the English met with large masses of the enemy, and with great difficulties; but everything was surmounted. They attacked the Russian positions in admirable order, under the fire of their cannon; carried them, and drove off the Russians. The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of antiquity. In the midst of cannon and musket-shot, he displayed a calmness which never left him." * * * "The Duke of Cambridge is well. His division, and that of Sir George Brown, were superb."

In his despatch to the minister of war, the French commander indicates, that the positions attacked by the English were fortified, and that considerable masses of

* Letter from the field of battle.

troops were concentrated there; ingenuously remarking, that the enemy "judged that the steep declivities comprised between that point and the sea, and covered by a natural ditch, could not be occupied in force by the French troops;" thus intimating that the great strength of the Russians was on their right. He adds—"The English army encountered, therefore, a strong and well-organised resistance. The combat which it opened was one of the warmest, and does the highest honour to our brave allies." This prompt and generous tribute to the conduct of the English troops, entitles the late marshal to a more generous consideration from an English historian than has been accorded to him by the author of the history of the *War in the Crimea*, who has described him in very harsh terms.

The commanders-in-chief both issued "general orders" to their respective armies. Marshal de St. Arnaud's was dated from the "Field of Battle, Alma, September 20th," and was as follows:—

"Soldiers!—France and the emperor will be satisfied with you. At Alma, you have proved to the Russians that you are the worthy descendants of the conquerors of Eylau and of the Moskowa. You have rivalled in courage your allies the English, and your bayonets have carried formidable and well-defended positions. Soldiers! You will again meet the Russians on your road, and you will conquer them as you have done to-day, to the cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' and you will only stop at Sebastopol: it is there you will enjoy the repose you have well deserved."

Lord Raglan's "General Order, No. 1," did not appear till the second day after the battle. We subjoin a copy.

"Head-quarters, Alma River, Sept. 24th, 1854.

"The commander of the forces congratulates the troops on the brilliant success that attended their unrivalled efforts in the battle of the 20th inst., on which occasion they carried a most formidable position, defended by large masses of Russian infantry, and a most powerful and numerous artillery.—Their conduct was in unison with that of our gallant allies, whose spirited and successful attack of the left of the heights occupied by the enemy, cannot fail to have attracted their notice and admiration. The commander of the forces thanks the army most warmly for its gallant exertions. He witnessed them with pride and satisfaction; and it will be his pleasing duty to report, for the Queen's information, how well they have earned her majesty's approbation, and how gloriously they have maintained the honour of the British name.—Lord Raglan condoles, most sincerely, with the troops on the loss of so many gallant officers and brave men, whose memory, it will be a consolation to their friends to feel, will ever be cherished in the annals of our army.

(Signed)

"J. B. B. ESTCOURT."

At home neither Queen nor people were insensible to the merits of the army. The intelligence of the battle of the Alma was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and celebrated by rejoicings and thanksgivings; the public excitement being increased by the report that Sebastopol had been captured—a piece of "false news," which was soon corrected. The Queen, a few days after the receipt of Lord Raglan's despatches, authorised the Duke of Newcastle to convey to that noble lord, to the generals, to the other officers, and to the privates engaged on the 20th of September, her majesty's "high approbation of their brilliant gallantry," which had "revived the recollection of the ancient glories of the British arms, and added fresh lustre to the military fame of England." And, continued his grace—

"Her majesty feels additional pleasure in thus recognising the noble daring of her soldiers, and sympathising in their victory, when she reflects that that courage has been evinced, and those triumphs won, side by side with the troops of a nation whose valour the British nation has, in former times, admired and respected in hostile combat, but which it has now, for the first time, tested in the generous rivalry of an intimate brotherhood of arms. Her majesty trusts, that the blood of the two nations so profusely shed on the banks of the Alma—a subject of deep regret to herself and her people—may consecrate an alliance which shall endure for the benefit of future generations, when the remembrance of this battle-field is hallowed by gratitude for the consequences, as well as the glories of victory."

The following graceful tribute to the navy was also included in this despatch:—

"Your lordship's cordial acknowledgment of the invaluable services rendered by Sir Edmund Lyons and the officers and seamen of the royal navy, will be as highly appreciated, as it is justly deserved, by those gallant men. Deprived of an opportunity of vindicating their ancient prowess against a fleet which refuses to take the sea, they have rendered every assistance in their power to the operations of the army; and their conduct on the field of battle, where they soothed the sufferings of the wounded, and performed the last sad offices for the dead, will ever be remembered to their honour, and bind still more indissolubly the bonds which have long united the military and naval services of the Queen."

When this warm and hearty acknowledgment of their services reached our soldiers and sailors, they received it with a deep feeling of loyal gratitude, which vented itself in loud and long-continued cheering.—About the same time the French troops received the thanks of their emperor, which were welcomed with the same feelings of cordial loyalty.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RUSSIAN WOUNDED; HEROISM OF MR. THOMPSON AND HIS SERVANT; DEATH OF MR. THOMPSON; THE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN LORD RAGLAN AND MARSHAL DE ST. ARNAUD; SINKING OF RUSSIAN SHIPS IN THE HARBOUR OF SEBASTOPOL; MARCH TO THE KATCHA; MARCH TO THE BALBEC; THE FLANK MARCH; AFFAIR WITH THE RUSSIANS; ARRIVAL AT BALAKLAVA; SURRENDER OF THAT TOWN; RESOLUTION TO BESIEGE SEBASTOPOL; NATURE OF THE GROUND OCCUPIED BY THE ALLIES; THEIR POSITIONS; FIRST BOMBARDMENT.

ON the 22nd of September, the task of burying the dead, and removing the wounded of the allies, was completed; and orders were given to the troops, late at night, to hold themselves in readiness to march on the following day. The Russian wounded, who could not be taken into the few ruined houses remaining at Bourliouk and Almatamack, were still—sixty hours after the battle—lying in the open field. There were about 600 of these poor fellows; and it was arranged that they should be conveyed to Odessa, as soon as a British ship was at liberty to take them there. Lord Raglan sent for the head men of a Tartar village, higher up the valley of the Alma, and recommended these invalids to their attention; and Mr. James Thompson, assistant-surgeon of the 44th regiment, nobly volunteered his services to remain with them. His servant was also, at his own request, left behind with his master. It is difficult to conceive a more terrible task than these two heroic men—for their conduct was an act of the noblest heroism—undertook. The wounded were dying rapidly; their bodies were festering in heaps around those who still lingered in a painful, miserable state of existence; and the two Englishmen had frequently to remove the carcasses of the dead to get at the living. A few Tartars rendered them active aid; and, with their assistance, during the four days they remained there, nearly 200 dead bodies were buried, sixty being interred in one day.—On the 27th of September, her majesty's ships *Albion* and *Vesuvius* arrived, with the *Avon* transport following in their wake. The crew of the *Albion* were immediately landed, and commenced removing the wounded on board the *Avon*. They had taken 340 on board, when a large body of Cossacks—from four to five thousand in number—was seen approaching from the interior. About forty living Russians were still

remaining, and they were left to the “tender mercies” of the Cossacks, who, it is hoped, took good care of them. The *Avon* proceeded, under the escort of the *Vesuvius*, to Odessa, where the wounded were given up to General Annendorf. Mr. Thompson and his servant reached Balaklava in safety; and it is to be greatly regretted that the former died of cholera on the 5th of October, soon after his arrival.—A despatch of Admiral Dundas informs us, that, while Mr. Thompson and his servant were engaged in their benevolent work, they were protected by Captain Lushington and a small body of marines. When the Cossacks came down, the men were obliged to embark under the guns of the *Vesuvius*, to avoid being made prisoners, though they had been so meritoriously engaged.

The delay on the Alma till the 23rd of September, had not been assented to by Marshal de St. Arnaud without reluctance. He wished to start on the morning of the 22nd; and, in an interview with Lord Raglan on the 21st, he strongly urged him to give the necessary orders. His lordship objected to leave the dead unburied, and the wounded to the mercy of the enemy. “He said he had nearly 3,000 wounded English and Russians; and that, as they were over three miles from the sea, it was quite impossible to move them all on board ship under two days.”* The marshal observed, that his wounded would all be on board by the evening of that day; but, as that was no reason for abandoning his own soldiers, the British commander refused to march till the morning of Saturday, the 23rd. The marshal, having failed in shaking his lordship's determination, cheerfully fell into his views; and his army was not at all sorry to have another day's rest.

Whilst the armies remained on the

* Letters from Head-quarters.

banks of the Alma, Captain Jones was sent, in the *Sampson*, to reconnoitre the harbour of Sebastopol. He found that the Russians had moored across the entrance, with their heads to the west, five line-of-battle ships and two frigates, their top-gallant-masts being on deck, and their sails unbent. Another line-of-battle ship, a frigate, and thirteen steamers, were ascertained to be stationed at different parts of the harbour. Men were also seen busily at work, strengthening the old defences, and throwing up new ones. The next day, a seaman, who deserted, and succeeded in getting from Sebastopol on board the *Britannia*, informed Admiral Dundas, "that the crews of these ships, with the exception of a few in each, had all been landed, and that the vessels were plugged, ready for sinking, all the guns and stores remaining on board." The next day they were sunk; and thus the entrance of the harbour being effectually closed, the co-operation of the allied fleets in the attack upon the town, by sailing up the harbour and joining in the bombardment, was rendered impossible.

On the 23rd, before sunrise, both armies were in motion, although it was not intended to make a long march; the Katcha river, a distance of six miles, being their destination, as Lord Raglan and the Marshal de St. Arnaud expected reinforcements to reach them, which could be better landed in the *embouchure* of the Katcha than in that of the Balbec. The night had been an unpleasant one; and when the drum and bugle of the French army roused the British soldiers, "their teeth chattered with cold, the dew having wetted them a good deal, and it was some time before the circulation of their blood was restored."* After a short interval, the bands of the English regiments joined those of the French; and the entire force was soon ready to start. At that moment, the same spirit—that of joyous excitement—seemed to run through the ranks, from the commander to the drummer-boy. After breakfasting, the armies were put in motion, taking the route for the Katcha. The French, "on the plain, near the signal-tower, where the struggle was hottest on their part, left a stone, inscribed '*Victoire de l'Alma*,' with the date. The English left no monument on their fatal hill; but it needs none. The inhabitants have

returned to the valley, the burnt village has been rebuilt, wasted vineyards are replanted, and time has effaced the traces of the conflict; but tradition will, for centuries, continue to point, with no doubtful finger, to the spot where the British infantry, thinned by a storm of cannon-shot, drove the battalions of the czar, with terrible slaughter, from one of the strongest positions in Europe."†

The country between the Alma and the Katcha is barren and hilly; and between the hills the road to Sebastopol runs. It is not a scientifically constructed road, only a beaten track. The armies made a slow movement—little more than two miles an hour; but the men appeared to enjoy the bright sunny morning, after the cold and cheerless night. The order of march had, at starting, been the same as on the route from Kalimata Bay—the French taking the right, the English the left. But after about two miles had been passed over, "a halt was sounded for the English; and two divisions of the French army moving across their front, took ground on the extreme left. As the French filed close past the British divisions, there was such a scene of fraternisation as has seldom been witnessed. Each army cheered until the hills echoed for miles, and the enthusiasm reached an almost ungovernable pitch. French and English privates rushed from the ranks, embracing and shaking hands. Gradually the officers did the same; generals took off their cocked hats, and waved them; while shakos went into the air by hundreds, in all directions. This fervour of friendship lasted, with more or less spirit, for about ten minutes, when the French, having taken their places on the left, the whole army again moved forward. All seemed to know perfectly well that the enemy would offer no opposition to the advance, so every one marched on as he liked; that is, there was no unnecessary strictness, nor halting every mile while cavalry and skirmishers went on to reconnoitre."‡ Sir George Cathcart's division, and the 4th light dragoons, remained on the Alma, as a rear-guard, to ward off an attack in that direction; but, in front, no danger was anticipated.

Along the entire route there were numerous visible signs of the disaster of the 20th. Military accoutrements of every description were scattered about as far

* Lieutenant Peard.

† Lieut.-col. Hamley.

‡ *The Past Campaign.*

as the eye could reach: there were dead bodies too; and many whose appearance showed that death had not been occasioned by wounds, but fatigue and exhaustion. "Some appeared not to have been dead more than a few hours; in others decomposition had already commenced. There were, also, many carcasses of horses in a state of putrefaction." These sights—so painful to the thoughtful and the humane—subdued, to a certain extent, the hilarity with which the men had started in the morning.—As the Katcha was approached, it might have been supposed that an invading army had already been there. The rapid little river flows to the sea along a pleasant valley, "winding its way through villas and hamlets, beautiful gardens, and luxuriant corn-fields." At the bottom of this valley there are two villages—Katcha on the right bank of the river, and Eskel on the left. In both, the houses of the superior classes were neat, white mansions, standing amidst poplars; the cottages were very neat and clean; and round all the houses—mansions and cottages—"were very well-kept little gardens, from which sprung creeping plants, which quite hid the walls in their rich luxuriance, and filled the air with perfume."* The inhabitants had departed, and these pretty, comfortable villages, as they had been a few days previously, now bore the air of desolation. A very handsome Greek church stood, unmolested, at the eastern extremity of the valley, and two native priests remained in charge of it. They solicited the protection of Lord Raglan, which was at once granted, and his lordship ordered a guard to be placed to prevent the violation of the sacred edifice. In the villages nothing portable was left; and many articles of furniture were broken up and spoiled—a devastation which some attributed to the Cossacks; but which, not improbably, was the work of the inhabitants themselves, desirous of rendering the articles they could not carry off, useless to the invaders. Lord Raglan and his general staff quartered themselves in some of the houses at Eskel; and the troops bivouacked on the hills on that side of the river. These heights were much more lofty and inaccessible than those of Alma; and a more determined defence might have been made there than even on the latter position. The French encamped

nearly two miles further to the west, occupying some hills on the sea, covered with brushwood. The soldiers of both nations joined in completing the desolation of the villages. The British army was strictly ordered to abstain from plundering, and to respect the property of the inhabitants. But finding the houses deserted, and chests, tables, and other articles of furniture broken up, they not only gathered the fragments to make their fires, but pulled down the doors and rafters of the mansions and cottages, for the same purposes. They also ate heartily of the fruits found in the gardens, and thus increased the cholera, which had never forsaken the army.

The next morning, the 24th, the Scotch Greys, and the 57th regiment, which had been brought by the *Himalaya*, with 7,000 French troops which had arrived from France, were landed at the mouth of the Katcha. As soon as they had joined the respective armies the bugles again sounded for an advance; and the road to the Balbec—another stream, running from the east to the Black Sea, and beyond which lay Sebastopol—was taken. On that road "the allied armies marched so close to each other, that the red coats almost intermingled with the blue; and the officers of the two nations rode together, Prince Napoleon conversing with the Duke of Cambridge. The guards and Highlanders were on the right, and were much admired by the French officers, who called them 'superb,' and 'magnificent.' They also praised highly the English artillery, the horses and equipment of which were certainly not to be surpassed."†

The valley of the Balbec is even more beautiful than that of the Katcha; and there were many handsome villas—the country retreats of the inhabitants of Sebastopol. The river was crossed by a good stone bridge, which the Russians had left uninjured: had they destroyed it, the army would have been considerably delayed. "After crossing, the troops toiled up some tremendous hills, which rose like a wall on the south side. The narrow tracks for carts up these hills were most devious and intricate; and what with delays and breakdown, it was long after dark when the English arrived at the ground, where they were to rest for the night, on a plateau thickly covered with a brushwood of dwarf

* *The Past Campaign.*

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

oaks."*—Sir George Cathcart's division, and the 4th dragoons, were again in the rear; and the French, as before, in advance on the right. Lord Raglan's headquarters were established in the partially plundered château of a Russian nobleman, situated in an extensive and beautiful garden. The tents of the French commander-in-chief were pitched on an eminence in advance of the village of Balbec, and in rear of the ground taken up by the French troops. Both armies encamped within range of the shot from the forts on the north side of Sebastopol; and a fire, lighted by some of the advanced French pickets, attracted, it is supposed, the attention of the garrison; for several shots were fired, one of which passed over the English headquarters, but did no mischief; another killed the horse of a picket officer. The troops, who had retired to repose, were under arms and prepared to meet an enemy in five minutes; but the firing ceased, and there was no further alarm.—During the night there were again deaths from cholera; and the moans and cries of those who were suffering from the disease, are described as heartrending.

On the morning of the 25th, "preparations were made for the march, which were attended with great excitement, as the troops fully expected to be in Sebastopol the following day. Such was their idea of the place and their own power. They supposed that the French were to attack the forts on the north side of the harbour, and that the English were to attack the town on the south side;"† and they had no doubt of success. Whilst the troops were assembling, Lord Raglan, and the general officers of his staff, went to the French head-quarters, where they had a long consultation with Marshal de St. Arnaud, General Bosquet, General Canrobert, and several other officers of that army. The point discussed was—"In what manner should Sebastopol be attacked?" The army was then four miles from the city, and it had been the original intention to make the attack from that side, as it was expected the fleet could follow the army, and be made the real basis of operations. But it was ascertained that "the enemy had established a work—[the square stone tower, afterwards known as the Wasp]—which commanded the entrance to the Balbec, and debarred its use for the dis-

embarkation of troops, provisions, and *matériel*. It therefore became expedient to consider whether the line of attack upon the north side should not be abandoned, and another course of operation adopted?"‡ There was some difference of opinion on this point. Generals Cathcart and Bosquet were in favour of carrying out the original intention. But it was considered that the defences of the enemy were so strong on that side, as to render success by a *coup-de-main* impossible; and there would be the greatest difficulty, if a regular siege were undertaken, in getting supplies from the ships; whilst a dense wood on the left flank, which extended some miles inwards, would require the constant presence of a large force to prevent the enemy from collecting in that quarter, and attacking the flank and rear of the allies. Lord Raglan, therefore, supported by Marshal de St. Arnaud, proposed that the attack should be made on the south. Then came the question—how to get there? On the north side of the western extremity of the harbour of Sebastopol, is a promontory of no great height, on which are the ruins of the Tartar village of Inkermann. The promontory itself is a yellow rock, honey-combed with crypts, which were the dwelling-places of the ancient Tauri. To the south the ground slopes into the valley of Inkermann, bounded on the west by the memorable heights of that name, of which we shall have to take note hereafter. The valley is traversed by the river Tchernaya (or the Black River, which rises in the vale of Baidar, to the south-east, and falls into the harbour of Sebastopol, at its head): and at its gorge, to the north, on the east and west, are two lighthouses, used of old to make signals to ships in the harbour. A road leads round the head of the harbour, and between these two lighthouses, to the elevated plateau, to the east and south-east of the town; and the French officers proposed that this road should be taken. To this there were two objections: the troops would have been exposed, on their march, to the fire from the ships in the harbour, whilst crossing its head; and the Russians would have been made fully aware of the intentions of the allied commanders. Sir John Burgoyne, therefore, proposed—what has since been known as "the celebrated flank march"—that the troops should take an

* *The Past Campaign.*

† Lieut. Peard.

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch, September 28th.

easterly direction, gain the high road from Sebastopol to Baktchi-Serai (a town which lies to the north-east of the city), and then turn south, and march on Balaklava, a port to the south-east of Sebastopol, at a distance of about eight miles in a direct line. There was no doubt but that easy possession could be obtained of that port, which would afford a *point d'appui*, and give the allies an admirable harbour. Failing in getting possession of that place, the armies could advance to the bays near Cape Chersonese. Whilst this route would not expose the allies to the dangers which they must encounter on that first suggested, it was urged that its adoption would mislead the Russians, who would naturally suppose that their enemy was marching on Baktchi-Serai for the purpose of cutting off from Sebastopol assistance or supplies.—Sir John Burgoyne's proposal was adopted, and the armies commenced their march immediately; the French being under a new commander-in-chief. Marshal de St. Arnaud found himself so ill, that he resigned his command, which was assumed by General Canrobert, who held the emperor's warrant for that purpose. The marshal, on the 26th, retired on board the *Berthollet*, where he died on the 29th, greatly regretted by his French colleagues, who were much attached to him.

During the time the army was getting into motion, Lord Raglan and his staff rode on towards Sebastopol to reconnoitre the works. The first glimpse of the town was very striking. "There appeared a great number of stately buildings, some of large size, probably barracks. There were, also, several handsome churches, and many large private houses, with green roofs to them. All the buildings were of white stone." The harbour looked beautiful; the water so quiet, and so blue; and the remainder of the fleet which had not been sunk was riding at anchor, with the Russian ensign flying from their peaks.* Everything was still in the town and harbour; and although the party must have been conspicuous, and was within range of the heavy guns in the Star Fort, no molestation was offered.

When Lord Raglan rejoined the army, it was on the move. The cavalry took the lead. Then followed Captain Maude's troop of horse artillery, with the artillery

of the 1st and light divisions; the 2nd battalion of rifles was on their left flank; the light, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd divisions followed in columns of regiments; then the French and Turks. Sir George Cathcart's division remained on the Balbec, to guard against any attacks on the rear. "The march was attended with great difficulties. On leaving the high road from the Balbec to Sebastopol, the dense wood to the east had to be traversed, in which there was but one road leading in the direction it was necessary to take. That road was left, in the first instance, to the cavalry, artillery," and the baggage of the armies; "the divisions being ordered to march by compass, and make a way for themselves as well as they could. Indeed, the artillery of the light division pursued the latter course as long as it was found to be possible; but as the wood became more impracticable, the batteries could not proceed otherwise than by getting into the road above-mentioned."† No one knew anything of the route; but the Russian deserter, who reported to Admiral Dundas the steps taken with respect to the shipping in the harbour, was sent on shore, at Lord Raglan's request, and acted as a guide. The commander-in-chief and his staff soon took the lead; and, after toiling for about four miles, the trees became thinner, and the advanced corps began to congratulate themselves on the prospect of soon getting into the open country. Lord Raglan was in front; and on reaching an opening near the termination of the wood, he was surprised to see a body of Russian infantry in the road which ran to the right and left, being the direct route from the Tchernaya to Baktchi-Serai. Surprised, and probably alarmed at the appearance of the enemy, Lord Raglan rode back, and ordered up the cavalry and artillery. These were soon on the spot; and the 8th and 11th hussars charged the foe, who appeared astonished at their appearance. The guns also opened upon them, Captain Maude's troop coming out on the open space; soon the Scots Greys came up, and also charged the Russians, one party of whom rallied for a moment, and gave Captain Chetwode's 8th hussars a volley; but all the bullets passed over their heads, and no one was hurt. No further attempt at resistance was made; the Russians broke, abandoned a number of waggons, of which

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† Lord Raglan's despatch, September 28th.

they formed the escort, and ran into the wood on either side. "Some of the Scots Greys, dismounting, went skirmishing through the wood; and about a dozen Russians, throwing themselves down and pretending to be dead, rose after they were past, and fired upon them; for which discreditable *ruse* they were, as they deserved to be, all put to death."*

All the artillery had been brought out into the open space, where the Russians were seen; and before the skirmish—for it was nothing more—was over, the infantry had passed through the wood, and formed on the plain. There a number of waggons and an immense quantity of baggage was left, the latter scattering the road for nearly two miles. "This was lawful plunder, and the soldiers were allowed to break open the carts and help themselves, under the superintendence of an officer, to prevent squabbling. Wearing apparel, of all descriptions, was found in great abundance; together with dressing-cases, jewellery, ornaments, wine, and some specie. Fine large cloaks, lined with fur, and hussar jackets, covered with lace, were also seized and sold by the soldiers."† Mentschikoff was again unlucky; his carriage was taken; and the insignia of his rank, as Prince of Russia, fell into the hands of Captain Peel, R.N. Twenty of the arabas were laden with flour; and there were several waggons of small-arm ammunition; which, not suiting the British weapons, were, by the order of Lord Raglan, blown up. Besides this baggage, the enemy lost about thirty killed and wounded; one officer and thirty privates were also taken prisoners. The British had only one man, a private of the Scots Greys, injured; he was contused by a musket-ball.

The troops thus fallen in with, as was afterwards ascertained, consisted of the rear-guard of Prince Mentschikoff's army, escorting the baggage. The prince, with the hope of turning the flank, or getting in the rear of the allies, had crossed the Tchernaya, and was marching to Baktchisraï. The troops had passed the previous night on the plateau where the skirmish took place, and which is called "Mackenzie's Farm." "It received this name, because Admiral Mackenzie, who was commander of the fleet at Sebastopol towards the end of the last century, established a

farm on the summit of this mountain, and built a house, for the erection of which a considerable portion of the wood was granted to him. They were subsequently repurchased by the crown for the use of the navy."‡

A halt of near two hours was made at "Mackenzie's Farm"—the only building on which is a low, square edifice, in an oak coppice, used as a barrack for troops passing that way. The march was then resumed, by the descent of a steep and difficult defile, into the plain, and on to the Tchernaya, where it was intended the men should halt for the night. After the pursuit of the Russians had been given up, the cavalry and artillery had reunited, and both moved, in their accustomed order of march, down the steep chalky hill, which is a lofty eminence, overtopping the "*Muilenaya gora*," or Soap-hill, of the Russians—"a gentle elevation in a broad tract of level country, about six miles wide, which is literally burrowed with pits for extracting the fuller's-earth, found under chalky marl, at a depth of about forty feet."§ On the precipitous sides of the hill were seen numerous carts and waggons, that had been upset and left by one portion of the enemy, who, on finding the corps in advance of them attacked, had turned round and fled to Sebastopol. It was very difficult for the troops to march by this road; and when they descended into the plain, which "had a surface of chalk covered thinly with grass," they were almost smothered with "the white dust, which rose in clouds at every step." At length, "after a long and weary march, they reached the river Tchernaya, and pitched their tents (which the artillery carried with them), just after nightfall."||

The infantry did not reach the bivouac till several hours after the cavalry and artillery: they had had a toilsome and arduous march. The wood which they entered at starting was very difficult to penetrate. "The ground was covered with brushwood; and the trees soon became so dense and interwoven, that it was almost impossible to proceed." Not only the pioneers, but the regular rank and file had to assist in clearing the way; and the care of the numerous invalids, who were borne on ambulances, still further retarded the march. Most of these ambulances

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

† Lieutenant Peard.

‡ *Russia in the Black Sea*; by Danby Seymour, Esq., M.P. § *Ibid.* || Lieut.-colonel Hamley.

were empty when the infantry emerged from the wood on Mackenzie's Farm; some of the occupants having died; others being left for the light division—for whom the road would be opened—to bring on the next day. At the farm there were two wells; the only supply of water met with on the road between the Balbec and the Tchernaya; and the men derived great refreshment from the copious draughts which they eagerly imbibed.

The halt at this spot afforded the troops a little relief; and, before they started again, it was arranged, between the commanders-in-chief, that, on reaching the Tchernaya, the French should encamp along the heights, and the English descend into the plain, and bivouac on the banks of the river. When the English infantry arrived at their destination, it was found that there were many stragglers; and, as the commissariat stores had not arrived, there was a deficiency of rations. But water and wood were plentiful. The men gathered a quantity of the latter, and made fires, round which they lay down, to woo "Nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep;" and so fatigued were they that most of them got a sound night's rest. The officers had to bivouac with the privates, except in a few instances. Lord Raglan occupied a small cottage; and the bulk of his staff slept on the ground, in a ditch, without-side of it. His lordship's baggage had not arrived; and he and his staff had no rations. But Captain Thomas, of the horse artillery, who had found a side of wild boar in one of the Russian waggons, sent his lordship a leg; and Captain Chetwynde supplied biscuits and rum, and also a tin plate, and knife and fork. Those articles were given to Lord Raglan; his officers had to use their fingers, like the natives; and, soon after dusk, "the commander-in-chief, two general officers of his staff, and their aides-de-camp, were all seated cross-legged on the ground, round a fire, eating away at half-cooked wild boar."* In the midst of their dinner, Lieutenant Maxse arrived with despatches from Sir Edmund Lyons, having followed the troops from the Balbec. As Lord Raglan was anxious to communicate with the admiral, and request him immediately to sail for Balaklava, the lieutenant volunteered to return immediately, notwithstanding the difficulty of the route. He

accomplished his mission successfully. Sir Edward Codrington, not aware of the arrival and departure of Sir Edmund Lyons' messenger, and knowing the importance of the co-operation of that gallant admiral, had dispatched Lieutenant-colonel (afterwards General) Windham by the same route, to inform him of the movements of the army. The gallant colonel succeeded in reaching the *Agamemnon* about the same time as Lieutenant Maxse.

The 4th division, left to guard the rear, was exposed to an attack of the enemy; but the attention of the men was attracted from the dangers of their own position to the movements of the steamers off the coast, which kept up a brisk cannonade and shelling of the Russian forts. Little damage was done; but the bombardment had the effect of diverting the attention of the enemy from the flank march, though it could not have been undertaken with that intent, as Sir Edmund Lyons was in ignorance of the movement till the return of Lieutenant Maxse the next morning. The division commenced its march to the south-east, at 3 A.M. on the 26th of September. "As the road had been made for them by the troops who had passed the previous day, and whose tracks they followed, the march of this division was not attended with the difficulties which assailed the others; but the men were distressed, as they proceeded, by seeing the dead and dying of their countrymen scattered in all directions." Some were those who had been invalids when taken from the Balbec the previous day, and who had been left as already stated; others had started in health, and dropped down from fatigue. "The 4th division relieved all they could, and carried them forward; but many perished; and it is said that at least 300 were lost to the army on that march, either dying in the wood, or being made prisoners by the Russians." The attention to their disabled comrades delayed the march, and it was nearly sunset before the division arrived at the Tchernaya, where they bivouacked during the night.

At 6 A.M. the same morning, the main body of the army marched for Balaklava, which was about five miles in advance of the bivouac of the previous night. Short as was the distance, many of the men were unable to perform it: the march of the preceding day, and the want of proper

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

refreshment, had so exhausted them, that hundreds fell out of the ranks, and it was ten o'clock before the remainder reached the opening of two high hills, inclosing a valley about a mile in length, which extended to the port. This valley was highly cultivated. Meadows, gardens, and vineyards extended over the entire space; some of the latter being carried up the slopes of the hill on each side, till the hard rock forbade further cultivation. Lofty hills also guard the entrance of Balaklava from the sea; and so completely shelter the harbour, that it has been frequently passed by vessels without the mariners being aware of its existence. The entrance is a narrow passage, barely allowing two vessels to sail abreast. This passed, a capacious harbour, capable of accommodating at least 200 vessels, presents itself. It extends inland from south to north nearly a mile; enlarges to a width of 1,200 feet; and has a depth of water of from six to ninety fathoms. The town, when the allies arrived, consisted of several narrow streets, on the east side of the bay. "Many of the houses were very neat and clean; gardens were attached to them; they were decorated in front by flowering shrubs, and flower-pots in the windows; there were two small churches, and several shops; ruined towers crowned the crest of one of the surrounding hills;" and there was an old Genoese castle at the entrance to the harbour; but there was nothing to indicate that there would be any defence or resistance.

The march of the troops was arrested at a little village called Kadikoi, about a mile to the north-west of Balaklava. It was deserted by the inhabitants, and scarcely anything left in the houses. From thence "a portion of the light division was ordered to advance up the heights to the west of the harbour, and a part of the 2nd division to take possession of those on the east; whilst Lord Raglan and his staff, preceded by skirmishers from the rifle brigade, proceeded by the valley to the town." Everything was so still, that it was supposed the inhabitants had disappeared; but the party in the valley had not advanced far, when a shell from the old Genoese fort came flying amongst the head-quarter staff. It was followed by several others; but the only injury done was to the coat of Mr. Curzon, the assistant military secretary, which was torn by the fragment of a shell.* Several

* Letters from Head-quarters.

louder explosions were immediately heard, and these were followed by the display of a flag of truce from the tower, which was entered, and taken possession of by the rifles. It was then found that the loud explosions were occasioned by the firing of the *Agamemnon*; Lieutenant Maxse having accomplished the difficult service so effectually, that the admiral was enabled to appear off the harbour at the very moment the troops appeared on the heights.†

Lord Raglan entered the town, and was met by the principal inhabitants, who offered him bread and salt, as tokens of peace and good-will. The major-commandant of the fort, his officers, fourteen or fifteen in number, and the two companies of a Greek battalion that formed the garrison, came and surrendered themselves prisoners. Four small brass mortars, six breech-loading guns, and the small arms of the garrison, were the only other fruits of the conquest. The major-commandant told Lord Raglan, that the wives and families of the officers, and most of the females residing in the town, had fled to the hills on the north, on hearing of the advance of the allies; and his lordship sent Mr. Calvert, the chief interpreter, with one of the Russian officers on parole, who soon returned with the fugitives.—They found themselves so well treated, that all fear of the English soldiers vanished. Lord Raglan sent them away as soon as he could; but whilst they remained there was no complaint.

His lordship had just despatched Mr. Calvert to bring back the females, when Sir Edmund Lyons landed from the *Spitfire*, which had followed the *Agamemnon*. Several other vessels arrived soon after, and the garrison were put on board a transport, with the exception of the commandant and one of the officers, who had married his daughter. Lord Raglan appropriated one room in the commandant's house to his own use; another was made the office of the military secretary; the commandant and his family were permitted to occupy the rest whilst they remained at Balaklava. His lordship's staff had tents pitched for them in the immediate vicinity; and a detachment of guards was ordered into the town, to do garrison duty. The two armies, as they arrived, were stationed as follows:—"The 1st, 2nd, and light divisions, and the brigade of cavalry,

† Lord Raglan's despatch.

were bivouacked in the plain, in front of Balaklava, supported by two divisions of the French troops. The 3rd and 4th divisions were pushed on towards Sebastopol, and occupied some high ground three miles north of Balaklava, together with a large body of the French.* The 4th division, which was the last to arrive, bivouacked near "a quarry, on the brow of a hill which was covered with brushwood and oak saplings. Sebastopol was plainly to be seen from this point, about two miles distant; and the Russians, in great numbers, were observed to be hard at work in their mud batteries, which they had just commenced. A small stone house, which had probably been occupied by the quarry labourers, was set apart for Sir George Cathcart; but he kindly gave it up to the sick of the division, and had his own little picket-tent, with table outside, pitched near it.†" The bulk of the French army bivouacked for the night on the plain of Balaklava, where they did not arrive till late, having been delayed at the Traktir bridge across the Tchernaya, to destroy the aqueduct which supplied the docks with water.

Up to this time the English had occupied the most exposed position, both on the march and in the cantonments; the French having been on the right, and thus had both flanks protected—the left by the English, and the right by the sea; whilst the Turks were generally in the rear. General Canrobert, in an interview with Lord Raglan on the evening of the 26th, proposed that the French should take the left, urging that the English ought to allow the change—"as, having obtained possession of Balaklava, they had a harbour in which to land their *matériel*; whilst the French must resort to the bays of Kamiesch and Kazatch, near Cape Chersonese, for that purpose; and it would obviously be far more convenient for them to be encamped as near as possible to the spot where their stores, &c., would be landed.‡" There was reason in this proposition, and Lord Raglan at once assented to it. The French immediately commenced landing their siege *matériel* in the above-named bays.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Lord Raglan and his staff reconnoitred the ground, and selected the positions for the

troops; the 3rd and 4th divisions being pushed on to within 2,000 yards of the Russian works. During the day, several more vessels entered the harbour of Balaklava, laden with siege *matériel*, which was immediately landed; and from this time till the bombardment opened, on the 17th of October, the two armies were actively engaged in making the necessary preparations for the attack. Sir George Cathcart, from the first, had been of opinion that the town might be taken by assault. "He made known this opinion to Lord Raglan, requesting that, should it be approved by his lordship and General Canrobert, he might be permitted to lead the British storming party on the right, with the division under his command."§ Except General Bosquet, we believe the gallant commander of the 4th division had no supporters amongst the chief officers.—The *reconnaissance* of the 27th had been made from an eminence, afterwards celebrated as "Cathcart's Hill," which the reader will find laid down in the "Plan of Sebastopol." At that time there was a small earthwork opposite the hill, which was afterwards extended into the Great Redan; and workmen were seen engaged at the Malakoff; at the battery, called in the French despatches the *Bastion du Mat*, and in the English the Flagstaff Battery—a large work connected with the crenelated wall to the west of the head of the inner harbour; and at various other places, without-side the wall, throwing up earthworks, mounting guns, and in other ways providing for the defence of their hearths and homes.

Men, boys, and women were employed on these works; many of the latter, we are told, volunteering their services. Before the bombardment opened, several new works were completed. To the north-west of the Flagstaff Battery, the Central Bastion was erected; to the east, the Garden, the Sand-sack (so called because *sacks*, instead of small bags of sand or earth, were used in its construction), and the Barrack batteries. The Redan was connected, by a wall, with the Barrack Battery on the west, and with the White Tower, or Malakoff, on the east: the latter was greatly strengthened, a new battery being erected round its base, called the Round Tower, which was the nucleus of the great fortification, afterwards so memorable. All these works were manned

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† Lieut. Peard. ‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

§ Letter from Lieutenant-general Pasley, R.E. in the *Morning Chronicle*.

with guns of a much heavier calibre than those which the allies had to place against them, in the first instance; and hence the comparatively little success of the bombardment. Besides these forts and earthworks, nine ships of the line were placed so as to be capable of being effectively used either for offence or defence. To supply the requisite ammunition, furnaces were erected at Baktchi-Serai and Simpheropol, for casting shot; and couriers were sent to Nicolaieff, Kherson, Kertch, Anapa, and Yenikale, to procure supplies of gunpowder and shell. Deserters informed the allies of these particulars; and, also, that there was no apparent care or trouble in Sebastopol, where balls and other parties were constantly taking place, both on board the ships and on shore.

The allied commanders had no accurate knowledge of the number of men in the city; but the activity at the works showed that there must be a strong force within the walls; and they knew that reinforcements were expected. Indeed, on the 28th, the enemy began to appear in numbers over the hills of Mackenzie's Farm. That the town might be carried was very probable; but there were other considerations—could it be held with the force the allied commanders then had at their disposal? These commanders thought not; and all idea of a *coup-de-main* was abandoned. It is well that it was. It was subsequently ascertained, "that when Prince Mentschikoff set out on *his* flank march, he left, at Sebastopol, the greater part of his artillery, and 10,000 regular troops. The crews from the ships in the harbour had been nearly all landed, and formed into twelve regiments, of 800 men each; there were 3,000 marines, and three battalions of dockyard workmen, about 5,000 in number, formed into troops, as the English workmen are; the idea having been taken five years previously, by Russia, from the system adopted in this country. The able-bodied male inhabitants were also enrolled into companies, trained with rifles, and took active military duty. The number of the garrison was at least 40,000 men; and the streets, except one or two of the principal, were barricaded and defended by cannon." We agree with the writer who thus enumerates the physical force at the disposal of the governor of Sebastopol, that "it was fortunate for the allies the idea of a *coup-de-main* was not carried out."

When the active operations for entrenching the allied positions, erecting batteries, and encamping the men, were commenced, it was found that both armies were short of siege artillery and ammunition; and the English were also deficient in almost every necessary. They had landed without knapsacks; the tents had been reshipped when they started for the Alma; and the commissariat and hospital staffs were always unequal to the task assigned them. It was not till the 10th of October that all the infantry were supplied with tents. The knapsacks were shipped on board transports to be delivered to the men; but "instead of each ship, after coming round to Balaklava, entering the harbour, and discharging its cargo of knapsacks—care being taken that the regiments were informed at the time that such would be the case—a sort of circular was sent round, that a ship was outside or inside the harbour, and the chance was taken of getting the knapsacks out. It occurred once or twice, on sending down for them, that the ships had sailed to Constantinople, or Marseilles, or some other place, and the knapsacks were gone:" and "ships laden with them, went two or three times across the Black Sea, without landing them."* Thus the men wanted change of clothing, and were frequently deficient in their rations. The cholera also prevailed after they sat down before Sebastopol, and there were numerous deaths. Still they worked cheerfully, and carried on their labours in the trenches with great alacrity.—The French, who had their tents from the beginning, had also a much better arranged commissariat; and were better supplied with medical men and medicines. Still they did not altogether escape the disagreeables of camp life in a foreign and hostile country.

When it was ascertained how deficient the siege-train was, a number of large guns were sent on shore from the different ships; and, as disease had greatly weakened the physical strength of the army, 1,400 marines were landed, and cantoned on the heights of Balaklava: a naval brigade of 1,200 men was also formed, under Captain Lushington, who fulfilled his duties in an admirable way; assisted in the command by Captains W. Peel and Moorsom. These gallant fellows who first

* Evidence of the Duke of Cambridge, before the Sebastopol committee.

encamped a little to the west of Kadikoi, and subsequently removed further to the north, nearer Sebastopol, were of the utmost service during the siege; and without their assistance, the guns could not have been landed and got in position.

The land to the south of Sebastopol is a plateau, about 250 feet above the level of the sea; the highest side being towards the north. The camp was placed two or three hundred yards below this summit, on the south side; and Sebastopol stands upon its slopes to the north. This plateau, on the east, ends in a steep range of hills which overhangs the Tchernaya, terminating in the heights of Inkermann on the north-east, and extending nearly to Balaklava on the south. The Woronzoff road runs from the south-east quarter of Sebastopol; and, crossing these hills about midway between that city and Balaklava, it runs to the valley of Baidar, in the same direction. The precipitous descent of the ridge of hills alluded to, terminates, it will be seen by a reference to the plan, in the valley of the Tchernaya; beyond that river the plain rises abruptly into mountains of considerable height.

The peninsula extends from this range of hills to Cape Chersonese, or Kherson, about ten miles. The whole of this extent has an undulating surface, forming deep ravines, three of which—the Woronzoff road running along one of them—intersected the British position. The furthest of these ravines, on the west, ran down the plateau to the South Bay: the British were situated to the east, the French to the west of this ravine. The position of the former occupied four miles from north-east to south-west, sloping gradually, from its north-eastern ridge, upwards of a mile and a quarter, in a western direction, to the dockyard quarter of Sebastopol. The tents were pitched about 300 yards beyond the crest of the plateau, and followed the sinuosities of the ground. The right extended, on the north-east, to the heights of Inkermann; and there the engineers were at first posted, under Brigadier-general Tylden. The light division came next, and then the 4th, forming the centre; and the 3rd division was on the extreme left. The four corps formed the arc of a circle: in their rear were the 1st and 2nd divisions, both to the west of the Woronzoff road; and between those divisions and the encampment of the 3rd and 4th, were the

parks of the engineers and artillery, and the tents of the medical staff. The camp hospital was situated between the 1st and 3rd divisions, on the west. The encampments of the several divisions were formed of triple lines of bell-tents, the space between each tent, from side to side, being eight yards; and between each line, to allow room for the cooking-fires, sixteen yards. The tents of the generals and officers of the staff formed a fourth line; and still further behind were the baggage waggons and lumber of the troops.—The Highlanders, separated from the 1st division, were encamped to the east, the cavalry to the north-west, of Balaklava; and in the plain, to the north-east, about two miles from the port, four redoubts were constructed, to defend the Woronzoff road; they were garrisoned by a Turkish force, which, on Lord Raglan's application, was sent to him from Constantinople. The batteries were constructed under the direction of Major Nasmyth, who rendered such essential service at Silistria, and who was doing duty with the royal engineers.

The French occupied the plateau to the west of the great ravine, having the sea on their left, and Streletska and Kamiesch bays forming their bases of operations. They also held the western shore of Quarantine Bay. "The ground they occupied inclined away towards the sea, till at Kamiesch it was very little above the water's edge. Two or three small springs of water ran between the hills, which were cut up, on the side next Sebastopol, into deep and narrow ravines,"* similar to the ground on which the British were encamped. The Turks with the French army again took their position in the rear. That army was divided into two main corps. "The first, composed of the 3rd and 4th divisions, under the orders of General Forey, to make the siege; the second, comprising the 1st and 2nd divisions, under General Bosquet, forming the corps of observation." They had the left of the attack, from the sea to the southern fort of Sebastopol, or Flagstaff Battery; and the English had the right, from the southern fort to the heights of Inkermann—with one exception: at the request of Lord Raglan, after the 2nd of October, a French corps was placed on the brow of the plateau to the east, overlooking the valley of the

* *The Past Campaign.*

† French despatch, October 3rd, 1854.

Tchernaya; and they threw up some powerful earthworks, which were a great protection to the lines of their allies on that side.

On the 5th of October, Lord Raglan removed his head-quarters from Balaklava, to a position about four miles north of that port, and a mile to the westward of the east brow of the plateau. He occupied a low white house, of one storey, which had been a country villa, with a series of cottages and sheds running from each side at right angles, and joined together by a low stone wall, forming an enclosed space of considerable extent. There were rows of young trees on both sides, and between them the tents of the staff officers were pitched, the cottages and sheds being so dirty and full of vermin, that living in them, till they had been purified, was out of the question. The house contained six good-sized rooms, and three or four closets. Lord Raglan only appropriated one of these rooms to himself; the next, on one side, was the office of the quartermaster-general; and a large room on the other side was used as a general reception and dining-room; there, also, councils of war were held. The room beyond this was Sir John Burgoyne's; in the next the commander-in-chief's military secretary held his office; and in the remaining apartment, the French commissioner, attached to Lord Raglan's staff, resided. The doctors and one or two aides-de-camp had beds made up for them in the closets. The other buildings—though the officers rejected them as eating and sleeping-rooms—were cleaned, rendered as decent as possible, and used for various offices connected with the department of the commander-in-chief.—The French head-quarters were about a mile to the north-west of Lord Raglan's.

“Nothing can be imagined more dreary and barren than the country in which the allied camps were pitched. The colouring of the scenery was simple enough—namely, plain drab. No vegetation was visible. There were, indeed, good vineyards in the hollows near Balaklava; and there were cultivated strips at the sheltered bottoms of most of the gorges where water is found; but such oases lay too low to affect the general landscape. Elsewhere the grass was scanty and withered: there were no trees, only here and there patches of short oak scrub. Even the withered grass and the scrub had to be looked for; nothing

being seen, as a rule, but bare brown earth, strewn with rough stones, that set their faces against galloping aides-de-camp; or bristling with bunches of burnt-up, star-headed thistles, of which the best that can be said is, that they now and then sheltered a misguided anemone.*”

In this unattractive spot, the soldiers had hard work to perform in digging trenches, and constructing batteries, previous to the opening of the bombardment upon the town. In carrying out these operations, the French had an advantage over our men, in the nature of the ground, which was a good soil; whilst the eastern side was hard and rocky, and required the application of more gabions, fascines, and sand-bags than had been brought from Varna. The first ground was broken by the English on the evening of the 7th of October; this was for a new Lancaster gun of 95 cwt. In the night of the 9th, a second battery was constructed for another Lancaster gun, and four ship-guns, 68-pounders. On that night the French first broke ground; and before morning they had made a tank 1,000 yards long. Both armies pursued their work every night, and, on the 16th of October, everything was ready to open a fire on the town. During this time the Russians frequently sent shot and shell against the works, but with little effect; though their artillery practice is said to have been admirable. The greatest injury they inflicted was on the 14th and 16th. On the former day they killed five, and wounded from fifteen to twenty, in the French trenches. On the latter, they killed five and wounded eleven of the English rank and file; and the French suffered about the same loss.

A council of war was held on the evening of the 16th of October. It then appeared, that from the Garden, Sandsack, Barrack, Redan, and Round Tower batteries, the Malakoff, and one flank of the Flagstaff Battery, the enemy could bring eighty-one guns to bear on the English trenches; and from the other flank and the front of the Flagstaff, the Central Bastion, and the Quarantine Fort, seventy guns and twenty mortars could be directed against the French. To meet these, the English had erected Chapman's battery of forty-one guns, on the left, to fire against the Flagstaff, the Garden, and the Sandsack batteries; and Gordon's, of twenty-

* *A Month in the Camp before Sebastopol.*

six pieces, on the right, to assail the Redan and the Barrack Battery, and the Malakoff. The five-gun battery already mentioned was also intended to bombard the Malakoff; and the single Lancaster gun was directed against a Russian man-of-war, anchored in Artillery Creek, so as to sweep the ravine which divided the camps of the allies: thus we had seventy-three guns opposed to eighty-one.—The French had constructed, in their trenches, five batteries, and a small redoubt on their extreme left, called Fort Génois. They had, in the six works, twenty-nine guns, fourteen howitzers, and ten mortars: in all, fifty-three pieces, none of heavy calibre.*—These particulars ascertained, it was resolved that all the batteries should open fire; that the fleets should join in the attack; and that, if it proved successful, an assault should take place.

The Russians anticipated the attack, and opened a fierce fire upon the English and French trenches before the signal agreed upon—three shells fired from the centre French battery—for the commencement of the bombardment by the allies was made. At twenty minutes before seven the shells ascended in the air; and five minutes after all the English and French batteries were in action. The fire was kept up splendidly on both sides, the English batteries being manned by seamen, under the command of Captains Lushington and Peel; and artillerymen, under Lieutenant-colonel Gambier, Colonel Dickson, Captain d'Aigular, and Captain Strange: their fire was very effective, silencing the Malakoff and the Round Tower, and blowing up the magazine in the rear of the Redan. From the English side the fire was kept up all day; and, till dark, the Russians returned it from a number of guns along their line.—Our allies were unfortunate. When the firing had continued two hours, a shell fell into the principal French magazine, completely destroying their No. 4 battery, disabling eight guns, and putting about one hundred men *hors de combat*. This encouraged the Russians, and caused their fire to be even more vigorous than before, whilst that of the French slackened. Soon after, their battery No. 5, on which twelve guns were mounted, was silenced; a large number of men having been previously

killed. By eleven o'clock, Fort Génois was also much injured; and General Canrobert sent General Rose to Lord Raglan, to say that it was impossible for the French to continue their fire: for the rest of the day, therefore, the attack was confined to the English side. Notwithstanding their losses, the Russians stood well to their guns; and several of the ships in the harbour supported the batteries. The vessel moored in Artillery Creek, being within reach of the Lancaster gun, soon changed its position, and got out of danger. Those guns were then brought into action for the first time; but it being impossible to take accurate aim with them, they were not so effective as was expected.

The attack by sea did not commence till near one o'clock, owing to Admiral Hamelin's refusing to carry out the plan first proposed, of taking the ships past a shoal at the direct entrance to the harbour, and thus bringing them as near as possible to the enemy's works. Admirals Dundas and Lyons were anxious to adhere to that plan, but at length gave way. The latter, however, sent Mr. Bell, master of the *Caradoc*, in the steam-tug *Circassia*, to take the soundings in front of Fort Constantine; and that gallant officer advanced under the enemy's fire, to within 300 yards of the fort; taking signals and soundings till the signal-staff was shattered by a shell, and the sounding-line cut in two by a round shot. The vessel was also greatly injured. In consequence of Mr. Bell's report, the *Agamemnon* was anchored off the fort, with only two feet water under her keel. She was supported by the *Sanspareil*, *Sampson*, *Tribune*, *Terrible*, *Sphinx*, *Lynx*, *Albion*, *London*, and *Arethusa*, in an attack upon that and the neighbouring forts; and the *Queen*, *Britannia*, *Trafalgar*, *Vengeance*, *Rodney*, and *Bellerophon*, acted as a reserve.†—The French fleet attacked the south forts in two lines; the first being composed of the *Charlemagne*, *Canada*, *Montebello*, *Friedland*, *Ville de Paris*, *Valmy*, *Henry IV.*, and *Napoleon*; the second, of the *Alger*, *Jemappes*, *Jean Bart*, *Marengo*, *Ville de Marseilles*, *Suffren*, *Bayard*, and *Jupiter*: the Turkish men-of-war *Mahmoudie* and *Teschriefe*, were attached, one to each line.‡ The fire was kept up most fiercely, on both sides, till dark, the Russians discharging a great many red-hot shot. The effect was grand; and the *Agamemnon*, *Albion*, *Arethusa*, *Sampson*,

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† Admiral Dundas's despatch.

‡ Admiral Hamelin's despatch.

and *Terrible* received considerable injury. Fort Constantine was also shattered, and had guns displaced; and the *Wasp* Fort was at one time silenced, but the guns were soon remounted.—The French were more successful. They silenced the Quarantine Fort, and caused the fire of the others to be greatly slackened. The bombardment was continued till dark: then it ceased by sea and land; and the change was magical, especially on the former. There the transition, “from a hot sun, mist, smoke, explosions, shot, shell, rockets, and the roar of 10,000 guns—to a still, cool, brilliant, starlight sky, looking down upon a glassy sea, reflecting in long, tremulous lines the lights at the mast-heads of the ships, returning in profound silence,”* had a strange and thrilling effect.

The losses of the day, on the side of the allies, were principally endured by the French; who had upwards of 500 killed

and wounded in the trenches: on board the ships, the number of their killed was twenty-nine; of wounded, 180. The British lost thirty-one killed, and sixty-eight wounded, on land; forty-four killed, and 266 wounded, at sea.—The loss of the Russians is not known; but Prince Mentschikoff admitted that it was very severe. A young prince, Gortschakoff, commanded under him; the artillery was under General Chumatoff; and Admirals Korniloff, Nachimoff, and Istommine took charge of the ships. The former received a wound which occasioned his death; and though greatly regretted by the czar and Prince Mentschikoff, the allies did not feel, in his case, the sympathy which generous enemies always manifest at the death of gallant and distinguished men: the reason for this indifference was, that he had the command of the Russian squadron which perpetrated the massacre of Sinope.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESULT OF THE FIRST BOMBARDMENT; CONTINUATION OF THE BOMBARDMENT; ATTACKS OF THE ENEMY; BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

THE results of the bombardment of the 17th of October were pretty equally balanced. The Russian forts and batteries on the south side of the city, which were exposed to the English attack, were seriously injured; their guns were dismantled, and the loss of men exceeded that of the allies. The *Wasp* Fort was, for the time, silenced by the fire from the English ships; and the walls of Fort Constantine were so much shaken by the shot and shell of the *Agamemnon*, that “they had to be supported by wooden shores and props, and the enemy subsequently constructed earthworks to protect them.”† A warrant-officer, who deserted, stated, when brought to the English head-quarters, that if the bombardment had been kept up half-an-hour longer, the fort would have been demolished. The firing ceased just when the garrison had been ordered to fire only two rounds more, and then retire, lest they

should be crushed to death! The forts attacked by the French ships were also greatly damaged, and their fire silenced.—On the other side, irrespective of the destruction of the French battery on shore, their ships were considerably injured; and the British vessels, “the *Albion* and *Arctusa*, had to be sent to Constantinople to repair: some of the other vessels were also injured, though the admiral calculated it would only take twenty-four hours to render them again fit for service.”‡ Whilst the losses and injuries were pretty nearly equal, the Russians had an immense advantage in repairing theirs. They had everything at hand; and the roads to Perekop and the Sea of Azoff were open, by which they could obtain reinforcements and supplies. The English and French had to depend upon the sea communication for everything. The former had still the worst of the position. If their vessels

* The *Times*' Correspondent.

† *Quarterly Review*, December, 1854. ‡ *Ibid.*

brought supplies and stores of any kind, our allies had a ready access from the shore to the camp; whilst the route from Balaklava to the English encampments and trenches was much longer and more difficult, even while the Woronzoff road was open to our army: the other accesses to the plateau, lying across hills and through ravines, were difficult in the extreme.

Neither party relaxed in their efforts. In the night of the 17th, the Russians repaired the damage done to their forts and guns, replacing their shattered walls by mounds of earth; and they reopened their cannonade on the English and French position early on the 18th. The former renewed the bombardment at daybreak, and had to sustain it themselves during the greater part of the day. On the 19th, the French joined in the attack. Whilst the bombardment proceeded, men of both armies were at work in the trenches, carrying them out nearer to the enemy's defences. The English, also, constructed two additional batteries: one, containing two 68 lb. ships' guns, on the extreme left of Chapman's battery, to attack the Flagstaff Battery, which enfiladed their position on the left; the other, known as the Sandbag Battery, on the heights above Inkermann, in which two 18-pounders were placed. Thus the armies were employed for a week after the first bombardment, during which time the fire from the English works "was constant and effective. But the enemy, having at their disposal large bodies of men, and the resources of the fleet and arsenal at their command, were enabled, by unceasing exertion, to repair their redoubts, and to replace many of the guns destroyed, in a very short space of time; and thus to resume their fire from works which had been silenced."* These facilities enjoyed by the Russians rendered the progress of the siege slower than could be wished; and Lord Raglan, on the 23rd of October, declared himself quite unable to inform the war minister at home, "with anything like certainty, when it might be expected that ulterior measures could be undertaken."

"The interest excited by a contest of artillery, without decided advantage on either side, soon languishes; and, in a few days, the thunder of the bombardment was

almost unheeded."† It was soon evident, however, that the Russians contemplated an attack upon the English positions. Mentschikoff, who had "retreated to Baktchi-Serai, and there taken up a position in the flank of the besiegers, had received considerable reinforcements. The greatest part of them came from the Danube, where Austrian intervention had left the Russians at full liberty as to their movements. If we consider that these troops had to traverse a distance of more than 400 miles, in order to join the army in the Crimea, we cannot but admire the rapidity with which they executed such a lengthy and toilsome march."‡ The presence of an enemy's force was soon observable in the valley of the Tchernaya; and whilst an attack was apprehended from that side, and alarms were given by night as well as day, which "harassed the cavalry not a little, as, after an alarm, they were kept saddled for hours,"§ sorties were frequently made in the night. In one of these, on the 20th of October, directed against the French lines—"the Russians, calling out in French, '*Ne tirez pas, nous sommes Anglais,*' penetrated into the works without opposition, and bayoneted some of the defenders. They were speedily repulsed, with the loss of six killed and four wounded."|| The next night, Lord Dunkellin, eldest son of the Marquis of Clanricarde, was out with a working party of his regiment. As morning dawned, they were returning to their tents, but missed their way, and fell in with a body of Russian skirmishers, whom his lordship mistook for English. He advanced towards them, and his men heard him say, "Who is in command of this party?" when he was instantly surrounded. The men, who were unarmed, and could offer no resistance, ran off, and reached the trenches in safety. His lordship was taken to Sebastopol, and was the first officer the Russians made prisoner.

As early as the 20th of October it became evident that the Russians were arriving in great numbers on the right bank of the Tchernaya: on the 24th, it was ascertained that a considerable force of the three arms had bivouacked at the mouth of a valley to the north-east, which was intersected by the high road to Sim-

* Lord Raglan's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, October 23rd.

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

‡ Klappa's *War in the East*.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters*.

|| Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

pheropol; and that day the English position was closely reconnoitred. That position, if there had been men sufficient to defend it, would have been very strong. The redoubts constructed, and occupied by the Turks, were on a range of low hills, extending in an east, and then a south direction, across the plain from before the plateau of Sebastopol, to the opposite mountains, near the village of Kamara, nearly three miles to the north-north-east of Balaklava.* "Between these hills the plain slopes upward, from Balaklava, to a ridge, and down on the opposite side, where the valley is divided into two defiles, the one sweeping round to the left, under the heights of the plateau held by the allies, the other passing straight on to the Tchernaya. In this latter defile, and on the low eminences dividing it from the other, the Russian army, now numbering 30,000 men, under General Liprandi, was posted."† This army had reached Simpheropol on the 15th of October; but it was not till the 23rd that Prince Mentschikoff—"possibly induced by the approach of the French trenches within 400 yards of the Flagstaff Battery—determined to undertake a grand move against the heights along the left bank of the Tchernaya, as a preparatory step to ulterior offensive operations on a larger scale,"‡ for which he had yet to await further arrivals of troops.

At Balaklava the English were employed in strengthening the position, from the first day they took possession of it. The hills on the east of the harbour are the commencement of that mountainous ridge which lines the southern coast of the Crimea. "The first hill is almost cut off from the remainder by a deep ravine, which runs up from the plain before Balaklava to the sea, and is only connected by a narrow ridge, a few yards in breadth. One of the first works constructed was a battery that would sweep this ridge, and thus render it impracticable for any body of the enemy to pass, except at an enormous sacrifice of life. From this point, all the way down to the plain, a parapet, with occasional small batteries, had been constructed. In those works were several 32-pounder iron howitzers, which, for the most part, were manned by marine artillery; the entire heights, up to that time, having been occupied by 1,100 of the royal marines—as fine a body

of men as any one could wish to see. In front of Balaklava, at the distance of rather more than a mile, near the village of Kadikoi, a considerable work was constructed, armed with several guns of position; but, being unconnected with the heights on either side, it was not of any great strength, as it was liable to be turned on both flanks. To the west of this work were two small batteries on elevated ground on the road to Sebastopol;"§ which road, at the distance of about a mile, abutted on the base of the great plateau where the allied armies were encamped.

On the 25th of October, soon after sunrise, men who were on the look-out from the most advanced of the Turkish redoubts, discovered large bodies of troops marching towards Balaklava, across the valley of the Tchernaya. At that time Sir Colin Campbell was in command at the port; but the only British regiment he had in the plain was the 93rd Highlanders; a battery of artillery belonging to the 3rd division was stationed to support them; and the marines were on the heights. Lord Lucan was in the redoubt when the enemy was first seen, and he immediately despatched an aide-de-camp to order the cavalry division to get under arms; and soon after, Sir Colin Campbell, being apprised of the advance of the Russians, sent a messenger to inform Lord Raglan of the movement. His lordship, on receiving the information, withdrew from before Sebastopol the 1st and 4th divisions, commanded by Lieutenant-generals the Duke of Cambridge and Sir George Cathcart, and sent them down into the plain; and General Canrobert subsequently reinforced those troops with the 1st division of French infantry, and the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*.||

The cavalry were just sitting down to breakfast when the trumpet sounded "to saddle;" and in a few minutes the men of both brigades were on horseback—the 4th and 13th light dragoons, 8th and 11th hussars, and 17th lancers, under the Earl of Cardigan; and the 4th and 5th dragoon guards, the 1st royals, the 2nd or Scots Greys, and the 6th or Inniskillens, under Brigadier-general Scarlett. These regiments were so reduced by death and sickness, that the two brigades could not muster more than 1,400 sabres. While the cavalry were embodying, the 93rd

* See plan of Sebastopol.

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

‡ Klapka.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

¶ Lord Raglan's despatch, October 28th.

Highlanders, under Lieutenant-colonel Ainslie, were drawn up on their right, supported by one hundred invalids, under Lieutenant-colonel Daveney. The artillery was in front.*

Whilst this formation was in progress, the Russians were advancing from the village of Tchorgouna, on the Tchernaya, in the direction of Kamara. When in sight of the Turkish redoubts, they halted, for some cause or other. A lapse of fifteen or twenty minutes ensued, and they were again put in motion. Barker's field battery, Maude's troop of horse artillery, and the Scots Greys, were detached in the direction of redoubt No. 1, to keep them in check; and the light cavalry advanced across the plain, towards the redoubts No. 2, 3, and 4. Each redoubt was armed with seven 12-pounders, and garrisoned by Turks—not the experienced and disciplined European or Asiatic, but chiefly new levies of Tunisians. The enemy's force that debouched into the open ground, in front of these redoubts, consisted of eighteen or nineteen battalions of infantry, from thirty to forty guns, and a large body of cavalry: the number of infantry being 25,000; of cavalry, under the Grand Duke Millinovitch, 4,000; and upwards of 1,000 artillerymen. Several field batteries covered the advance of the infantry, and an interchange of fire took place between them and the British artillery, till the ammunition of the latter was exhausted, a good many horses and a few men killed, and Captain Maude severely wounded. The guns were then limbered-up, and they retired.

The first attack was made on redoubt No. 1, standing on Canrobert's Hill, by a cloud of skirmishers, supported by eight battalions of infantry and sixteen guns. The Turkish troops—only 250 in number—defended themselves as long as they could, and then retired: they suffered considerable loss in their retreat. Nos. 2 and 3 were then abandoned by the Turks, after spiking their guns; and the other posts held by them in front were also deserted. But the Turks do not deserve the blame that has been cast upon them for this movement; it was quite impossible they could stand against the force brought against them. They retired to the spot where the 93rd Highlanders were drawn

up, and formed on the right and left flank of that regiment—that is, those who remained, for “the Cossacks of the Don were let loose on them: and the yells of the wild horsemen, as they galloped after the unhappy Moslems,” were terrible: “numbers were killed by their lances.”†

Soon after, as the Russians advanced, and their round shot and shell (some of them from the guns in redoubt No. 1) caused several casualties in the ranks of the Highlanders, Sir Colin Campbell ordered the latter to retire a few paces behind the crest of the hill.‡ The enemy's cavalry was then coming over the hill ground in front; and the marine artillery, from the heights, opened a smart fire upon them; but the distance was too great for the shot, whether grape or round, to have much effect. The cavalry divided into two bodies. The largest remained in reserve on the ridge between two of the redoubts: the other, about 500 hussars and Cossacks, moved across the valley in the direction of the English and Turkish troops in line. When they were within 600 yards the Turks discharged their muskets, and ran off, which encouraged the foe to advance at a charge pace, uttering the most barbarous yells and cries.§ Under the orders of Sir Colin, the Highlanders immediately advanced to the crest of the hill, and opened their fire. The first volley emptied many saddles, checking the pace, and stilling the yells of the rest. A second volley completely stunned them. Seeing the exposed state of the right flank of the 93rd, they attempted to turn it; but instantly it was covered by the grenadier company, under Captain Ross, with their bayonets at charge, and another volley caused the foe to turn their backs, and ride off at full speed. During the rest of the day, the troops in that quarter received no further molestation from the enemy.||

While these movements were going on, the Russians had been collecting the remainder of their forces on the most commanding ground. Their infantry was posted in three divisions: one near the village of Kamara; a second between that village and Canrobert's Hill; and a third extended from that hill to the Tchernaya. These divisions were supported by three or four batteries, and a large body of Cos-

* *The Past Campaign.*

† *Letters from Head-quarters.* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe was an eye-witness of the battle.

‡ Sir Colin Campbell's despatch.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

|| Sir Colin Campbell's despatch.

sacks. On a piece of high ground close to the river, projecting, like a peninsula, into the valley, a battery of eight guns was posted, supported by a regiment of infantry. At that time, Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and their staffs, were stationed on "the edge of the plateau, from whence the whole valley could be overlooked, as well as the port and town of Balaklava."* From this point the Russian movements were seen; and on noticing the formation of infantry and artillery, "Lord Raglan ordered the brigade of light cavalry to take post on the ridge, just at the foot of the plateau, where his lordship and his staff were standing. From that point they could watch and take advantage of any movement on the part of the enemy. His lordship's object was to place the cavalry in a position of safety, and, at the same time, prevent a general action coming on until the arrival of the 1st and 4th divisions,"† which had received their orders, and were then marching to the ground.

The heavy brigade of cavalry, and the division of artillery belonging to it, were formed to the right of the light brigade, under cover of a vineyard, ready to come into action at a moment's notice. They were soon required to act. The body of Russian cavalry which had remained on the ridge, seeing their comrades fly before the firm, well-directed volley of the Highlanders, appear to have looked for some body of the allies on which they could descend, and redeem the laurels thus lost. They saw the heavy brigade, apparently unprotected, the artillery being hidden from their observation; and they rode down the hill, advancing with a rapid pace towards them.‡ Till this moment the Turks in No. 4 had held that redoubt; but seeing the Russian cavalry in motion, and supposing that it was coming to cut them off, they rushed out of the works, and ran towards the British. Some Russian infantry took possession of the redoubt, and the cavalry went on. Seeing the advance, the Greys and Inniskillens were, by Lord Lucan's orders, placed in line, with the 5th dragoon guards to support them on the right; the royals and 4th dragoon guards on the left. The enemy advanced in two lines, each four deep; and

it was evident that they outnumbered the English heavy brigade at least four to one. Lord Lucan ordered the attack, notwithstanding; and Brigadier-general Scarlett moved his small force off, in a column of troops, right in front, along the vineyard. As soon as the 5th dragoon guards and Scots Greys were clear of that plantation, "he wheeled them into line, and advanced on the enemy. In doing so, he had to pass over the ground on which the light brigade was encamped that morning. The picket-ropes and other impediments were still on the ground, which caused such confusion as to throw the 5th dragoon guards in the rear of the Greys. A squadron of the Inniskillen dragoons then advanced into the first line, the second squadron forming a second line, with the 5th. When first seen, the Russian cavalry were coming down the hill at a gallop; but the unexpected appearance of the English cavalry as they cleared the vineyard, seemed to startle them, and they decreased their pace to a walk. This, the critical moment, the brave Scarlett took advantage of. He did not give them time to recover from their panic, but charged vigorously up hill, and broke fairly through the masses. The Russian front being the most extensive, its flanks wheeled round, and took the first line in rear, completely surrounding it. The second line instantly took advantage of this movement. The 5th dragoon guards, and a squadron of the Inniskillen dragoons, charged the Russians in the rear, and the 4th dragoon guards took them in flank. The bravest cavalry that ever existed could not withstand such a well-combined and admirable attack as this was: the 3,000 Russians fled, in dismay and disorder, before these four regiments of about 600 men."§

This charge was "one of the most successful ever witnessed; and in the highest degree creditable to Brigadier-general Scarlett, and the officers and men engaged in it."|| Both commanders-in-chief and their staffs, many other officers, and most of the civilians who were in the camp, were spectators of it; and all were enthusiastic in their praise of this "most brilliant affair,"¶ which had something of a theatrical aspect in its grandeur. "The French stationed

* *Letters from Head-quarters.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Letter in the *Naval and Military Gazette*, from an "Old Dragoon," who was in the action.

|| Lord Raglan's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated October 28th.

¶ General Canrobert's despatch.

on the heights, and the English passing along them, looked down, as if from the benches of an amphitheatre, on the two bodies of cavalry, meeting in mortal shock on the level, grassy plain, which, enclosed on every side by lofty mountains, would have been a fit arena for a tournament of giants.* When the enemy broke, and fairly fled, there was a universal cheer from the heights. "In the enthusiasm, officers and men took off their caps, and shouted with delight; and—thus keeping up the scenic character of their position—clapped their hands again and again. Lord Raglan at once despatched Lieutenant Curzon, his aide-de-camp, to convey his congratulations to Brigadier-general Scarlett, and to say, 'Well done!' The gallant old officer's face beamed with pleasure when he received this message. 'I beg to thank his lordship very sincerely,' was the reply."†

"At this stage of the action, the enemy's infantry and guns held the two hills nearest Kamara. The British held the two points of the ridge nearest to their own position; and an intermediate one, crowned with a redoubt, remained unoccupied.‡ The 1st and 4th divisions were now in the plain; the former having arrived in front of Balaklava shortly after ten o'clock; the latter about half-an-hour later. The commanders having been instructed, by Lord Raglan, to put themselves under the direction of Sir Colin Campbell, the Duke of Cambridge, with his division, was sent to the extreme right to protect Balaklava; and the 4th division was posted in the centre, under the descent leading to the Woronzoff road. When the British divisions had taken up these positions, the 1st French division, and two squadrons of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, arrived. Some field batteries were then brought forward, and a fire—brisk for a short period, but ineffective, from the long range at which it took place—was interchanged between those batteries and the Russian guns stationed on the hills the enemy had taken. At this time, "the brigade of light cavalry, which had not been engaged, had advanced to the edge of the slopes, whence they could look down on the enemy rallied on their own side of the plain, who had posted there a battery, flanked by two others, to repel any attack which might be

made upon them in turn."§ Their cavalry was withdrawn behind their artillery; and both were supported by dense masses of infantry. Soon after, the "enemy was supposed to be withdrawing from the ground they had momentarily occupied;" and Lord Raglan "directed the cavalry, supported by the 4th division, to move forward, and take advantage of any opportunity to regain the heights. Not having been able to accomplish this immediately, and it appearing that an attempt was making to remove the guns" captured in the redoubts, his lordship subsequently "desired the Earl of Lucan to advance rapidly, follow the enemy in their retreat, and try to hinder them from effecting their object."|| Hence arose the celebrated "Balaklava charge;" one of the most splendid examples of heroism the annals of warfare present; and, unfortunately, also the most useless.

The first order was sent to Lord Lucan in the following terms:—

"The cavalry to advance, and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights: they will be supported by infantry, which have been ordered to advance on two fronts."

This order was not acted upon; no favourable opportunity presenting itself. Things remained in this state for half-an-hour; both forces inactive, except the discharges of artillery. Then the enemy made those movements which led Lord Raglan to imagine he was about to remove the captured guns; and Captain Nolan, of the 15th hussars (aide-de-camp to Sir R. Airey, the quartermaster-general), was despatched to Earl Lucan with the second order, couched in the following terms:—

"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy from carrying away the guns. Troops of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left.

(Immediate.)

"R. AIREY."

The force which the cavalry would have to encounter was so overwhelming, that this order seemed like sending them to instant death. When Lord Lucan received it, he read it; "and, to use his own words, he 'hesitated, urged the uselessness of such an attack, and the danger of making it.' Captain Nolan replied, in a cold and haughty manner, 'They are Lord Raglan's orders; the cavalry must attack immediately.'" Lord Lucan still remonstrating,

§ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

|| Lord Raglan's despatch.

* *The Past Campaign.*

† W. H. Russell.

‡ Lieut.-col. Hamley.

and asking, "Where are we to go to?—what guns are we to take?" Captain Nolan, impatiently, pointed over the ridge, to the valley beyond, and said—"There, my lord, is your enemy, and there are *our* guns."* The cavalry (both brigades) was then dismounted. The light brigade was suddenly ordered to mount; and Earl Lucan, going to the front, ordered Lord Cardigan to attack the Russians in the valley. His lordship replied—"Certainly, sir; but allow me to point out to you that the Russians have a battery in our front, and there are batteries and Russians on each flank." Lord Lucan replied—"I cannot help that: it is Lord Raglan's positive order that the light brigade attack immediately." Earl Cardigan at once moved off the brigade, being in command of, and leading, the first line, consisting of the 13th light dragoons, and the 17th lancers. The 11th hussars, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Douglas, and supporting the left flank of the 17th lancers, formed the second line. The third line consisted of the 4th light dragoons and the 8th hussars, led by Lord George Paget. The distance from the point from which they started, to the battery in the lower part of the valley in front of them, was quite a mile and a quarter, if not more. The brigade advanced directly upon, and in face of the battery, which directed a murderous fire upon the troops as they rapidly approached; and Captain Nolan, who accompanied the brigade, being in front, was killed by the first discharge. On arriving within eighty yards of the battery, which consisted of about twelve or fourteen pieces of heavy ordnance, a fire was opened upon the brigade along the whole line. It was a very exciting moment; but the squadrons reached the battery in good order, and at the regular charging pace.† Many officers and men were killed—"Still, on they dashed," Earl Cardigan at their head, "and flew into the batteries, cutting down the gunners at their post—their sabres flashing above the smoke. The scene now became very awful: the plain was covered with dead men and horses; loose troopers were galloping about in all directions; and

wounded hussars were riding home to the camp, with ghastly countenances, their horses covered with blood."‡ The first line was almost annihilated soon after entering the battery. When they reached the guns, and had cut down or disabled the artillerymen in charge of them, there were very few left to make a retreat. Finding it impossible to carry off the guns, the dragoons and hussars retired in small parties; but falling-in with the second line, on its advance, they turned, and rode in the rear of that line, which shared, in a great measure, the fate of the first, being cut to pieces by the incessant fire of the flank batteries. Lord Cardigan was then seen defending himself against four or five Cossacks.§ The third line came up, and met with the same fate; and when the Russians saw that this, the last of the brigade, had reached the battery, they sent a large body of Cossacks of the Don to cut off their retreat. Thus this daring and heroic brigade of between six and seven hundred men, found the whole Russian army opposed to them; and a body of cavalry interposed to prevent their return. "Assailed on every side, by every arm, and their ranks utterly broken, they were compelled to fight their way through, and to regain their position under the same artillery fire that had crashed into their advance. Singly, and in twos and threes, these gallant horsemen returned, some on foot, some wounded, and some supporting a wounded comrade. The same fire which had shattered their ranks, had reached the heavy cavalry on the slope behind, who also suffered severely. The loss would have been greater, but for the timely charge of a body of French cavalry, which descending from the plateau, advanced up the heights in the centre of the valley, where they silenced a destructive battery."||

Thus ended this chivalrous charge, which Lord Lucan thus describes in his despatch:¶

"This attack of the light cavalry was very brilliant and daring. Exposed to a fire from heavy batteries on their front and the two flanks, they advanced, unchecked, until they reached the batteries of the enemy, and cleared them of their gunners; and only retired when they found themselves

* *The Past Campaign.* Mr. Woods says the account was given to him by two officers, who were present, and heard all that passed.

† This account is taken from an affidavit made by Earl Cardigan, in the cause *Cardigan v. Calthorpe*, tried in June, 1863.

‡ Lieutenant Peard.

§ Affidavit of Lieutenant Thomas George Johnson, 13th hussars, made on the trial of *Cardigan v. Calthorpe*.

|| Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

¶ Sent to Lord Raglan.

engaged with a very superior force of cavalry in the rear. Major-general the Earl of Cardigan led this attack in the most gallant and intrepid manner; and his lordship has expressed himself to me, as admiring, in the highest degree, the courage and zeal of every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man that assisted."

The whole affair, from the moment the brigade moved off, until the *débris* re-formed on the ground from which it started, did not occupy more than twenty minutes. When the troops were re-formed, Lord Cardigan (who was received with cheers by the survivors) had them counted by the brigade-major: there were then only 195 men present out of 670 who had gone with his lordship into action.* More stragglers came in subsequently; but nearly 300 were killed and wounded. Probably there was never so great a loss of life in so brief a space of time. Many officers were put *hors de combat*; the following being killed:—Major Hackett, 4th light dragoons; Captains Good and Oldham, and Cornet Montgomery, 13th light dragoons; Captain Lockwood, 8th hussars, aide-de-camp to Lord Cardigan; Cornet Houghton, 11th hussars; Captain White and Lieutenant Thomson, of the 17th lancers; Captain Charteris, 92nd regiment, aide-de-camp to Lord Lucan.

After this affair, "the enemy made no further movement in advance;" but our "4th division marched close to the heights; and Sir George Cathcart caused one of the redoubts to be reoccupied by the Turks, affording them his support; and he availed himself of the opportunity of silencing two of the enemy's guns."† He also proposed to recapture, with his division, the redoubts and lost guns; but the movement was not thought advisable, and nothing more was done. "At the close of the day, the brigade of guards of the 1st division, and the 4th division, returned to their original encampment:"‡ the Highlanders remained with Sir Colin Campbell; so did one brigade of the French 1st division: the rest of the French troops returned to the plateau. The Russians, also, gradually withdrew their troops to the high ground beyond Kamara, leaving only a part of their cavalry and artillery in the valley, apparently to prevent their flank from being turned by any attack of the allies. Before the commanders-in-chief returned

* Earl Cardigan's affidavit.

† Lord Raglan's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle.

‡ *Ibid.*

to their quarters, they "held a consultation together, and decided, that it would only be a useless sacrifice of life to attempt to retake the redoubts," which the Russians still retained; "as it was not their intention to occupy them again, not having an adequate force at their disposal to defend so extensive a line of works."§ Lord Raglan, therefore, resolved, "in concurrence with General Canrobert, to withdraw from the lower range of heights, and to concentrate his force (which was to be increased by a considerable body of troops, to be sent from the ships, under the authority of Admiral Dundas) immediately in front of the narrow valley leading into Balaklava, and on the precipitous heights on the right."||

While the battle was going on, Captain Tatham, of the *Simoom*, who was in charge of the harbour of Balaklava, received a message from Lord Raglan, to the following effect:—"The Russians will be down upon us in half-an-hour; we will have to defend the head of the harbour: get steam up." Captain Tatham understood this to mean that the harbour was to be evacuated, and he gave orders that all vessels should prepare to leave. This order was carried out; and when the fighting ceased, those preparations were continued. "All night long the vessels were slipping their cables, and the tugs towed them out as fast as they cast off. The commissariat shipped all their money, and the stores were re-embarked from the ordnance and quarter-master-general's departments. The ships anchored outside the bay;"¶ and thus the way was prepared for a heavy loss on a subsequent day.

While the English in Balaklava were thus preparing to evacuate the port—and the allied army, though not defeated (for the very utmost that the Russians could claim is, that it was a drawn battle; though, in fact, they had been repulsed in every attack, except in those on the redoubts held by the few undisciplined Turks), was dispirited at the loss of so many gallant comrades, in an affair which was justly characterised by a French general, as "Very fine; but it was not war"—the Russians were rejoicing in Sebastopol, as it was proclaimed that a great victory had been achieved; and the captured cannon

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

|| Lord Raglan's despatch.

¶ *The Past Campaign.*

were triumphantly taken into the city. A salvo of artillery was fired to celebrate the event, and a heavy cannonade was opened against the English lines, from which, however, little injury was sustained.

The loss of the allies in the encounters of the day would have been insignificant, but for the "cutting-up" of the light brigade. The following were the casualties in that "brilliant but unfortunate" charge:—

	Killed and Missing.	Wounded.
Officers	9	12
Sergeants	14	9
Trumpeters	4	3
Rank and file	129	98
	<hr/> 156	<hr/> 122

Besides 335 horses, which were either killed in action, or had to be destroyed in consequence of their wounds. The loss of the English, in infantry and artillery, did not exceed one hundred. The *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, in their charge, lost two officers and fifty-three men; and, of the 1st division, about fifty were put *hors de combat*. The Turks lost nine officers, and nearly 300 men, all killed or prisoners. The worst consequence to the English was, the loss of the Woronzoff road, which afforded the readiest communication between the camp and Balaklava.

Sir Colin Campbell remained all night in the redoubt on the heights to the east of Balaklava, where the 93rd Highlanders were placed to support the marines. Another attack from the Russians was apprehended, and this was the reason why the ships were ordered outside the harbour. Two battalions of the fugitive Turks, who had been collected together and reorganised, were also marched up to those heights, where they passed the night. The enemy, however, did not renew his attack. The next morning, as soon as they had breakfasted, Lord Raglan and his staff rode down to Balaklava, where they had a long consultation with Sir Colin Campbell and the officers who were chiefs of the military department. At this council of war, it was arranged, that "a line-of-battle ship should be anchored across the upper part of the harbour: that," in the event of another descent of the enemy, "an overwhelming

battery of the heaviest artillery should sweep the usual approaches to Balaklava. That all the works on the heights, and in front of the town, should be materially strengthened. That, as the Turks did not appear able to fight, they should be employed chiefly in working parties, both at Balaklava and also in the trenches. For that purpose, 1,500 of them were sent up," during that day, to be distributed in the left and right attacks of the English. "The 42nd Highlanders were placed in the rear of the redoubt at Kadikoi, and the 79th between them and the 93rd, on the eastern heights. These regiments," if not called into the field, "were to strengthen the redoubt, and construct a parapet and ditch across the valley, to connect the works on the opposite side. The French brigade, under General Vinoy, camped to the east of Kadikoi, was to fortify the ground it occupied, and complete the defence of the position before Balaklava."* The harbour of Balaklava was placed under the charge of Captain Dacres, of the *Sanspareil*, and Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons commanded in the *roadstead*: both officers kept up daily communication with Lord Raglan. His lordship, on the 27th, gave orders to suspend the preparations for entirely evacuating the harbour of Balaklava; but Captain Christie, the harbour-master, was authorised, by Sir R. Airey, to anchor the transports (all of which, he said, Lord Raglan wished to be got out of the harbour), and the magazine ships, "at a convenient distance," but "only as a precautionary measure." Unfortunately, it proved to be a measure which entailed great loss upon individuals and the public.

As this town was the head-quarters of the commissariat and medical departments, and the place where all the civil business of the army was transacted—as well as being the *entrepôt* of all supplies and stores required for the use of the troops—too much care could not be taken to defend its approaches. They were so strengthened, ultimately, that it would have been almost impossible to force them; and, perhaps, from that cause no other attempt was made upon that position.

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

CHAPTER IX.

ATTACK ON THE 2ND DIVISION; LORD BAGLAN'S GENERAL ORDER; FLAG OF TRUCE TO SEBASTOPOL; RETIREMENT OF SIR DE LACY EVANS; PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE; WEAKNESS OF THE BRITISH ARMY; RUSSIAN REINFORCEMENTS; ARRIVAL OF THE GRAND DUKES; BATTLE OF INKERMANN.

THE capture of the English guns, and the establishment of Liprandi on the left bank of the Tchernaya, induced Prince Mentschikoff to direct an attack on another part of the English position, which had been left very inadequately protected. On the morning of the 26th of October, he assembled the garrison of Sebastopol, to whom he described, in glowing colours, the events of the day before, when the enemy had been defeated, and their cavalry destroyed: it only, therefore, remained, he said, to disperse their infantry, which he was sure the Russian soldiers would effect. The men received the address with cheers, and demanded to be led to the attack, and to victory.*

The cannonade from the town was commenced that morning with even more than usual vigour. A 16-inch mortar was landed from one of the ships in the harbour, and threw its immense shells into the intrenchments of the allies; one of which fell into the magazine of the French principal battery, blew it up, and silenced that battery for the remainder of the day: another dismounted nine guns on the British right.† At the time that this fierce firing was kept up, a part of the garrison was making preparations to attack the British 2nd division, stationed on the extreme right of the allied encampment.—By the English position in Sebastopol was a road which ran past the English head-quarters, to the Woronzoff road, and from that road took a northern direction, slightly inclining to the east. “On this road the 2nd division was encamped, upon the slope of an eminence. The road, passing over this ridge,” first inclines to the left, and “then turns to the right, running down a deep ravine to the valley. To the left of this road, the ground, which slopes gently down from the crest in front of the site occupied by the camp of the 2nd division, rises against a second emi-

nence, called Shell Hill, about 1,200 yards in front of the first. From this second ridge a spectator looked down, across the head of the harbour in front, on the town and allied attack on the left, and on the ruins and valley of Inkermann on the right. To the right of the road, the ground, first sloping upwards, then descends to the edge of the heights, opposite Inkermann. From the first, the Russians showed great jealousy of any one advancing on any part of the ground beyond the ridge. As soon as a party, if even but two or three in number, showed itself there, a signal was made from a telegraph on the Russian side of the valley, to the ships in the harbour, which (though the spot was not visible from their position) immediately sent off shot and shell at a tolerably good range. As the ridge in front was rather higher than that behind which the 2nd division was posted, and as the road, as well as the slopes from the valley on the left of it, afforded facilities for the advance of an enemy, not found at any other part of the heights, this was, notoriously, the weak point of the British position.”‡

The morning of the 26th of October passed away with no other manifestations, on the part of the enemy, than the fierce cannonade. About one o'clock, some of the out-pickets of the 2nd division saw a body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery leave the north-east quarter of Sebastopol. The movement, however, excited little attention, as it was supposed to be a detachment *en route* to join Liprandi in the Tchernaya valley. This force, consisting of 4,500 infantry, with two squadrons of Cossacks, and a field battery of twelve guns—all having volunteered for the service after Prince Mentschikoff's address—passed through the valley of Inkermann, when it divided, and one portion ascended the Shell Hill; whilst the other advanced by the road leading from that valley to the

* Two Russian officers, taken prisoners on the 26th of October, are the authorities for this statement.

† *The Past Campaign.*

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

heights, whose crest commanded the camp of the 2nd division. About one hundred men of the 30th and 49th regiments were doing duty as out-pickets, the officers being Captains Bayley and Acherley, of the 30th, and Lieutenant Conolly, of the 49th. As soon as the Russians showed themselves above the crests, these officers threw their men into skirmishing position, and kept the enemy at bay, at a turn of the roads, till their ammunition was expended: then they retired; five men having been killed, and forty (amongst them the three officers) wounded.

The enemy immediately got his artillery into position on Shell Hill; but the firing had reached the ears of the 2nd division, which was soon in battle array. "It was formed in line, in advance of the camp, the left under Major-general Pennefather, the right under Brigadier-general Adams. Lieutenant-colonel Fitzmayer, and the captains of batteries, Turner and Yatez, promptly posted their guns, and opened their fire on the enemy."* Immediately on the cannonade being heard, the Duke of Cambridge, at the head of the brigade of guards, under Major-general Bentinck, with a battery under Lieutenant-colonel Dacres, hastened to the support of the 2nd division. His royal highness took post in advance on the right, to secure that flank, and "rendered, throughout, the most effective and important assistance."† General Bosquet, with equal promptitude, and from a greater distance, marched to the position with five French battalions: Sir George Cathcart joined with a regiment of rifles; and Sir George Brown sent two guns to co-operate on the left.

The first effort was made against the enemy's artillery on Shell Hill, which had opened a brisk fire on the British camp. The battery of the 2nd division, supported by that of the 1st, Wodehouse's troop, soon silenced the Russian guns, and drove them from the field. The two batteries then "directed their fire upon a Russian column, advancing half-way between the ridges. Unable to face the storm of shot, the column retired precipitately down the ravine to its left;" and then "another strong column showed itself over the ridge. After facing the fire of the batteries for a brief space, it retired. Presently, the first column, having passed along the ravine,

was descried ascending, in scattered order, the height beyond."‡ The artillery directed its fire upon the fugitives; and "they were literally chased, by the 30th and 45th regiments, over the ridges, and down towards the head of the bay. So eager was the pursuit, that it was with difficulty Major-general Pennefather eventually effected the recall of his men. These regiments and the pickets were led gallantly by Major Mauleverer, Major Champion, Major Eman, and Major Hume. The Russians were similarly pursued, farther towards the right, by four companies of the 41st, led as gallantly by Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. P. Herbert, assistant-quartermaster-general. The 47th also contributed."§ As the Russians retreated towards Sebastopol, they came within range of a Lancaster gun, which had been placed in the rear of Gordon's battery by Captain Lushington, and given in charge to Mr. Hewett, acting mate of the *Beagle*. Though within the range, the enemy was on the wrong side of the embrasure for the gun to be brought to bear upon them. Without hesitation, the gallant officer, "blowing away the right cheek of the embrasure, to obtain the requisite lateral sweep, fired nearly a dozen rounds into the retreating ranks, with very great effect."||

This was an affair very creditable to the English troops, as not more than 2,000 men (Sir De Lacy Evans estimated the number at 1,800) were engaged. They belonged to the 30th, 95th, 41st, 47th, and 49th regiments; the 55th was held in reserve. Neither the 1st division, except Wodehouse's artillery, nor the French troops came into action: the victory was won before the latter arrived.—There were at least 5,000 Russians. They left eighty prisoners in the hands of the victors, and about 130 of their dead were found in or near the British position. It was computed that their total loss was not less than 600. The loss of the British was slight; twelve killed, and above eighty (including five officers) wounded. What was the real object of Prince Mentschikoff in making the attack has never been ascertained: parties of the assailants were observed to carry intrenching tools; and it is probable that he hoped to surprise the British—drive them from their encampments on those heights, and establish his

* Sir De Lacy Evans' despatch, Oct. 27th.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ Sir De Lacy Evans' despatch.

|| Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

own troops in their place. Defeated on that occasion, he suffered ten days to elapse before he renewed the attempt.—A singular incident occurred that night, when the troops, except those in the trenches, had retired to their tents—the advance of a troop of horse was heard, "galloping from the valley, through the French outposts, by the Woronzoff road." The men turned out, not knowing what to expect; when a number of horses, apparently between two and three hundred, were seen dashing along without riders. About 180 were secured, but many scampered past and eluded pursuit. Those taken (and no doubt the others were similarly equipped), were saddled, and fully caparisoned for hussars and lancers; and at their saddle-bows hung bags of black bread. As the bits hung out of their mouths, it was conjectured that they had been startled by a discharge of rockets from the French division, encamped on the east brow of the plateau.

A "general order" appeared on the 27th of October; in which the commander-in-chief thanked the troops for their gallant conduct on the 25th and the 26th. The services of Sir Colin Campbell, the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan,* Brigadier-general Scarlett, and Sir De Lacy Evans, were especially acknowledged; and the charge of the light brigade was particularly mentioned—the major-general, his officers and men, being assured of his lordship's sympathy with them, in their grief for the heavy loss they had sustained. "He felt it due to them," his lordship said, "to place on record the gallantry they displayed, and the coolness and perseverance with which they executed one of the most arduous attacks that was ever witnessed, under the heaviest fire, and in the face of powerful bodies of artillery, cavalry, and infantry." Referring to the attack on the 2nd division, his lordship declared, that "the conduct of all engaged in it was admirable;" and that "the arrangements of the lieutenant-general were so able and effective, as at once to secure success, and inflict a heavy loss upon the enemy." The appearance of this order was very agreeable to the troops, who were loud in praise of their "good commander."

Subsequent to the "Battle of Balaklava"

* Not long after the battle of Balaklava, Lord Cardigan was invalided, and went on board his yacht, which was in the harbour. Before the end

—by which title the action of the 25th of October is distinguished—it was reported at head-quarters, that Cossacks had been seen riding over the field, since that day, transfixing the wounded with their lances. This excited great anxiety to know the fate of the officers and men who were missing; and Lord Raglan requested Earl Lucan to send a messenger to Sebastopol, to make inquiry respecting them. The noble earl accordingly despatched Captain Fellowes, assistant-quartermaster-general to the cavalry, with a flag of truce, and a letter to General Liprandi. The captain was not admitted nearer the town than about one hundred yards: but an old officer, Prince Gortschakoff, came out to him; who, at "first, was not very civil, and appeared much annoyed at the remarks Captain Fellowes made about the dead being left unburied. 'Tell your general,' he said, 'that we are your enemies, but we are Christians.'" However, he softened down when he found that Captain Fellowes had brought letters from Russian officers whom we had taken prisoners, and told him, that if he would return on the next day, he should have the names of the survivors. Captain Fellowes did return on the 29th, when a letter from General Liprandi was handed to him; from which it was ascertained, that only two officers—Lieutenant Clowes, of the 8th hussars, and Cornet Chadwick, of the 17th lancers—were prisoners: both had their horses shot under them; and when endeavouring to regain the British lines, were wounded, and captured by Cossacks. Several other wounded officers had been taken into Sebastopol, but none had survived through the night. There were, also, fifty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates prisoners, of whom forty-four were wounded. The captain saw Prince Gortschakoff again, who, in the course of conversation, referred to the light cavalry charge. Praising the bravery of the brigade, he added—"The charge was very fine; but allow me to tell you, that it was, at the same time, a very stupid one."† When Captain Fellowes returned, he brought a letter from Lieutenant Clowes, to a friend in his regiment; in which he said, "he and his brother prisoners were very kindly treated, receiving every attention and comfort that cir-

of the year he returned to England, his health not allowing him to rejoin the army.

† Klapka.

cumstances would permit. They were to leave for Simpheropol that evening.”*

On the 29th the army lost the services of Lieutenant-general Sir De Lacy Evans. He had been suffering, for some days, from diarrhœa; and on that day, when riding through the camp at a fast trot, his horse fell with him. Though no limbs were broken or bruised, the fall so shook and weakened him, that he felt obliged to resign his command into the hands of Lieutenant-general Pennefather, and go down to Balaklava, where he embarked on board the *Simoom*. A general wish was expressed throughout the army, that he might soon resume his command.

After the “Battle of Balaklava,” the siege works were carried on with vigour. On the 27th of October, the British opened a new parallel in front of Chapman’s battery; and the “French, who had before them the town, and real body of the place, took advantage of the more favourable ground, and carried on approaches systematically, on the most salient and commanding parts of the enemy’s lines: and they constructed and opened batteries, the precision of the fire from which materially damaged the Russian works, though it did not succeed in silencing their guns.”† It was only the front line of the works which was materially damaged; and the Russians did not give themselves much concern about this, as they depended chiefly on their inner line of defence. They employed themselves, between the 25th of October and the 5th of November, in throwing up large earthworks, to strengthen the Flagstaff Battery and the Redan; and in increasing the batteries in the neighbourhood of the Malakoff.—The bombardment and the return fire were kept up, but not continuously; and, previous to the 1st of November, when the French reopened the battery which had been demolished on the 17th of October, the fire from the English line of attack was by far the most effective, whilst our allies suffered most from that of the garrison. The superiority in the number of guns, and their calibre, still remained with the Russians; but on neither side did the injury inflicted on the enemy appear to be equal to the extent of the means employed.

At this period of the siege, and long subsequently, the most fatiguing time for

the men was when they were employed at night-work in the trenches. Not only was there the labour which they had to perform, but alarms of sorties were frequent. The Russian “skirmishers used to advance upon the British out-pickets, and, supported by a stupendous cannonade, keep up firing musketry, till the alarm became general throughout the lines, the troops were turned out, and after remaining an hour or so under arms, to no purpose, went back to their tents, to seek what little repose they could get before dawn.”‡ At last the men were getting fairly worn out; and when in the trenches, it was almost in vain to attempt to keep them awake.§ At the commencement of November, the British force before Sebastopol was quite inadequate to the various duties it had to perform—one reason why the Inkermann plateau had not been properly fortified, in compliance with the repeated representations of the Duke of Cambridge and Sir De Lacy Evans on that subject, both being fully aware of the insecurity of that position before the assault of the 26th of October. There really were no men who could be spared for the work, nor for the making of a road, which was much wanted, from Balaklava to the camp. From the time the army arrived on the plateau, to the 1st of November, 2,112 men had been invalided, and sent to Scutari and Malta. There were, in addition, about 2,000 men in the various regimental hospitals; and nearly 1,000 had been killed in actions and skirmishes with the enemy. “Exclusive, therefore, of the numbers employed in guarding Balaklava, rear-guards, commissariat guards, and all the waste of an army, the number of English troops was,” at the above date, “under 16,000 bayonets.”|| The French were in much greater force; and they were far more healthy, on the whole; but the Russians had, since the battle of the Alma, received such numerous reinforcements, that, before the battle of Inkermann, their effective strength was very superior to that of the allies.

When Mentschikoff retreated to Baktchiserai, after the battle of the Alma, he sent messengers to hasten the march of reinforcements from all quarters where the czar had any disposable troops. He aimed at driving the allies from the plateau, and raising the siege of Sebastopol; and, for

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† Lord Raglan’s despatch, November 3rd.

‡ *The Past Campaign.*

|| *The Past Campaign.*

§ Lieutenant Peard.

those purposes, he knew a large force would be required. He, therefore, sent messengers off in all directions; and by the commencement of November, had received the following additions to his force:—"1st. A contingent from the coast of Asia, Kertch, and Kaffa.—2nd. Six battalions and detachments of marines from Nicolaieff.—3rd. Four battalions of Cossacks from the Black Sea.—4th. The 10th, 11th, and 12th divisions of infantry, forming the 4th corps, commanded by General Dannenberg."* The latter had formed the *corps d'armée* of the Danubian provinces. After the evacuation of those provinces, these troops were marched to Odessa, where all sorts of conveyances—the peculiar light carts of the country people, the carriages and post-horses of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, with every other vehicle, private and public—were seized for the service of the czar, and employed in conveying them, and about one hundred guns, to Balbec: the route was, by these means, traversed in a few days. As they arrived—and he found his army began to acquire a formidable strength—Prince Mentschikoff's spirits, damped by the defeat of the Alma, appear to have revived. He thought the defeat and discomfiture of the allies certain: and in a despatch sent to the emperor a copy of which fell into the hands of the allies, he wrote—"A terrible calamity, sire, impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days they will have perished by the sword, or will be driven into the sea. Let your majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them, untouched, the priceless treasure which your majesty has entrusted to my keeping." Whether this despatch ever reached the czar we cannot say; but as his majesty sent his sons to Sebastopol, the probability is, that it did.—On the 3rd of November, it was evident that something unusual was taking place in the besieged town, from the commotion which prevailed. On that day, the grand dukes Nicholas and Michael, "preceded by outriders, and escorted by a troop of cavalry, were seen to enter Sebastopol by the high road from the north, and the sound of rejoicings came up from the city."† In the evening there were more arrivals; less numerous, but evidently officers of rank: the new-comers were

Generals Dannenberg and Soimonoff, and their staffs.

It became evident to the allied commanders, that, subsequently to the battle of Balaklava, "the enemy had considerably increased their force in the valley of the Tchernaya, both in artillery, cavalry, and infantry; and had extended to their left, not only occupying the village of Kamara, but the heights beyond it, and pushed forward pickets, and even guns, towards the extreme right of the British."‡ On the 2nd of November a few shots were fired from these guns, apparently to try the range; and they fell somewhat short. These demonstrations caused Lord Raglan to turn his attention to the defences of Balaklava, and those of the 2nd division, with the view of strengthening both; but no immediate attack appears to have been expected; for, on the 4th, a grand council of war was held at the headquarters of the French army, at which, it was understood (such was the report amongst those members of Lord Raglan's staff who were not present), that "a general assault on Sebastopol should take place on the morning of the 7th, as the batteries had so far got the upper hand of the enemy, that it was at length thought practicable to take that step."§ This resolution would scarcely have been come to if it had been suspected that the Russian commander-in-chief was then preparing to carry out his plan for the relief of the city, by attacking the English position on the heights of Inkermann. It has since been ascertained, that "the principal blow against the right flank of the allies was to be dealt from Karabelnaia and Inkermann, supported by a simultaneous sortie against the left wing; whilst the corps at Kamara was to watch the moment of the allies giving way, when it was to bear down on their line of retreat, and accomplish their entire defeat!"|| This was the plan: it was well considered, and arranged. The 5th of November was fixed as the day for carrying it out; and the superior numbers of the enemy seemed to leave no doubt of its success.

On the 4th of November, there was a solemn religious ceremony in Sebastopol. The troops were all assembled, and a mass performed; after which they were addressed by a prelate who had arrived

* General Canrobert's despatch, Nov. 7th, 1854.

† *Quarterly Review*.

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch, November 3rd.

§ *Letters from Headquarters*.

|| Klappa.

with the grand dukes. They were reminded of their duty to the czar and their country, and encouraged to perform it by depreciatory allusions to the prowess both of the English and French soldiers; the Russian defeat at the Alma being ingeniously converted into a victory; and the events of the day described in a manner highly flattering to the self-love, and calculated to elevate the courage, of the imperial army. The close of the address, however, was the most curious part of it.

“If you are conquerors,” said the prelate, “great joy is in preparation for you. We know, from unimpeachable sources, that these English heretics have in their camp an enormous sum, which God will give into your hands. This sum amounts to 30,000,000 of roubles. The emperor makes you a present of the third part of this tremendous sum. The second third is reserved for the rebuilding of Sebastopol, which you are on the point of relieving. The remainder will be divided among the princes and officers, who will, to-morrow, be your companions in the battle. Every one of you, soldiers, will receive a large sum. To the wounded, the emperor promises a month’s pay and rations. As to those of you chosen by God for a glorious death, your emperor will permit you to dispose of your share in the booty by will. Whatever may be the wishes of any one of you, they will be solemnly respected.”*

A number of medals were distributed after this address was delivered; and at night a large supply of spirits was served out to the troops destined to storm the Inkermann heights. Whilst those men were thus inflaming their passions by inebriating draughts, the priests and people were assembled in the churches; and soon “after midnight, on the morning of the 5th of November, those who guarded the English trenches, and lay sleepless in their tents, listened to the tolling of bells, as for some sacred ceremony. The distant sounds of chanting are even said to have been heard by persons who watched still nearer to the beleaguered city. The solemn peal ceased about two hours before daylight, and was succeeded by the bright flash and heavy report of ordnance in the rear of the British lines. After a little time there was again deep silence, only broken by a low rumbling, heard by the farthest pickets, who thought it to be the noise of waggons laden with supplies, entering the

town.”† The first sounds were those of a religious ceremony, performed at Sebastopol, to implore a blessing on the Russian arms; the latter those of the Russian army marching to the assault.

That army consisted of three regiments of four battalions each, from the 10th, 11th, 16th, and 17th divisions—i.e., forty-eight battalions. Each Russian battalion consists of 1,000 men; but as the 16th and 17th divisions were great sufferers in the battle of the Alma, it is probable the battalions belonging to those divisions were not complete: still, we cannot suppose that there were fewer than 40,000 in the entire body of infantry. The artillery comprised twenty-four guns of position—i.e., those of a heavy calibre, which, when posted in the field, are not moved till the battle is at an end; and ten batteries of field artillery—each battery in the Russian service containing eight guns. Several thousand men were required to work these numerous pieces of ordnance; and the total number of men who left Sebastopol in the night of the 4th, or early in the morning of the 5th of November, could not be far short of 50,000. This force was divided into two columns. One, under the command of General Soimonoff, was intended to attack the British lines on their west front; whilst the other, under General Pauloff, assailed the heights of Inkermann, on the north. General Dannenberg had the chief command of the two divisions. The command of General Liprandi’s division in the Tchernaya valley, was transferred to Prince Gortschakoff. To enable these different divisions to communicate with each other, a system of semaphores was established at the village of Tchorgouna, on the Tchernaya, and on the heights of Inkermann; and Prince Mentschikoff took upon himself the direction of the entire force, under Gortschakoff and Dannenberg.‡

The 5th of November, 1854, was Sunday. At about half-past four in the morning, Liprandi’s army, in the valley of the Tchernaya, was observed by the French pickets of General Bosquet’s corps on the brow of the plateau, to be in motion. That corps was instantly put under arms, to be ready for what might occur. Every

* A Russian officer, taken prisoner on the 5th, gave the report of this address to the correspondent of a Paris paper, from whose letter the statement in the text is abridged.

† *Quarterly Review*.

‡ These particulars respecting the Russian army, are gleaned from Prince Mentschikoff’s despatch, written after the battle of Inkermann; and from the statements of the prisoners who were taken in that battle.

now and then a cannon was discharged in the valley, which, while it kept the French on the alert, had also the effect of retaining them in their position.—At this time, the troops destined to make the attack on the English position were on their way; for about half-past five, the pickets, stationed in the ravine to the left of the Shell Hill, saw several unarmed Russians approaching them, whom they took for deserters, wishing to surrender. Our countrymen advanced to parley with the strangers, and were immediately surrounded by several hundred men, who sprang up from the coppice and brushwood, which was so plentiful in all those ravines, and on the slopes of the hill. The surprise was too sudden—the number of the enemy too large—to admit of resistance; and all, except a few outsiders, were made prisoners. “Those who escaped, alarmed the picket of the 55th, stationed on the summit of the hill. They were followed by the Russians, with whom the Englishmen skirmished as long as possible. The overwhelming numbers of the enemy compelled them to retire, but they contested every inch of the ground. At the same time the hill was occupied by the enemy’s batteries of guns of the largest calibre, which took up a position commanding that where the 1st and 2nd divisions were encamped.” The firing alarmed all the outposts, and the officers instantly sent off messengers to inform the generals of the light and 2nd divisions, that the position was attacked.

Major-general Codrington was then, as was his wont at early morn, visiting the outlying pickets of his own brigade of the light division; and, just after it was reported to him that “all was well,” and he had turned his horse’s head to ride to his tent, he heard the sounds of musketry behind him. Almost simultaneously he met some of the men sent from the outposts to alarm the camp: he immediately galloped up to Sir George Brown’s quarters, and told him what was taking place; and the bugle-call for the light division being sounded, the men were, in a very short time, under arms. The 2nd division was roused and organised by General Pennefather at the same time.—The alarm spread; the guards, under the Duke of Cambridge and Major-general Bentinck; the 3rd division, under Sir Richard England; and the 4th, under Sir George

Cathcart, were roused; and the entire English force was placed in position. The 2nd division occupied the crest in front of the tents, the 47th and two companies of the 49th being on the left; the remainder of the 49th and the 41st, under Brigadier Adams, were sent to the right; and whilst the first column encountered a Russian column advancing up the ravine, which was driven back by a bayonet charge, the second advanced to the edge of the heights looking upon Inkermann.

When the light division was brought to the front, Major-general Codrington occupied the long slopes to the left, towards Sebastopol, protecting the right battery, and guarding against attack on that side; and the 2nd brigade, under Brigadier-general Buller, formed on the left of the 2nd division. The brigade of guards took up important ground to the extreme right on the alignment of the 2nd division, but was separated from it by a deep and precipitous ravine. Its guns, and those of the 2nd division, were posted together. The 4th division advanced to the front and right of the attack; the 1st brigade, under Brigadier-general Goldie, proceeding to the left of the Inkermann road; the 2nd brigade, under Brigadier-general Torrens, to the right of it, occupying the ridge overhanging the valley of the Tchernaya. The 3rd division occupied, in part, the ground vacated by the 4th division, and supported the light division by two regiments, under Brigadier-general Sir John Campbell; while Brigadier-general Eyre held the command of the troops in the trenches.*

These positions were taken up under the greatest disadvantages. A fog prevailed, rendering the morning extremely dark. There was also a thick drizzling rain, which made “it almost impossible to discover anything beyond the flash and smoke of artillery, and heavy musketry fire.”† The men had been roused by the sound of the *réveillé*. They were struggling to light their fires in the misty rain, and prepare the morning meal, “when the alarm was given that the Russians were advancing in force. Breakfasts were speedily abandoned, and the firelock taken in hand.”‡ With the officers, “there was mounting, in hot haste, of men scarce yet half awake, whose late dreams mixed with the stern reality of the summons to battle;”

* Lord Raglan’s despatch, November 8th.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lieutenant Peard.

and many of them, "hastening to the front, were killed before they well knew why they had been so hastily aroused. Breathless servants opened the tents to call their masters; scared grooms held the stirrup; and staff officers, galloping by, exclaimed that the Russians were attacking in force."* In the midst of all—the almost impenetrable fog, the drenching rain, and without breaking their fast the British army English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish were all equally prompt, rushed to their posts, and in less time than any civilian could imagine possible, were in position. The first in motion towards the enemy were the 47th regiment and the two companies of the 49th, forming the left of the 2nd division. On reaching the crest of the hill, where they were joined by Buller's brigade of the light division, they "found themselves close to a Russian column, advancing up the ravine, which they at once charged with the bayonet, and drove back." The remainder of the 49th, and the 41st, sent by General Pennefather to the right, under Brigadier-general Adams, occupied the Sand-bag or Two-gun Battery, erected against a Russian battery in that quarter. The guns had been withdrawn from this battery when the service for which it had been required was performed; but its earthworks afforded a good shelter; and if the Russians gained it, it would enable them completely to command the camp of the 2nd division: its possession was, therefore, a desirable object to both parties. The 41st and 49th were joined by three guns from Wodehouse's battery, commanded by a most gallant officer, Major Hamley. On reaching the point to which they were ordered, "a column of the enemy, apparently about 5,000 strong, was seen descending the side of a steep hill, on the other side of the Woronzoff road." Major Hamley opened a fire on this column, and continued it till the ravine hid the enemy from view. "Immediately afterwards the enemy swarmed up the side of the ravine, where the 41st and 49th were posted."† They made a dash at the battery, "pouring over its banks, and through the embrasures, in overpowering numbers. There was a moment of desperate struggle, during which our gallant troops fought hand to hand, and foot to foot, with their numerous assailants. It was but for a

moment: in the next, they had repulsed the attack, and preserved the post." The Russians, however, returned, formed "a perfect semicircle of small arms round the battery, and the defenders fell by dozens." Then the enemy made another charge, and numbers prevailed: the gallant troops, "after nearly one-third lay dead, retired from the battery, and prepared to make the most desperate resistance they could, as they fell back upon the 2nd division."‡ For a time, the Russians occupied the post.

The enemy had, by this time, got his heaviest guns on the highest points of the Shell Hill, which commanded the position they wanted to force: there they remained during the day, the field guns being spread over the slopes, opposite to the British right. Our field batteries took up positions commanding the most salient points of the enemy's advance, and opened a brisk fire upon them; but whilst the Russians had sixty pieces of large calibre, the British had only six batteries, each composed of six 9-pounders—thirty-six in all. The artillerymen, however, did their work bravely, and stood to their guns with the firmest determination, though their comrades were falling around them on all sides; and the odds appeared to be, as in truth they were, immensely against them.

The Russian commanders appear to have known, pretty well, the extent of our force, and to have anticipated an easy conquest with their overwhelming masses of infantry, when they had thrown our troops into disorder by the fire of their guns. Their plan "was, after sweeping the ridge clear by their heavy concentrated fire, to launch some of their columns over it; while others, diverging to their left after crossing the marsh, passed round the edge of the cliffs opposite Inkermann, and turned our right."§ In front of that part of the British position was the Sand-bag Battery, already the scene of an arduous contest. When the British were driven from it, the Russians poured an immense number of men into and around this battery; but had scarcely done so, when the grenadier and fusilier guards, under the immediate command of Major-general Bentinck, came up, with the Duke of Cambridge at their head. They were surprised at finding the enemy was so near, and that they had gained possession of the battery. "You must drive

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley. This officer received high praise for his conduct in this action.

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

‡ *The Past Campaign.* § Lieut.-colonel Hamley.

them out," said the Duke of Cambridge to his men; and out they were driven by the force of the bayonet alone: when they were retiring, the guards opened a sharp fire upon them from their Miniés, and many fell. The Coldstreams arrived only in time to see the last of the retreating foe; and "the brigade was immediately formed in the following order:—The grenadiers at right angles to the battery on the right, overlooking the ravine on that side; the Coldstreams in the centre, overlooking the Sand-bag Battery; and the fusiliers on the left, having beyond them the 2nd division,"* which the 41st and 49th had rejoined.

Simultaneously with this attack on the right, fighting was continued on the left and centre; the Russian infantry pressing upon those points, covered by the fire from their guns on Shell Hill. On the left was Townsend's battery of the 4th division, which, upon advancing, met an infantry regiment retiring, overpowered by numbers. The crest of the hill was then invisible from the dense clouds of smoke. As they cleared away, a body of Russian infantry was discovered, just in front, "who fired most deliberately at the gunners, picking them down like so many crows." Four of the guns were seized by the enemy; and Major Townsend—about, no doubt, to urge his men to regain them—had just uttered the words, "You won't disgrace me," when a shell burst near him, and a fragment striking him on the head, crushed it to pieces. A party of the 77th and 88th came up, and, assisted by the artillery, retook the guns before they had been long in the enemy's hands. Lieutenant Miller, who commanded one division of the artillery, drew his sword, and, single-handed, galloped his horse towards the Russians, riding down one, and cutting down a second. He returned, when the guns were retaken, without a scratch.—Codrington's brigade of the light division fought gallantly in support of the 2nd division on the left, and effectually prevented the Russians from turning its flank.—In the centre the fighting was equally fierce, but the Russians could not overcome the stubborn resistance of a foe whom they so greatly outnumbered.

Lord Raglan's head-quarters were some

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ General Bosquet's despatch.

† *Ibid.*

distance from the scene of action. When his lordship was informed of the attack, and that the Russians were threatening Balaklava, as well as attacking the position on the heights of Inkermann, he was convinced one of the movements was intended as a feint, and hesitated, for a minute or two, as to where his presence would be most needed. He decided to go to Inkermann, knowing that was our weak point. "Besides (as he himself remarked), if the garrison of Balaklava, under such command as that of Sir Colin Campbell, was unable to defend itself, he could not assist it."† It was seven o'clock when his lordship and his staff arrived at the camp of the 2nd division, and they found the enemy along the entire line, "endeavouring to push up heavy columns of infantry, under cover of an overwhelming fire of artillery. The cannon-balls came tearing through the camp of the 2nd division by dozens at a time. Tents were every moment being knocked over by shot, or blown to pieces by exploding shell."‡

The guards had just formed themselves on the Sand-bag Battery; and Lord Raglan and his staff—the fog being dispersed to a certain extent—rode to that spot to reconnoitre, and ascertain, if possible, the strength of the enemy. His lordship soon discovered enough to convince him of the vast superiority of the Russian to the British army; the whole force engaged on our side, up to that moment, being not more than from five to six thousand men. Convinced, from the number of Russians in that quarter, that the attack on Balaklava was a mere feint, his lordship directly despatched Colonel Steele to General Bosquet, requesting that he would send some of his force to the support of the British. The general had previously seen the Duke of Cambridge and Sir George Brown, and offered them the aid of infantry and artillery. They thanked him, and said they had, at that moment, reserves, but that they had no one towards the right, in rear of the English redoubt (the Sand-bag Battery); and they requested him to secure them at that point. The general says, this he "at once did:"§ but none of the French troops appear to have arrived till after the receipt of Lord Raglan's message by the French general. As his camp was two miles distant, and some time must elapse before reinforcements from thence would reach the hill, his lordship ordered

one brigade of Sir George Cathcart's division to pass the ridge, and occupy the ground between the left of the guards and the right of the 2nd division; and the 2nd brigade, under the command of Brigadier-general Torrens, was sent to the rear of the guards on the right, and ordered to remain there. Sir George Cathcart accompanied this brigade.*

The fire from the Russian artillery was still kept up; but the infantry was, at this period of the battle, held back, either in preparation for another attack, or in doubt what to do next; probably from the former cause. This inaction caused Sir George Cathcart to imagine that he could descend the slope of the ravine, to the right of the guards and the Sand-bag Battery, and turn the enemy's flank. As Lord Raglan had ordered him to remain in the position in which he had placed the brigade, Sir George despatched an aide-de-camp to his lordship, to request leave to make the movement. His lordship, however, saw that it would be attended with great danger, and refused his consent. Unfortunately, Sir George Cathcart, confident in his own judgment, and acting against the advice of his officers, ordered the advance. "He soon discovered what a desperate error he had committed; for, on turning round the end of the spur on which the Sand-bag Battery was situated, he found himself under a heavy fusillade from the enemy's riflemen stationed on the opposite side of the ravine, next to the Inkermann road; and also, much to his surprise, he came upon a heavy column of infantry, which was advancing in order to retake the battery."† Too late he lamented his precipitancy; and in the midst of a fire that decimated his troops, he ordered a bayonet charge. The men gallantly made the attempt; but the difficulties of the ground, and the terrible fire to which they were exposed, prevented it from being effective. Sir George was about to give the order to retire, when Brigadier-general Torrens rallied the 68th regiment, and endeavoured to charge up the hill. Sir George saw the movement, and exclaimed, "Nobly done, Torrens! Nobly done!" Almost immediately Torrens was killed: a minute or two after, Sir George was shot through the heart, and fell dead; his

assistant-adjutant-general, Colonel Seymour, of the guards, ran to his side, and was shot through the leg. Refusing to leave the body of his friend, he, too, was killed, the enemy bayoneting him as they passed. At last the troops, having left many dead in the ravine, got back to their former station on the hill; whilst the Russians rushed forward to recapture the Sand-bag Battery. They "advanced in great numbers, and with extraordinary determination. Many were killed in the embrasures of the battery, and the guards repeatedly attacked them with the bayonet; till, having exhausted their ammunition, and lost nearly half their number, they were forced to retire before the continually increasing force of the enemy, leaving, in the battery, two of their officers wounded by bullets."‡

During the *mêlée*, the Duke of Cambridge, who behaved most gallantly, encouraging and praising his men, had his horse shot under him; Captain Butler, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, brother of the hero of Silistria, was killed; and General Bentinck, severely wounded in the arm, was obliged to leave the ground. The duke and his officers did the best they could under the circumstances: they despatched messengers to the camp for ammunition, and rallied the men in a position difficult of access, to await their return. "The Russians did not attempt to advance upon them, but continued to concentrate masses of infantry in and about the neighbourhood of the often-contested Sand-bag Battery. Had they followed up their success with their previous determination, and pursued our men, the mere weight must have penetrated through the thin line of the British troops. Our right flank once turned, the issue of the day would indeed have been doubtful. Probably their already enormous loss had, to a great extent, disheartened them from making the attempt."§

While this attack was taking place on the Sand-bag Battery, two columns of the Russian infantry advanced upon another portion of the British position—one by the Inkermann road, the other up the adjoining ravine. They debouched, under cover of the artillery fire from Shell Hill, upon that part of the ridge where the 2nd and light divisions, and General Goldie's brigade of the 4th division, were posted—nearly the centre of the line. As in every other

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ Letters from Head-quarters.

attack, the assailants were much more numerous than the defenders; and the volleys poured in upon Brigadier-general Goldie's brigade produced a fearful slaughter. Numbers of officers and men fell, either dead or seriously wounded; the brigadier-general being amongst the killed. The 2nd division had, also, its full share of the fighting. General Pennefather and Brigadier-general Adams were both with the division. The latter was seriously wounded, and had to retire. The same misfortune befel Colonel Carpenter, who commanded the 41st regiment.—The light division opposed a bold front to the enemy, and did much to check his advance; but the commander, Sir George Brown, was severely wounded, and had to leave the field; and many of the rank and file were killed. Whilst no reinforcements could be sent to replace the losses in our ranks, fresh regiments kept continually joining the Russians: the contest was terribly unequal; and Goldie's brigade, after the death of their commander, began to give way. Some of the artillery just then came up, and the guns were brought to bear on the columns of the enemy. This checked their advance; but our troops were so much exposed to the fire from the guns on Shell Hill, the number of which had been increased, that Lord Raglan ordered them to lie down, wherever it was practicable.

At half-past ten o'clock, General Canrobert and his staff joined Lord Raglan. The general brought with him four strong squadrons of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*; and about the same time, a battalion of Zouaves, and another of *Tirailleurs Indigènes* arrived, accompanied by General Bosquet. As these men were placed at the disposal of the English commander, he requested that the Zouaves and *Tirailleurs* might be placed on the right, in support of the brigade of guards, and what remained of Brigadier-general Torrens' brigade of the 4th division. The *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, and the remnant of the light brigade, about 350 men, were stationed together in the rear. Ammunition also arrived, and was distributed amongst the regiments which required it. Again the Sand-bag Battery was attacked; and the Russians—seeing that the guards were reinforced by the Zouaves, and probably thinking that a much larger force had arrived than really was the case—this time made little resistance, but retreated down the ravine,

suffering dreadfully from the British and French fire; whilst the allies, in their turn, fell in large numbers, under the fire of the artillery on Shell Hill. The two Russian steam-ships in the harbour, the *Vladimir* and *Chersonese*, also threw up "every minute," writes one officer, large shot and shell, which effected great mischief in the British camp, and amongst the troops. The severely-contested battery was now reoccupied by the guards; who, on re-entering it, found the bodies of the two wounded officers—Sir Robert Newman and Lieutenant G. C. Greville—whom they had been compelled to leave there, lifeless, and pierced with numerous bayonet wounds.

The Zouaves and Indigènes did good service on this occasion. They "charged the enemy, who covered, in one dense grey mass, the sides of the hills. Rushing headlong upon the Russians, with an impetuosity that nothing could withstand, they drove them back in confusion. These brave and intelligent troops, on that day, well sustained their reputation. Not affecting the calm and steady advance of the British lines, they scattered themselves over the broken and undulating ground, seeking for every irregularity in the soil; sheltering themselves behind the brush-wood and rocks; firing, with deadly accuracy, into the opposite columns; then, suddenly darting forward, and, with irresistible daring, throwing themselves upon the wavering ranks, they struck terror into the Russian infantry. 'See!' cried their brave general, as he gazed with admiration upon them—'See! they bound like panthers from the bush!'"*

The only heavy guns not fixed in the siege-works, were two iron 18-pounders, which had been landed from one of the ships. Lord Raglan having been informed that these were unemployed, and finding how inadequate our light artillery was to compete with the heavy guns of the Russians, ordered them to be brought up; and Colonel Fitzmayer, the officer to whom the order was delivered, saying "it was impossible," his lordship "sent Captain Gordon aide-de-camp, R.A., with directions to Colonel Gambier, who commanded the whole of the siege-train, to bring them into action with the least possible delay."† While waiting their arrival, Lord Raglan and his staff were very much exposed.

* *Letters from Head quarters*† *Ibid.*

His lordship rode about to see how the battle was going on; and several times remained in the midst of a battery of artillery, whilst the men were working their guns, and the enemy's shot fell thick and fast around him. It was in this interval that General Strangways, R.A., when receiving orders from his lordship, was struck by a round shot, which took off one of his legs just below the knee. "The kind and gallant old soldier, who was the idol of his corps, was gently lifted from his horse, and conveyed a little way to the rear."* He was placed in the hospital of the right siege-train as soon as possible. When the Russians were retiring, Lord Raglan was just able to look in, press his hand, and tell him that the victory was ours: he soon after breathed his last.—The horses of Colonel Somerset, Colonel Gordon, and General Canrobert, were killed about the time General Strangways was wounded; their riders were uninjured, except a slight bruise to Colonel Somerset, who was literally covered with blood, as a shell entered the body of his horse, falling upon the animal just behind the saddle, and exploding in its inside.

It was found not "impossible" to get the 18-pounders into position, where Lord Raglan wanted them—viz., to bear upon the enemy's artillery on Shell Hill. Colonel Gambier superintended their removal till he was wounded by a shot, which struck the ground, and rebounding, hit the gallant officer on the chest, inflicting a wound that caused his life to be despaired of for some time. Colonel Dickson succeeded him; and, when the guns were placed, worked them with admirable skill. The Russians, as soon as they found out what they had to encounter, concentrated their fire upon the two 18-pounders; but, fortunately, though many lives were lost, the guns were unhurt, whilst it was evident their fire told upon the enemy's artillery.—About twelve o'clock, two batteries of French artillery, and three battalions of infantry arrived, under General Autemarre. The former were sent to the right of our heavy guns, where they did good service; and the latter posted in support of the British centre. In marching to their position, the infantry came under the direct fire of the Russian guns, and lost so many men, that—not being supported on their left, as they expected, by the English, the guards being then engaged at the Sand-

* *The Past Campaign.*

bag Battery—they wavered; and though their officers did all they could to restrain them, they were evidently breaking up, when two British officers, Lieutenant-colonel Percy Herbert and Captain Gubbins, went in front, took off their caps, cheered, and animated them: they recovered their steadiness, driving the enemy before them in a brilliant charge, and continued fighting with our troops till the Russians retreated; as did their artillery, which, firing with accuracy and rapidity, did excellent service.

Soon after, another brigade, 3,000 strong, of French infantry, arrived, which was held in reserve. Sir De Lacy Evans, about the same time, rode up from Balaklava, and joined Lord Raglan: he did not, however, interfere with General Pennefather. Indeed, from this time there was little need for interference. The Russians were retiring; the artillery protecting them in their retreat, as it had covered their advance. They succeeded in reaching the valley of the Tehernaya in good order; though harassed by a charge of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, which would have been more effective but for the broken state of the ground. Lord Raglan wished the enemy to be pursued by the 3,000 French troops that had not been engaged; but General Canrobert objected, unless they were joined by the guards, whose "black caps," the general declared, inspired the confidence, and excited the admiration, of his men.† The guards, however, were too much exhausted. After some delay, General Canrobert sent a battalion of infantry, and one battery of guns, to the hill which commanded the Traktir bridge: by that time the Russians had nearly crossed the bridge; and although a few shots from the guns fell into the rear ranks, the rifles and muskets could not reach them. Nothing more was done, therefore, to prevent their retreat; and General Canrobert subsequently expressed great regret that he had refused to be guided by Lord Raglan's advice.

During the battle two other attacks were to have been made—one on the English, the other on the French lines. General Soimonoff's column was to have left Sebastopol at daylight; to have taken the road by the Careening Bay, and to have pierced the English position from that direction. This would have isolated the extreme

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

right, and have deprived it of support from the other divisions. The column missed its way; and, instead of moving in the valley, which would have brought it to the right of a five-gun battery, facing the Malakoff, it got into the ravine, near the right of General Pauloff's column; and, for a time, the ground was so full of troops, that the movements were impeded. The 1st brigade of the light division, and a small body of marines, under Major-general Codrington, are said to "have opened on this column a fire so steady and well sustained, that it first recoiled, and ultimately retreated, some time before the discomfiture of the main attack." The Russians lost many men in this quarter; among them their commander, General Soimonoff.

The attack on the French left was a very serious affair. It was made by a column 5,000 strong, which, under General Timofieff, left the city by the Quarantine Bastion, and, proceeding along the ravine, threw its force upon the batteries Nos. 1 and 2, compelling the occupants to retire towards some battalions of the line; and four companies of the foreign legion, which were charged with the defence of the trenches, were also obliged to retire: being reinforced, however, they vigorously resumed the offensive. General de la Motterouge, who commanded in the first parallel, also advanced with more reinforcements; but, when he reached the batteries Nos. 1 and 2, he found them abandoned, the enemy being driven back to the opposite side of the ravine. The French pursued the enemy, who halted at a building called Du Rivage, behind which they took a stand, and continued their fire. General Forey, who commanded the siege corps, by rapid and skilful arrangements, arrived with the troops of the 4th division to support the guards of the trenches; and he thought the matter serious enough to form his siege force into four divisions for the defence of that quarter. He was briskly attacked; and hearing the fire at Inkermann, and knowing that the allies and the Russians were smartly engaged there, he felt bound to advance to the combat with his first lines, supported by the whole of his reserves. One brigade, commanded by General Lourmel, bore down everything before them, and followed the Russian, to the Quarantine Height, where they were joined by General Forey and General de la Motterouge, with their

divisions. Some of the troops carried the pursuit still further; and it was difficult to recall them, so great was the ardour of the chiefs and the soldiers. The retiring movements would have been attended with great loss, if General d'Aurelle had not seized and occupied the buildings of the Quarantine: this enabled him to protect, effectually, the retreat of General de Lourmel's brigade, which was commenced under a violent fire from all the batteries whose guns bore in that direction. The general was mortally wounded. The French suffered very considerable losses before they regained their position; and General Forey calculated the loss of the Russians at 1,200 killed and wounded. They gained no advantages to compensate for this loss; for although they spiked eight guns in the two batteries, the fire of six was renewed immediately, and that of the other two the next day.*

Such were the events of the 5th of November; on which day the Russians expected to "drive their enemies into the sea." The attacks were skilfully arranged; and such was the commanding force of the enemy, that, though they complain that Generals Liprandi and Soimonoff failed in the parts assigned them, it appears really wonderful they did not succeed. They

"Did succeed in posting their artillery, in sweeping the field selected with a tremendous fire, and in bringing an enormously superior force to a vigorous and close attack. According to all calculations, they were justified in considering the day their own. But the extraordinary valour of the defenders of the position set calculation at defiance. At every point alike, the assailants found scanty numbers, but impenetrable ranks. Before them, everywhere, was but a thin and scattered line, opposed to their solid masses, and numerous skirmishers; yet, beyond it they could not pass. No doubt, to their leaders, it must long have appeared incredible they should fail. Again bravely led, they came bravely to the assault, and with the same result; and, unwillingly, they at length perceived, that, if the allied troops could resist successfully when surprised, no hope remained of defeating them when they were reinforced and on their guard."†

When it is considered that the troops who made this brave and heroic resistance—

"Were the remnants of three British divisions, which scarcely numbered 8,500 men; that they were hungry, and wet, and half famished; that they were men belonging to a force which was

* Despatches of General Canrobert and General Forey.

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

generally 'out of bed' four nights out of seven; which had been enfeebled by sickness, by severe toil, sometimes for twenty-four hours at a time, without relief of any kind; that among them were men who had, within a short time previously, lain out for forty-eight hours in the trenches at a stretch—it will be readily admitted, that never was a more extraordinary contest maintained by our army since it acquired a reputation in the world's history.*

The struggle, on the part of that army, was a confused and desperate one; and though discipline was preserved, all the distinctions of rank were disregarded; colonels leading small parties, "and fighting like subalterns—captains like privates." It was, at the Sand-bag Battery, frequently a hand-to-hand struggle; and when the guards had expended their ammunition, they pelted the enemy with stones. In the course of the fight, "dreadful, bloody deeds were done, which admit of no description. Bayonet was opposed to bayonet, which, we are told, never happened before to the British soldier, wielding his favourite weapon; and the deeds of daring were too numerous to narrate."† The artillery played almost incessantly for seven hours, on a battle-field the whole front of which did not extend more than three-quarters

of a mile. No wonder that the slaughter was great, and that, in consequence, "the victors were in no mood for rejoicing. When the enemy finally retired, there was no exultation, as when the field of the Alma was won: it was a gloomy, though a glorious triumph."‡

The aggregate loss of the British in this battle, was —

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Officers . . .	43	100	1	144
Sergeants . .	37	112	4	153
Drummers . .	4	21	—	25
Rank and File	548	1,645	58	2,251
	632	1,878	63	2,573

The French (who had not more than 6,000 men engaged) lost 1,726 killed and wounded.§ The number of the Russians killed is unknown. Prince Mentschikoff admits that he had 3,500 wounded, of whom 109 were officers; and from the number of dead left upon the field, the wounded who fell into the hands of the allies, and the statements of deserters, the Russian loss has been estimated at 5,000 killed; and the total amount of killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 15,000.||

CHAPTER X.

THE EVENING OF THE BATTLE; REMOVAL OF THE WOUNDED AND THE DEAD; COUNCILS OF WAR; RESOLUTION TO WINTER IN THE CRIMEA; NEW BATTERIES; DESPATCHES CONNECTED WITH THE BATTLE OF INKERMANN; STORM OF THE 14TH OF NOVEMBER; PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE TILL THE END OF DECEMBER; LIFE IN THE CAMP; WINTER OF 1854.

THE firing ceased, and the enemy retired—the victory achieved, and the honour of the allied arms nobly maintained—the painful duty remained of attending to the wants of the wounded, and of removing the remains of mortality from the field. As far as the wounded were concerned, it was commenced immediately; but it was a work not very readily performed. Besides those of the allies, Lord Raglan said

the Russians abandoned five or six thousand, dead and wounded; and he never saw such a spectacle as the field presented.¶ His lordship, with his staff and the French commanders, visited the scene of strife before they thought of rest or repose for themselves, to see that the necessary duties were performed, and to animate and encourage those who were engaged in them. Everywhere a sad sight met their

* W. H. Russell, in the *Times*.

† Lieutenant Peard.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ General Canrobert.

¶ Lord Raglan.—The account of the battle of

Inkermann has been compiled from the despatches of the commanders-in-chief, and the narratives of military men; aided by the letters of various correspondents at the camp of the allies.

¶ Despatch of November 8th.

eyes; and, in some places, it was difficult to move, so numerous were the bodies of the killed and wounded. Around the Sand-bag Battery more than one hundred dead were found in a very small space, surrounding the work; and the interior was literally filled with bodies—Russians and English intermixed—which had ceased to breathe.

The first care was to remove the wounded. The English and French attended each to their own; and when the latter—much fewer in number than those of the former—were removed, General Bosquet sent the mules and *cacolets* to assist in taking the English to the hospitals, and, when they were full, down to Balaklava. The English ambulance waggons resemble omnibuses in the exterior. The interior of some contained seats *dos-à-dos*, with supports for the arms and feet, in which those were placed who could sit upright; others had brackets, on which the stretchers were laid, bearing the bodies of those who were obliged to occupy a recumbent position. The whole was eased by high springs; and Lieutenant-colonel Hamley says, they “were much more comfortable, and better adapted for invalids, than the French ambulance mules,” which had a wicker seat for the wounded on each side of the animal. Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe gives the preference to the latter; and, at Sebastopol, they certainly possessed this advantage—they could be taken along routes which were impracticable for the ambulance carriages. All the English wounded were removed, as far as they could be found, in the afternoon of the 5th; and before dusk, upwards of 700 of the enemy had been provided with surgical aid: but there were out-of-the-way places to which the wounded had crept, and where they lay without the power to move, many of which were not discovered till the second day after the battle. Some were found even later; and on the morning of the 20th, two of the enemy, wounded, and unable to move far, and that only by crawling, were discovered in a hole in the Inkermann ravine, having lived, since the battle, upon the coarse bread and arrack they had in their bags. The sufferings of the poor fellows who lay long without relief, must have been intense.—The wounded removed, the dead had to be interred. Large trenches were dug for them, in which the English and French were ranged

side by side; the Russians lay apart. “Down the ravine, along which the Woronzoff road runs to the valley, the dead horses were dragged, and laid in rows: the English artillery alone lost eighty. The ravine, like all those channelling the plains, is wild and barren; the sides have been cut down steeply, for the sake of the limestone, which lies close to the surface, in beds of remarkable thickness. A lime-kiln, about ten feet square, built into the side of the hill, afforded a ready-made sepulchre for the enemy left on this part of the field, and was filled with bodies to the top, on which a layer of earth was then thrown.”* When removing the Russian wounded, “the kindness and attention of our fellows to their helpless enemies were beyond all praise. They brought them water; got knapsacks to put under their heads; and borrowed blankets in which to cover them from the cold night air.”† Very different was the conduct of the Russians. They killed many of our wounded, and threw shot and shells from the ships in the harbour, amongst those who were rendering the last services to the dead, or performing kind offices to the living. An officer, with a flag of truce, was sent into the town the next day, to remonstrate with Prince Mentschikoff upon this violation of the common laws of humanity. His answer was—“That the shells had been directed, not at the parties engaged in clearing the field, but at those entrenching the position; and that, if any of the wounded had been put to death, it could have been only in a few particular instances. In excuse for which, he remarked, that the Russian soldiers were much exasperated, in consequence of the fire from the French trenches having destroyed one of the churches of Sebastopol.”‡

After Lord Raglan had attended, as far as possible, to the wants and comforts of the soldiers, he accompanied General Penefather to the Inkermann heights; where, having surveyed the ground, they deliberated as to the best mode of guarding against another attempt. Large working parties of Turks were organised that evening, and commenced constructing a parapet along the ridge. They were assisted by the British sappers and miners; and, under the direction of officers of the royal engi-

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

† *The Past Campaign.*

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

neers, carried on the work, by the system of relief, without intermission, till it was completed. The two 18-pounders were retained on the spot they had occupied since they were brought to the heights; and two more were ordered to be placed on the left. Thus Shell Hill was completely commanded by a cross-fire.—On the heights, Lord Raglan was rejoined by Sir De Lacy Evans, who had left him for a short time; and who now strongly urged his lordship to raise the siege, and evacuate the Crimea. Of course the British commander-in-chief could not entertain such a project, though he listened to it, and replied with courtesy. In the opinion of the staff officer who records the conversation, it can only be accounted for by the fact, that Sir De Lacy Evans “was in a feeble state of health, and that possibly his illness may have affected his mind, as well as his body.”*

After leaving the heights, Lord Raglan went to several of the camp hospitals, to see that the wounded were properly cared for before he returned to his head-quarters, which he did not reach till 7 p.m., having been twelve hours in the saddle. Later in the evening his lordship sent for General Canrobert, and proposed to him to open a heavy cannonade on the enemy's works the next morning. The French were very short of ammunition, and the general was not, at first, willing to agree to the proposal. But he ultimately consented to fire “*un feu de joie*” for the victory at Inkermann. It was opened at daybreak, and kept up by the English for several hours. The French did not support them long: for about half-an-hour they fired their guns as rapidly as possible, and then relapsed into the order which had been observed for several days—of only discharging a few shots in the hour.

In the morning of the 6th of November, Lord Raglan, Sir John Burgoyne, and Generals Canrobert and Bosquet, met in council at the English head-quarters. At this council it was resolved, that all the ground on which the battle of Inkermann had been fought should be occupied; that a system of redoubts should be constructed for the better protection of the position; and that 4,000 French troops should encamp in the immediate vicinity of the English 2nd division. It was also decided, that a formal remonstrance should be addressed

to Prince Mentschikoff, by the allied generals, on the conduct of the Russian soldiers, who stabbed our wounded when lying on the ground, unable to defend themselves.†—On that day Generals Goldie, Cathcart, and Strangways were buried on the top of the hill, in front of the camp of the 4th division, and inside what appeared to have been an old redoubt. Lord Raglan attended the funeral of the two last named; and most of the general officers, not on duty, were also present.

A second council was held on the morning of the 7th of November, which was attended by all the generals of both armies. The question was—what course should be pursued? Lord Raglan was very anxious that the resolution taken before the battle of Inkermann, to storm the town—which was to have been carried out on that morning—should be adhered to; and all the deserters who came into the camp after this period, were of opinion, that, if the assault had been made, Sebastopol must have fallen. General Canrobert was, however, decidedly opposed to the movement, as, with the greatly reduced force of the two armies, he thought it impossible that it should be successful: but he had no doubt of ultimate success; and his advice was, to strengthen the allied position, and to wait for reinforcements. Some generals took a more gloomy view of the condition of the army than that of General Canrobert; and imitated General De Lacy Evans in recommending the evacuation of the Crimea. However, all these “timid counsels” were overruled. It was resolved that the allied army should winter in the Crimea, and that every possible precaution for its safety and comfort should be taken. One measure resolved upon was, to build huts for the troops; and vessels were despatched to Constantinople, Sinope, and other ports, for the purpose of procuring the necessary materials.

On the 8th, three redoubts and a heavy battery were traced out on the ground where the battle of Inkermann was fought. One of these redoubts was placed on the right of the Inkermann road, between the Sand-bag Battery and the camp of the 2nd division; a second—the largest—on Shell Hill; a third overlooked the bridge and causeway in the valley of Inkermann; the heavy battery was placed on a spur of the hill, next to that on which the Sand-bag Battery was situated. The construction of

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*† *Ibid.*

these works was immediately commenced, and they were carried on with as great activity as circumstances permitted. The men were, however, worn out, being completely over-worked: and their movements were neither very rapid nor energetic. The rations were supplied pretty regularly; and Dr. W. H. Russell affirms that the quality of the provisions was very good. The coffee, however, was given out unroasted, and the men did not know what to do with it. Some of the 20th regiment were also "seen eating raw salt beef and pork, like cannibals. When asked why they did it, their reply was—'We have no time to cook it, sir.' Could anything but disease, from the effects of such a diet, be expected?"*

It was not till the 8th of November that the commander-in-chief of the English army wrote his despatch, giving an account of the battle of Inkermann: that enumerating the generals and other officers who had distinguished themselves, was not written till the 11th. The list, besides the generals, included the names of almost all the officers engaged. Whilst praise—richly deserved and well merited—was awarded to the living, a due tribute was paid to the dead. Of General Sir George Cathcart, Lord Raglan said, that his death had "deprived her majesty of a most devoted servant, and an officer of the highest merit." Of Brigadier-general Strangways, that he "had distinguished himself in early life; and in mature age, through a long service, he maintained the same character;" his mode of conducting the command of the artillery during the campaign, having entitled him to the "entire approbation" of the commander-in-chief; while it "was equally agreeable to those confided to his care." Of Brigadier-general Goldie, that he "was an officer of considerable promise, and gave great satisfaction to all under whom he had served."

The despatches were received in London on the 22nd of November; and, on the 27th, the secretary of war wrote to his lordship, to express her majesty's high approbation "of the noble exertions of her troops, in a conflict unsurpassed, in the annals of war, for persevering valour and chivalrous devotion."—"The banks of the Alma," said her majesty—

"Proved that no advantages of position can withstand the impetuous assault of the army under

* Lieutenant Peard.

your command. The heights of Inkermann have now shown, that the dense columns of an entire army are unable to force the ranks of less than one-fourth their numbers, in the hand-to-hand encounters with the bayonet which characterised this bloody day."

The Queen expressed her pleasure at the praise bestowed by Lord Raglan on the Duke of Cambridge, and the other officers; and the deep sorrow which her majesty and her people felt at the loss of so many gallant officers and privates, who had sealed their devotion to their country with their blood: adding—her majesty

"Desires that your lordship will receive her thanks for your conduct throughout this noble and successful struggle; and that you will take measures for making known her no less warm approval of the services of all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who have so gloriously won, by their blood, freely shed, fresh honours for the army of a country which sympathises as deeply with their privations and exertions, as it glories in their victories, and exults in their fame. LET NOT ANY PRIVATE SOLDIER IN THOSE RANKS BELIEVE THAT HIS CONDUCT IS UNHEEDED; THE QUEEN THANKS HIM; HIS COUNTRY HONOURS HIM."

The conduct of the French troops was alluded to in this despatch in the following gratifying manner:—

"The Queen is deeply sensible of the cordial co-operation of the French commander-in-chief, General Canrobert, and the gallant conduct of that distinguished officer, General Bosquet. And her majesty recognises, in the cheers with which the men of both nations encouraged each other in their united charge, proofs of the esteem and admiration mutually engendered by the campaign, and the deeds of heroism it has produced."

General Canrobert also expressed himself, in high terms, of the heroism and fortitude of the English troops, and "the energetic solidity with which, for a long time, they faced the storm:" not knowing which to praise most—their conduct, or "the intelligent vigour which General Bosquet displayed in attacking the enemy who rushed on their right." He also detailed to the emperor the progress of the siege, and his resistance to the proposal to assault the city. The emperor replied in a congratulatory letter, in which he desired the general to express to the army his entire satisfaction with the courage it had displayed, its energy in supporting fatigues and privations, and its warm cordiality towards its allies. "After the brilliant victory of the Alma," said his majesty—

"I had hoped, for a moment, that the routed army of the enemy would not so easily have repaired its losses, and that Sebastopol would soon

have fallen under your attacks; but the obstinate resistance of that town, and the reinforcements received by the Russians, have, for the moment, arrested the course of your success. I approve of the resistance you made to the impatience of the troops, who wished to make the assault under circumstances which would have entailed too considerable losses."

An announcement accompanied the English despatches, that the Queen had ordered a medal, with an appropriate device, and the word "CRIMEA" engraved upon it, to be struck, and one to be given to each member of the army, officers or privates, serving in the peninsula. Clasps, with the names of "Alma," "Balaklava," and "Inkermann," were also awarded to those who took part in the respective battles; and the regiments engaged in those glorious affairs were authorised to bear the same names on their colours. The commission of field-marshal was also bestowed on Lord Raglan.

The period of great calamities to the army was now approaching. Men and officers were exposed to numerous privations. "The oldest soldiers had never witnessed or heard of a campaign in which general officers were obliged to live out in tents on the open field, for want of a roof to cover them; and generals who passed their youth in the Peninsular war, and who had witnessed a good deal of fighting since that period, in various parts of the world, were unanimous in declaring, that they never heard or read of a war in which the officers were exposed to such hardships."* These hardships were increased by the state of the weather in November. In that month, the season, "hitherto mild and sunny as the Indian summer of Canada, began to grow foggy, moist, and raw. The horizon of the Black Sea was blotted with mists, and its surface changed from blue to cold grey, whilst the sky was either leaden or black with clouds."† The night of the 12th was bitterly cold. On the 13th the rain fell in torrents, and "the men had great difficulty in cooking their provisions. The whole camp was like a well-trodden ploughed field, nothing but mud and slush." "During that day there was a fresh south-west wind, but there were no indications of worse weather; the night was comparatively fine, and at intervals almost calm. Towards daylight on the

14th, however, a gale came on, which, at 6.30 A.M., grew into the most fearful hurricane ever remembered in that country. This was accompanied with thunder and lightning, and torrents of rain."‡ The effects on shore were most disastrous. Nearly every tent was blown down in both camps, and every article which they contained was carried away. "Officers and men were running about, some in the most scanty attire, after fugitive pieces of furniture, or stray articles of clothing. The wind increased every moment, and the air was filled with every sort of thing: amongst them, great quantities of what appeared to be pieces of paper at first sight, but which falling to the ground during a momentary lull, proved to be canvas tents; another gust of wind came, and they were once more carried away."§ These were the French *tentes d'abri*, which were swept off by hundreds: only a few of the English were blown away; being heavy, they lay where they fell. "Some of the commissariat stacks of stores, provisions, &c., vanished altogether; great barrels might be seen bounding along like cricket-balls, and disappeared heaven knows whither. Several of the roofs of the sheds about head-quarters were blown clean away; and, at times, it was doubted whether the house itself would not be blown down; but, fortunately, from the fact of its only having a basement storey, it stood the fury of the gale without much damage."||

The hospital tents were blown down, and the unfortunate invalids had their sufferings augmented from being drenched in the rain. As soon as possible, they were removed to the stables of Lord Raglan's head-quarters, and the medical men and others rendered them every attention. Before night their marquees were re-erected, and they were all again under the shelter of their canvas. The French had four large wooden huts, built and used as hospitals; these were blown down, and many of the sick and wounded (upwards of 400 in number) were seriously hurt. The French cavalry horses also broke loose, and some of them were never recovered. We are told, that the conduct of the troops of the two armies, during this storm, afforded the greatest contrast.

"The French, flying for shelter, swarmed across the plains in all directions, seeking for the lee of old walls or banks, for protection from the blast. The English, more sullen and resolute, stood in

* W. H. Russell. † Lieut.-col. Hamley.

‡ Lieutenant Peard.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

|| *Ibid.*

front of their levelled tents, while wind and rain tore over them, or collected, in groups, before their late camps. Woe betide the Russians had they come on that day! for, fiercer than the storm, and stronger than all its rage, the British soldier would have met and beaten their teeming battalions. The cry was, all throughout this dreadful day—'Let us get at the town. Better, far, that we should have a rush at the batteries, and be done with it, than stand here to be beaten by the storm.'**

Towards 4 P.M. the storm abated, and the men began to re-erect their tents; but the mud and slush made them almost uninhabitable. Lord Raglan's stables, from which the invalids were removed, were again filled, and there many officers and men passed the night.

At sea, the storm blew with as great violence, and was more destructive than on land. Captain Dacres then had the control of the harbour of Balaklava, though Captain Christie was the harbour-master; and no vessel could enter without leave of the former. Of the vessels ordered out to sea on the 25th of October, under the apprehension that the Russians would retake the town, some had been permitted to re-enter the port; and there were about thirty within side when the *Prince* arrived, on the 11th, laden with winter clothing and medical stores for the troops, and some boxes of specie for the commissariat. The captain could not get leave to enter, and the vessel was anchored outside. Besides her majesty's ships, *Retribution*, *Niger*, *Vesuvius*, and *Vulcan*, four steam transports, ten sailing transports (including the *Prince*), three freight ships, and a Maltese brig, were outside the harbour; the coast on each side of which, for some distance, is "lined with rocks of the wildest description, some of them rising to a height of 700 feet." The ships were torn from their anchorage, and driven upon these rocks. The *Prince* went down with all her cargo, valued at half a million. Of the other transports, six were either sunk or dashed to pieces; as were two of the freight vessels: the third, the *Pultowa*, got into the harbour in a dismantled and sinking condition.—Of her majesty's ships, two were dismantled; the *Retribution*, with the Duke of Cambridge on board, invalidated, was only saved by the great energy and exertions of her crew; the *Vulcan* rode out the gale in safety.—The vessels in the harbour were injured in

their hulls and rigging; but suffered little compared with those on the outside.

The storm stretched all along the coast. Off the Katcha, five British transports—fine first-class vessels, each worth more than £15,000—and nine French and Turkish ships, were totally lost: several others were damaged, including her majesty's steamer *Sampson*, which lost all her mails.—At Eupatoria, sixteen vessels were stranded on the beach; and the noblest ship in the French navy, *L'Henri IV.*, was wrecked. The Cossacks rode down, expecting to plunder; but the captain was able to bring some of the guns of the ship to bear upon them, and they speedily took their departure. A body of Russian troops also attacked the town with fourteen pieces of artillery; but, after a cannonade of an hour, they were glad to retire.

The damage done by this terrible storm was estimated at above £2,000,000; and the privations of the troops were increased to intense suffering by the loss of the winter clothing and stores on board the *Prince*. Besides the serious damage to the shipping, about 300 lives were also lost off Balaklava. Off the Katcha and at Eupatoria, most of the crews of the wrecked vessels were saved. In the town of Balaklava considerable damage was done. "The roofs of the houses were blown off, and tiles were flying about like autumn leaves. Verandahs were torn away by the wind, which forced-in whole panes of glass. At the post-office, an entire window-frame was carried off to a distance of above 200 yards; and, strange to say, was picked up uninjured."†

At Sebastopol, the Russian batteries were nearly silent during the day; but—

"In the middle of the night, one of the most tremendous cannonades ever heard, burst from the enemy's works; and, after a time, the report of a rolling fire of musketry came down upon the wind. The cannonade lasted for half-an-hour, and gradually waxed fainter. It was an affair between the Russians and the French. Under cover of the fire from their works, the former sallied out from their comfortable warm barracks, on the French in the trenches, but were received with an energy which quickly made them fly back again to the cover of their guns. The French actually got into a part of the Russian lines, in chasing the troops back, and spiked some of their guns within an earthwork battery."‡

In the morning of the 15th, Mr. Filder, the commissary-general, had an interview with Lord Raglan and Sir R. Airey, upon the state of the commissariat, which had

* W. H. Russell. † Private Letter.

‡ *History of the Russian War.*

suffered great losses in the gale; and also as to the best means of supplying winter clothing to the men. It was resolved to send messengers to Constantinople and other places, to purchase great-coats, blankets, hay, provisions, and other necessaries.—"In the afternoon Lord Raglan rode through the different camps on the plateau, and made every arrangement in his power to alleviate the discomfort of the troops; and, by his cheering manner and hopeful expressions, he contributed not a little to encourage many who, from late misfortunes, were somewhat cast down."*—On the 16th, Major Wetheral, assistant quartermaster-general, left for Constantinople to purchase clothing, &c.; and, by the direction of Lord Raglan—who that day rode down to Balaklava—labourers were set to work to collect the numerous pieces of wreck lying about, which were carefully stacked, principally for the use of the hospitals. One of the greatest wants of the men, at that time, was wood. Ultimately a supply of charcoal and patent fuel was brought to Balaklava: till then, the divisions posted in the centre of the plateau, had to get wood for cooking their food principally from a thick coppice, extending from St. George's Monastery to Balaklava.

From this time the privations of the soldiers were almost insupportable. The commissariat, always deficient in the necessary means of conveyance, gradually grew worse. The men not only had to do soldiers' work, but that of carriers and packmen also; and "if the reader will visit, in the coldest days of winter, the poorest family in his neighbourhood, whose food is just sufficient to sustain existence; who, never getting coals except in charity, search the neighbouring commons and hedges for furze and sticks wherewith to cook their meagre meals; who lie down hungry and cold at night on a miserable pallet, to shiver till cheerless morning—and will then remember, that to all these privations were added, want of shelter from drenching rain and sleet, and frost, he will be able to realise the condition of the troops in front of Sebastopol, after the end of October."†

A day or two after the storm there was fine clear weather; and then—

"For the remainder of November, it rained

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

‡ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ *Ibid.*

almost without intermission, and the plains became one vast quagmire. The soil is remarkably tenacious; and the feet, both of men and horse, were incumbered, at every step, with a load of clay. Not only all the interior of the camps was deep in mire, but the floors of the tents themselves grew muddy. It is difficult to imagine a more cheerless scene than that presented on the plains. The landscape, all lead-coloured above, was all mud-coloured below; the tents themselves, wet and stained with mud, had become dreary spots on a dreary background. Sometimes low walls of stone or mud were thrown up round them, and in part succeeded in keeping out the keen raw gusts. About the tents waded a few shivering men in great-coats, trying to light fires behind small screens of mud or stones, or digging up the roots of the bushes where the coppice had vanished from the surface. Rows of gaunt, rough horses, up to their fetlocks in the soft drab-coloured soil, stood with drooping heads at their picket-ropes, sheltered from wind and rain each by a dirty, ragged blanket—in which it would have been difficult for the keenest connoisseur in horse-flesh to recognise the glossy, spirited, splendid teams that had drawn the artillery along the plains of Scutari."‡

Notwithstanding the weather, the work in the trenches proceeded; and the construction of the batteries on the heights of Inkermann was not intermitted. The Russians had a battery near Inkermann lighthouse, which was very annoying to the pickets of the allies; and the French constructed an advanced battery to operate against it. Nearly all these works were finished before the month of November closed. The siege made little progress during that month; the allies being too much fatigued, by excessive labour and watching, to attend regularly to the guns. The enemy kept up a daily fire, not very fierce; but their principal efforts were reserved for night, when they frequently made sorties, chiefly on the French lines. These were always repulsed, though not without a considerable aggregate loss of men to our allies. The fire from the city also generally produced a few casualties in the English camp every day. One of the Russian advanced posts, in front of the English left attack, was found very annoying. "It was a sort of half-cavern in the side of a ravine, with stone huts about it."§ it would accommodate about 200 men; was regularly occupied by riflemen, whose fire incommoded the troops in the English trenches, whilst it took the French in reverse; and was styled, in the English army, "The Ovens." In consequence of representations made to him by his own officers, and by General Canrobert, Lord Raglan, on the night of the 20th of November, sent a detachment

of the 1st battalion rifle brigade, under Lieutenant Tryon, to dislodge the enemy from this post. The service was performed both gallantly and effectively: the Russians were driven out, and their repeated attempts the same night to retake it, defeated. Lieutenant Tryon, when the enemy was retreating, received a shot through the head, and died instantly; the command then devolved on Lieutenant Bouchier, who held the post with great determination. The next night the Russians sent out a party of from 400 to 500 men, to retake the Ovens. They were driven back; and the British also seized and held some rifle-pits, a hundred yards nearer the town, from which the Russians were dislodged. The loss of the English on the two evenings, was ten killed, and thirty-two wounded.—“This little exploit was so highly prized by General Canrobert, that he instantly published an ‘*Ordre Général*,’ announcing it to the French army; and combining, with a just tribute to the gallantry of the troops, the expression of his deep sympathy in the regret felt for the loss of a young officer of so much distinction”* as Lieutenant Tryon.

During the month of November, the 9th and the 97th regiments arrived: a large quantity of guns and ammunition accompanied the former. All were very much wanted; and their arrival was considered very opportune, as, towards the close of November, there were movements observed on the side of the enemy, which made the commanders of the allies anticipate another attack. One of these movements was, a *reconnaissance* of the English lines, made on the 30th, by the Grand Duke Michael, Prince Mentschikoff, and General Liprandi. There was a large staff with the officers, who came within 1,000 yards of the lines, when they halted, and the grand duke deliberately made his observations through a large telescope, supported on two piles of muskets and bayonets. His highness frequently referred to a paper in his hand—either a chart or memorandums. Having concluded his observations, he made off towards Tchorgouna.—Nothing took place in consequence of this *reconnaissance*; but, on the 2nd of December, another attempt was made to recover the Ovens. A little before five o’clock in the morning, a large force of the enemy made a sortie from that side of the city, and drove in our sentries

* Lord Raglan’s despatch, November 23rd.

and sharpshooters who were stationed in the vicinity of that post. A party of the 58th regiment was stationed in the musketry trench: they were driven out, and the Russians occupied both the trench and the Ovens; their success having been facilitated by the state of the men, who were benumbed by the wet and cold of the night, to which they had been exposed for some hours, whilst the enemy emerged from warm and comfortable quarters. The latter, however, had scarcely taken the place of the little garrison, when the relief—a part of the rifle brigade—came down. Then the tables were turned, and the Russians soon became the fugitives. They left seven killed inside the British works; their wounded they carried off. Our loss was only two killed, and five wounded.

On the 1st of December, Lord Cardigan sent in his resignation to Lord Raglan; and a medical board, assembled to inquire into his case, reported that he was totally unfit to continue in command of the light cavalry, which brigade remained in the incomplete and ineffective state brought on by the Balaklava charge. Indeed, the entire cavalry division was, in Lord Lucan’s opinion, unfit for service; and, in consequence of his representations to Lord Raglan, the light brigade was moved from the heights to the valley of Kadikoi. “There it had the advantage of being sheltered from the cold winds of the Chersonese, and had a better chance of being provided with forage, which, since the hurricane of the 14th of November, had been issued in only scanty quantities.”†—The army was reinforced, during the month of December, by the 90th (750 men); the 34th (800); the 89th (670); the 17th (735); and the 18th (1,100); besides 700 men, drafts for the brigades of guards, and 500 for the regiments of the line.—On the 6th of that month, the Russians abandoned their camp in the villages of Kamara and Tchorgouna; destroying the two redoubts erected by the Turks, which they had held up to that time; and burning their huts, but leaving a picket of Cossacks at Kamara. They retreated to the right side of the Tchernaya, where they threw up a strong redoubt to cover the approaches to the Traktir bridge. The army there—encamped and huddled between the river and the Mackenzie plateau—was relieved on the 7th by a large body of troops, esti-

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

mated, by Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe, to comprise about 7,000 infantry, 28 guns, and some squadrons of Cossacks.*

In the last month of 1854, the siege again made very little progress; indeed, during some part of the time, the trenches were almost untenable from the effects of the snow and the rain. On the 16th, the water was, in some places, four feet deep.† The garrison fired at long intervals during the day; more briskly at night; and continued the practice of making occasional sorties. In the night of the 5th they again attacked the Ovens, but unsuccessfully, being driven back after killing one of our men, and slightly wounding two; they left three dead. The same night they made a sortie on the French trenches, with a similar result.—On the 6th, the French were surprised to find two steamers leaving the harbour, and, steering to the south, open a fire upon the flank of their siege-works. This attack was observed from Kamiesch Bay, and an English and French steamer were ordered to attack the Russians. As they had no steam on, some time elapsed before they were under weigh. The English vessel started first, and she chased the Russians under the guns of Fort Alexander, which were opened upon her, but without effect. Under cover of their fire, however, the Russian steamers re-entered the harbour.

On the 9th of December, intelligence was received in camp that Lord Raglan was created a field-marshal; and, on the next day, Generals Canrobert and Bosquet, with their staffs, went to the English camp to congratulate his lordship on his well-deserved promotion, and to thank him for the handsome mention made of them and the French army, in his despatches connected with the battle of Inkermann. They were accompanied by General de Montebello, aide-de-camp to the emperor; who, sent to report on the progress of the siege, was also the bearer of congratulations from the emperor. As the promotion of Lord Raglan was then known by the troops, he was loudly cheered that day as he rode through the camp.—The next night the Russians resumed their sorties; and, on the French side, they entered one of the trenches, and spiked several guns, being superior in number to the occupants. One of the French covering parties, however, coming up at the time, made a charge,

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† *Ibid.*

and the enemy retired to the works, carrying with them a small mortar. A little later, a strong body of infantry passed by the Woronzoff road, between the right and left attacks of the English—intending, it is supposed, to take them in reverse. The pickets, however, opened a sharp fire, and the assailants retreated, only wounding one man. No doubt some were both killed and wounded on their side, but they again carried them all off.—In the night of the 20th they made attacks both on the right and left of the English line. That on the left took place with bugles sounding and drums beating; but it was gallantly repulsed by a small corps, composed of portions of the 38th and 50th regiments. Both sides are said to have “suffered severely.”—On the right, the advance was not perceived by either the French or English; and, giving the word of command in French, the Russians got near the trenches before they were discovered. That part of the lines was occupied by a division of the 34th regiment, who fell back, and the enemy took their position in the advanced parallel. The 34th, however, being almost immediately joined by a portion of the 97th (forming one of the covering parties), returned, and after a short but sharp contest, drove out the Russians, who retreated to their own works.—In the affairs of that evening, Major Moller, of the 50th regiment, and four privates, were killed; thirteen privates were wounded; and Captain Frampton and Lieutenant Clarke, of the 50th, Lieutenant Byron, of the 34th, and eleven privates, were made prisoners.

The last military movement of the year was a *reconnaissance* made by the French, in considerable force, in the valley of the Tchernaya. General Bosquet, at the head of a division of infantry, two regiments of the *Chasseurs d’Afrique*, and two batteries of artillery, advanced to the village of Kamara, which was found deserted by the Cossacks left there when the Russians crossed over to the other side of the river. The force then marched to Tchorgouna, and were met by a considerable body of Russian light cavalry, which, charged by a regiment of the *Chasseurs d’Afrique*, retreated under a sharp fire from a battery of artillery on the heights above. The French guns were brought up, when the firing ceased, the Russian cavalry retired, and the French entered Tchorgouna unopposed. They burnt the village, and

returned to the camp. During the *reconnaissance*, Sir Colin Campbell stationed a regiment of Highlanders, and a wing of the 2nd battalion of the rifle brigade, in support on the hills overlooking Kamara. They took no other part in the operation, and were withdrawn to the marine heights, when the French returned to their camp.

When the year closed, the distress and misery endured by the British army, in this their first winter in the Crimea, were at their height. In the early period of their occupation of the plateau, neither officers nor men were particularly uncomfortable, though many of the latter were without their knapsacks till the middle of November. But, as already stated, their rations were, as a rule, regularly served, and of good quality; and, except that their coffee was given out raw, they had not much to complain of.* Those who worked in the trenches were there from 4 A.M. one day, till the same hour the next, when they were relieved, and had twenty-four hours' rest. No cooking was allowed in the trenches; all their meals, therefore, were cold, both solids and beverages. The officers in the trenches spent a very dull time, as they were not actively employed, like the men. "Looking-out, watching the passage of shot and shell through the air, as they were discharged from the enemy's guns, and smoking, were their chief amusements." In camp—

"Directly after sunrise, the soldiers lit their fires, and the officers lit their cigars, and proceeded to chat over the night's work in cozy little groups, till the sun put some warmth in them, after the cold parade. After the *matinée fumante* came breakfast; and then—equally a matter of course—a walk to the picket-house; and without a mention of that much-frequented lounge, no account of Crimean camp life would be complete. The house was a little ruin, appropriated, as its name imports, to one of the pickets, situated on the brow of the hill, two or three hundred yards in front of the light division. [See the *Plan of Sebastopol*.] It commanded a view of Sebastopol, and of the sea and fleets, in front and to the left; had a courtyard round it, with a wall about four feet high, behind which might perpetually be seen officers, with double eye-glasses and telescopes, directed towards the town. After spending the morning at the picket-house, those who had nothing better to do, generally went, during the heat of the day, to their tents, to read the newspapers. Of these they had a good supply. The afternoon was always cool, and it was the best time for seeing the country, and exploring amongst the curiosities of the camp. So the day passed till dinner."

* The description of "camp life," in the text, is abridged from the entertaining little volume, *A Month in the Camp before Sebastopol*.

There were no regimental messes in the camp. The officers usually clubbed and dined together by twos and threes, or larger numbers, and managed to provide tolerably well at first; their good spirits making up for all deficiencies. "By half-past nine everybody was in bed; by ten the last fire had gone out;" and, "as the doors were laced up for the night, one might believe oneself in a wilderness."

The economy of the French camp was very different from ours. There was more regularity in the arrangements—the tents stretching from Kamiesch to the ravine on the English left, forming nearly straight streets, to each of which a name was given. "There were post-offices appointed; the *restaurateurs* were numerous; and the lively *vivandières* added a great charm to the scene." The French *tentes d'abri*, though very convenient for transport, certainly did not house the occupants so comfortably as the English bell-tents; but the cooking was much better managed, one man cooking for twelve; the office being taken in rotation, instead of each man cooking for himself. Ovens and large stoves were carried with the baggage; and flour being served out to the different regiments, they baked their own bread. The great feature, however, in the French camp, was its liveliness. Their bands were constantly playing; and the men, sometimes listening to them, sometimes singing or dancing, were always kept in good spirits. The instruments of the English bands, on the contrary, were put in store, and the musicians were employed as stretcher-bearers. The men had no music, except the singing parties they formed themselves. These parties were frequently seen and heard in retired spots; and one of their most favourite songs was "Annie Laurie;" indeed it became *the* song of the guards.

From the first, whilst the healthy and able-bodied got over the day tolerably well—as, till after the storm and the bad weather of November, they did not want for necessaries—the sick and the wounded were very badly accommodated. Their numbers were great, for disease was added to the casualties of the soldier's life. Fever, dysentery, and diarrhoea prevailed, brought on by fatigue and privation; and at the commencement of December, the cholera again broke out in the camp. To receive the wounded and invalids a two-poled hospital

marquee was attached to each division: there were also two hospitals at Balaklava; and there was one at Scutari. There was, therefore, no want of room; but, for the first five or six months of the campaign, the number of medical men was very inadequate to the duties they had to perform, and there was a deficiency of medicines, and of every necessary. Some of these indispensable requisites were lost in the *Prince*: still, to judge from the quantities sent out, according to the accounts rendered to parliament, there ought to have been enough and to spare.

The state of the hospitals—the absence of comfort, the want of necessaries, and the really miserable condition of the invalids—was no sooner brought under the notice of the public at home, by the correspondents of the different papers, than efforts were made to remedy the evils. Sir Robert Peel, in the *Times* of the 12th of October, appealed to the public to open a subscription for the sick and wounded, heading it himself with the sum of £200. This subscription, called “The *Times*’ Fund,” realised the sum of £25,462. It was administered by a “*Times*’ commissioner”—Mr. Macdonald, all whose expenses the proprietors of that paper paid; and this was their liberal contribution to the fund.—Under the auspices of the Earl of Ellesmere, and a committee of noblemen and gentlemen, another fund, called “The Crimean Army Fund,” was raised. The object of this committee was, to purchase clothing, bedding, and other comforts and necessaries, or to receive them as gifts, and forward them to the Crimea, or to Scutari. A mere list of the articles sent to the East by this committee would occupy many pages.—A society, called “The Central Association, in aid of the Wives and Families of Soldiers ordered on active service,” received a royal charter; and a similar one was formed to assist the families of sailors and marines. The former collected more than £120,000; and assisted by pecuniary relief upwards of 7,000 wives, and double that number of children.—But the widows and orphans of the dead soldiers required relief, as well as the wives and families of those who were still serving their country. To effect this object, on the 13th of October, “a royal commission” was issued, at the head of which was the late Prince Consort, and the *élite* of all parties and classes were associated with his royal highness.

By this commission the “Patriotic Fund” was raised, the Queen heading the list of subscribers with the handsome gift of £1,000. The munificent sum of £1,980,589 was ultimately realised, with which several thousand widows have been relieved; many more children educated; and the “Victoria Patriotic Asylum,” for the relief of soldiers’ orphans, established. In 1863, 3,455 widows, and 4,513 children, were on the lists of this society.—On the 24th of October, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held a meeting, and opened a subscription, which enabled the committee to send twenty-four clergymen to the Crimea, in aid of the over-tasked army chaplains. Numerous associations were also formed for procuring religious and other books, by purchase or gift, to send to the soldiers; and the Roman Catholics raised a fund, to increase the pay of the chaplains of their faith, attached to the army, and to send out others to assist them.

Another most important movement, to contribute to the comfort of the soldier, was the formation of a company of nurses, to send to the hospitals. In France, there is an organised society, called “The Sisters of Mercy,” 500 of whom volunteered to go to the Crimea, to attend upon the sick. We had no such society in England; but when the distresses of the hospitals became known, Lady Mary Forester proposed that a body of nurses should be sent out. The Right Hon. Sydney Herbert, then secretary at war, and his lady, cordially supported the proposition; and Florence Nightingale, the youngest daughter of William Shore Nightingale, Esq., of Embley Park, Hampshire, and Leigh Hurst, Derbyshire—who, from her earliest childhood, had been distinguished by her humane and beneficent attentions to the poor, and who, at the establishment of the Protestant Sisters of Mercy, at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, had made herself practically acquainted with hospital duties—engaged to head the mission, and direct its movements. No time was lost. Thirty-seven nurses were engaged; and, on the 21st of October, they sailed for Calais, from whence they proceeded to the East, “the Rev. Mr. Bracebridge and his lady, friends of Miss Nightingale, accompanying them.” They had a turbulent voyage by sea, but reached Scutari in safety—where the hospitals were then filled with the wounded from Balaklava; to whom those of

Inkermann were soon added.—About the same time, that hospital was visited by the Rev. Sydney Godolphin Osborne and his son; Lady Stratford de Redcliffe who was frequently at the bedside of the patients, and “exercised her private benevolence in furnishing delicacies from the embassy, to those wards where they were most required”; and Mr. Augustus Stafford, one of the members for North Northamptonshire: the latter relieved the physical wants of the wounded, and spent many an hour by the side of their beds, inspiriting them by his conversation, reading to them, or writing letters for them to their friends at home.*

By the aid of the funds, and the personal efforts of the nurses—of whom Florence Nightingale was in all things the chief, and whose visits were regarded by the men as those of their good angel—the aspect of the hospitals was soon changed. That there was a great necessity for these aids was abundantly proved. When the nurses arrived, the hospitals were “absolutely without the commonest provision for the exigencies they had to meet;”—“article after article of absolute necessity, was either not in existence, or so stored as to defy access to it;” and “for some weeks, more than 1,000 patients had no bedsteads; matting on the pavement of the corridors received the chaff-stuffed bed, on which each man was laid.”†—It will scarcely be imagined, but, “wine, milk, potatoes, flannels, anything that would serve as pocket-handkerchiefs; chocolate, gelatine, and brandy; and warm clothing of all descriptions,” were enumerated amongst the necessaries wanted.‡ And, in four wards committed to the care of one of the nurses, “eleven men died in one night, simply from exhaustion, which, humanly speaking, might have been stopped, could she have laid her hands on such nourishment as she knew they ought to have had.”§

In the Crimea, the state of the able-bodied soldiers was not better than that of the sick and wounded in the hospitals. “They were exposed, under single canvas, to all the sufferings and inconvenience of cold, rain, mud, and snow, on high ground, and in the depth of winter. They suffered

from this exposure, over-work, want of clothing, insufficient supplies for the healthy,” as well as “imperfect accommodation for the sick.”||—The evils were increased by the state of the roads, “which rendered the seven miles between Balaklava and the camp a journey more difficult to perform than the 3,000 miles between England and the Crimea;” and although a considerable quantity of warm clothing was brought from Constantinople in December, from this cause there was great difficulty in getting it to the camp; and the poor fellows were shivering with cold, when great-coats, trousers, and blankets were lying at Balaklava. After the loss of the Woronzoff road, there was only one to the plateau—a farm road, “useful in fine weather, but impassable when the rain commenced, being one mass of Crimean mud, which is very different from the worst sloughs we see in this country.” Great, therefore, was the joy when a message was delivered to Lord Raglan, that a party of “navvies” were coming over to the Crimea, to construct a railway from Balaklava to the camp. In the meantime—the judicious administration of the *Times*’ fund by Mr. Macdonald, and the numerous gifts of necessaries and comforts sent by the different committees, greatly contributed to improve the condition of the men, and caused them to spend a much more pleasant Christmas than was anticipated a few weeks before. The attention of government was also earnestly directed to the “omissions” and “commissions” which had caused the evils; and Mr. Sydney Herbert (the late Lord Herbert) devoted all his energies to remedy them. This was at last effected; and we do most ardently hope, that, should England be plunged into another war, the example of 1854 will be a lesson to warn whoever may then be at the head of the war department, against the errors which caused the sad events that marked the close of that year.

No men ever bore up under hardships and difficulties with more fortitude than did the heroes of Balaklava and Inkermann.

“Great Britain has often had reason to be proud of her army; but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of

* This true English gentleman contracted a disease by his attendance in the hospitals, of which he died on the 15th of December, 1857, aged 47.

† *Scutari and its Hospitals*; by the Rev. S. G. Osborne.

‡ Letter from a lady who accompanied Miss Nightingale.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the condition of the army before Sebastopol.

an army exhibiting, through a long campaign, qualities as high as those which distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command." The "men never murmured; their spirits never failed; and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected, in those whom he encountered, any signs of weakness."—"Both men and officers, when so reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty upon their comrades. Yet they maintained every foot of ground against all the efforts of the enemy, and with numbers so small, that, perhaps, no other troops would ever have made the attempt. Suffering and privation have frequently led to crime in armies, as in other communities; but offences of a serious character were unknown in the British army of the Crimea. Not one capital offence was committed, or alleged to have been committed, by a soldier; and intemperance was rare. Every one who knows anything of the constitution of the army, must feel, that, when troops so conduct themselves through a long campaign, the officers must have done their duty, and set them the example."—In the Crimea, the British officers "not only shared all the danger and exposure, and most of the privations of the men," but they "evinced the utmost solicitude for the welfare of those who were under their command;" and "a constant readiness to employ their private means in promoting their comfort. It was gratifying to observe the community of feelings and of interests that appeared everywhere to subsist between the men and their officers, and which the regimental system of the British army seems almost always to produce."*

The men in hospital were as praiseworthy in their conduct as the men in camp. The Rev. Sydney Godolphin Osborne,† who was attracted to Scutari by the reports of the privations and sufferings of the wounded and invalids, and who officiated amongst them as a chaplain, writes—

"In this scene of filthy neglect, I can with truth say, I was never called to one dying man who uttered a single murmur against those who thus treated him and his comrades. They were fond of being read to; joined earnestly in prayer; were apparently very truthful in their answers as to their past lives: very many had run away from home, and enlisted under false names. Few had I occasion to attend, when dying, who did not show the truest penitence, and gladly seek to cling to those hopes most of them had been taught in their youth, but which, alas! in many of these cases, had now first to be realised."‡

Miss Nightingale, and the lady-nurses who worked with her—and a second party sent out in December, under Miss Stanley, daughter of the then Bishop of Norwich—speak in equally high terms of the good and praiseworthy conduct of the privates; nor was that of the officers less to be

commended. We again quote the Rev. Sydney Godolphin Osborne.

"My occupation was chiefly amongst the men, yet I had much interesting communication with their officers." * * * "As nurses to each other, no sister or mother could have been more kind and patient." * * * "I can say of them on the sick bed and dying—as I can say of them wherever I met them in the East—that nothing could exceed their patient endurance of suffering, their moral courage, their modest, unboasting reference to all they had so nobly done: their whole tone to each other, and to civilians, gave me the highest opinion of the character of an English officer, when thus on active service."§

There was one officer to whom great injustice was done by the correspondents of the London press. He was charged with inattention to the wants, and with carelessness as to the privations, of the soldiers; with never visiting the hospitals, and with showing an utter indifference to the sufferings which the men endured throughout the winter of 1854. This officer was Lord Raglan, a nobleman who possessed, in an eminent degree, the virtue of kindness of heart. "Who is that old fellow?" said one officer to another—the questioner having, just previously, been blaming Lord Raglan for not attending more to his men; and the "old fellow" being another officer in a plain great-coat, just emerging from an hospital—"Who is that old fellow who is always about, poking his head in everywhere?" It was Lord Raglan, whose acts thus gave a silent rebuke to his censurer. One of the nurses at Balaklava, Elizabeth Davis, in her *Autobiography*, published in 1857, says that his lordship visited the hospital to which she was attached, three times a week, and was most anxious that the comforts of the invalids should be attended to. Another eye-witness, who, in 1855, was the proprietress of the "British Hotel," in the Crimea—she was known to every officer in the army there, who will vouch for her honesty and integrity, and she was familiarly called "Mother Seacole" by officers and men—speaks of Lord Raglan as

"That great soldier, who had much iron courage, with the gentle smile and kind word that always show the good man. I was familiar enough with his person; for, although people did not know it in England, he was continually in the saddle, looking after his suffering men, and scheming plans for their benefit. And the humblest soldier will remember, that, let who might look stern and distant,

† The correspondent of the *Times*, who signs himself "S. G. O." (Sydney Godolphin Osborne.)

‡ *Scutari and its Hospitals.*

§ *Ibid.*

* First Report of Sir J. McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, sent, as Royal Commissioners, to the Crimea, to inquire into the state of the army on the spot.

the first man in the British army ever had a kind word to give him.*

Such was Lord Raglan: and there was another personage whose kind care for the British soldier must not be overlooked. We could not, in this brief history of England's battles, omit the record of events which do so much honour to the soldiers by whom those battles were fought; and we close that record by quoting—to show how highly those soldiers were appreciated, and how deeply their sufferings were sympathised with in the highest quarters—a letter addressed by the Queen to the Right Hon. Sydney Herbert, on the 6th of December, 1854.

"Would you tell Mrs. Herbert, that I begged she would let me see, frequently, the accounts she receives from Miss Nightingale, or Mrs. Bracebridge, as I hear no details of the wounded, though I see so many from officers, &c., about the battlefield; and, naturally, the former must interest me more than any one. Let Mrs. Herbert also know, that I wish Miss Nightingale and the ladies would

tell these poor, noble, wounded, and sick men, that NO ONE takes a warmer interest, or feels more for their sufferings, or admires their courage and heroism more than their Queen. Day and night she thinks of her beloved troops. So does the prince. Beg Mrs. Herbert to communicate these my words to those ladies, as I know that our sympathy is much valued by those noble fellows."

Mrs. Herbert sent a copy of this letter to the East. It was read in all the hospitals—at Scutari and in the Crimea—amid shouts of "God Save the Queen;" and copies were made and put up in various parts of the rooms. It is impossible to describe the effect it had upon the "noble, wounded, and sick men," to whom her majesty so feelingly alludes; and there are none, we think, whether military men or civilians, who will not, on reading this simple but touching effusion, highly appreciate the beneficent tender heart of the Queen.

We must now resume, in the next chapter, the history of the campaign.

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF THE ARMY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1855; ITS LOSSES IN 1854, AND STRENGTH ON THE 1st OF JANUARY, 1855; LOSSES OF THE RUSSIANS; CHANGES AMONGST THE OFFICERS; SORTIES OF THE GARRISON; A FRESH LINE OF ATTACK COMMENCED BY THE FRENCH; RECALL OF EARL LUCAN; ATTACK ON EUPATORIA; ATTACK ON THE SELENGHINSK REDOUBT DEFEATED; COUNCILS OF WAR; DEATH OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; RACES IN THE CAMP; DEFENCES OF SEBASTOPOL; THE MAMELON; RIFLE-PITS; REINFORCEMENT OF TURKS ARRIVE; AFFAIRS OF THE 16TH AND 22ND OF MARCH; PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE IN MARCH; IMPROVEMENTS AT BALAKLAVA; THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH; THE RAILWAY.

FROM what has been said in the last chapter, some idea of the sufferings of the army in the Crimea, in November and December, 1854, may be formed. We have seen that government and the public, when once the condition of the troops was known, spared neither energy nor money in the attempt to relieve them; but to administer an effectual remedy was the work of time. Vast supplies of stores, warm clothing, huts, and ammunition, continued to arrive at Balaklava daily: every effort was made to disembark them, to convey them to the plateau, and to erect the huts;

but the difficulty was great, owing to the limited extent of the harbour, its crowded state, the narrow entrance to the town, and the want of space on the beach—the rocks on one side rising from the water's edge. Still, such were the exertions used, that, by the second week in January, every man "had received a second blanket, a jersey frock, flannel drawers, and socks, and some kind of winter coat, in addition to the ordinary great-coat."† The main difficulty was, to get the huts from the harbour to the camps. Each hut weighed two tons and a-half, and its removal required

* *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole*; published in 1857, with a brief address "to the Reader," by Dr. W. H. Russell, who describes Mrs. S. as "a plain, truth-speaking woman," dis-

tinguished by "singleness of heart, true charity, and Christian works."

† Lord Raglan's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, January 13th, 1855.

three stripped artillery waggons, with from eight to ten horses each, or 180 men.* A few of the huts were put up at Balaklava; and stables and huts were also constructed at the horse-artillery camp, near the harbour, out of the *débris* of the ships wrecked on the 14th of November, by the ship-carpenters, assisted by the sailors. The intensity of the labour, and the difficulties the men had to surmount, were greatly increased by the snow, which began to fall early in January, and was soon fully a foot deep (a very unusual circumstance in that part of the Crimea). Put if these circumstances delayed, they did not daunt the willing and energetic workers; and amongst others, the detachments of Turks (who acted literally as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," which they conveyed to the camp) deserved great praise for their exertions. All the troops were considerably relieved, before January expired, by the establishment of dépôts of provisions in the camp of each division, and at headquarters, which obviated the necessity of frequent journeys to Balaklava for the rations. As a large number of animals were imported to convey provisions and stores from the harbour to the plateau, the troops were, during the rest of the campaign, amply supplied with the immediate necessaries of life.

The French—although sickness prevailed in their army to a great extent, and the deaths were numerous—had much fewer hardships to encounter than the English, having a greater number of hands to carry on the various works, whether in or out of the trenches. This supply of men had enabled General Canrobert to construct an excellent macadamised road, from the port of disembarkation to his head-quarters, a distance of six or seven miles. "Along this route might be seen, constantly passing, lines of mules, carrying well-balanced packages of biscuits from Marseilles or Toulon, or other '*vivres militaires*,' destined for the respective divisions of the army; and trains of waggons, '*equipages militaires*,' also drawn by mules, bringing planks, chests, and forage, and every description of army stores, in the same direction." This road being along the plateau, possessed great advantages over that from Balaklava to the camp, and would have rendered the physical labour of the French much less than that of the English, even

* Lord Raglan's despatch, January 13th, 1855.

had the material means of each army been on a par.

Early in 1855, an official return of the "Casualties in the war with Russia, up to the 31st of December, 1854," was issued. From this document it appeared, that there had been—

	Officers.	Non-comm. Officers and Privates.
Killed in action . . .	90	1,243
Died of their wounds . .	36	310
Died of disease, &c. . .	87	3,224
	213	4,777

Thus the total number of deaths was 4,990. At the same period, the number of effective and non-effective men in the army was as follows:—

	Effective.			Sick.		
	Offi-cers.	Sergts., Drumrs., Trumps.	Men fit for duty.	Pre-sent.	Absent.	On com-mand.
Cavalry	63	149	762	111	237	41
Artillery ..	137	477	2,421	450	510	62
Sappers & } Miners... }	32	45	503	60	31	—
Infantry.....	870	2,372	19,948	3,330	8,128	1,684
	1,102	3,043	23,634	3,951	8,906	1,787

To these were to be added the officers' servants, and the office clerks, numbering 1,331 men: making the total of the English army in the East, officers and privates, effective and disabled, 43,754. At this time General Canrobert had received so many reinforcements, that his army amounted to more than 64,000 men. Their losses, since the landing, had not been so numerous as those in the English camps.

The Russian losses were much greater than those of the allies. Their official accounts, extending from the battle of the Alma to the 27th of December, return as—

Killed, or died of wounds . . .	7,301
Wounded	13,826
Prisoners	1,617
Died of disease, accident, &c. . .	4,019
	26,763
Add losses at the Alma	6,000
" " of the navy from Octo- ber 17th to December 27th . . .	4,500
Grand Total	37,263

The enemy, like the British, appear, during the winter, to have been badly supplied with provisions and clothes. The army on the Belbec was fed from the stores of Sebastopol; and "the want of transport was so great, that, previous to the heavy fall of snow in January, a battalion of

infantry was marched daily from the troops on the Tchernaya to Baktchi-Serai, to return the following day with provisions for the whole division.* The snow was, before the middle of the month, four or five feet deep between Baktchi-Serai and Mackenzie's Heights: this put a temporary stop to the communication; and the only food which the Russians could get for some days, was their disagreeable black bread. They were, also, deficient alike in medical men and medicines: it was quite impossible, therefore, that the sick could be properly attended to; and deserters brought the intelligence, that hundreds of the unfortunate inmates of the hospitals died daily.†

At the commencement of the year, many changes had taken place in the military and naval commands of the allies. Both Admirals Dundas and Hamelin had returned home; and they were succeeded in the command of the fleets by Admirals Sir Edmund Lyons and Bruat. As soon as the new commanders hoisted their flags, they proclaimed all the Russian ports in the Black Sea to be in a state of blockade. A change in the command of the harbour of Balaklava also took place; Admiral Boxer arriving from England, on the 30th of January, to assume it. In the English army, Generals Sir George Cathcart and Strangways, and Brigadier-generals Tyl-den, Adams, Torrens, and Goldie, had been killed. The Duke of Cambridge, the Earl of Cardigan, and Sir de Lacy Evans, had returned to England, invalided; and General Sir George Brown, Brigadier-generals Bentinck, Buller, Cator, and Lord de Ros, though they still remained in the East, were unable to attend to their duty from wounds or disease. So many colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and other officers were also on the invalid list, in addition to the killed, that promotion became more rapid than was ever known in the British army. Major-generals Sir Colin Campbell and Pennefather were made lieutenant-generals in Turkey. The following colonels were also promoted to the rank of major-generals:—Hugh Rose, Richard Airey, unattached; James Bucknall Estcourt, unattached; the Hon. James Yorke Scarlett, 5th dragoon guards; Henry William Adams, C.B., 49th foot; Arthur

Wellesley Torrens, unattached; George Buller, C.B., rifle brigade; William Eyre, C.B., half-pay, 73rd foot.—The command of the brigade of guards was conferred on Major-general Lord Rokeby; that of the 2nd division on Lieutenant-general Pennefather; that of the 1st brigade of the 3rd division, on Major-general H. W. Barnard; and that of the 4th division on Major-general Sir John Campbell.—Some changes also took place early in the year in the Russian army. Prince Mentschikoff left Sebastopol, as his health was suffering, and established himself as commander-in-chief at the village of Belbec. Prince Michael Gortschakoff‡ had his quarters at a farmhouse between Sebastopol and Baktchi-Serai, having taken the command of the divisions covering the road to the interior; and General Osten-Sacken, who had arrived from Odessa with reinforcements, was at the head of the troops in Sebastopol.

Before January ended, the French—who had at least 30,000 more effective men in camp than the British—took the service of the guards and outposts before Inkermann, occupying the ground to the right of the English lines, which extended from the Careening Bay ravine to the head of the harbour. On that spot a brigade of the first French corps was encamped; and a duty which required 1,600 men daily, was, from that time, performed by our allies—a great relief to the over-worked British troops. The French also rendered considerable assistance in getting the British sick down to Balaklava, from whence, when the hospitals were full, they were sent to Scutari. Towards the close of the month, the French received another very large reinforcement in the shape of a whole division of infantry of the line, mustering upwards of 10,000 fresh troops. A portion of the *Garde Impériale* also appeared on the plateau, 800 having arrived in Kamiesch Bay, in the *Ripon*, English steam transport.

The siege made no progress during the month of January; and the only overt acts were sorties of the garrison in the nights of the 6th, the 7th, the 12th, the 14th, the 19th, the 20th, and the 31st. These were all made on the French side, except that of the 6th, when the English were attacked; and of the 12th, when parties assailed both the English and French positions. These sorties were repulsed; the most vigorous and destructive being that of the 31st. On that night the

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Brother to Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, the diplomatist.

enemy took the French pickets by surprise, capturing one officer and seventeen men. They then got into a covered way, which the French were constructing, to connect with their own works a three-gun battery, placed by the English on a spur of the ravine which runs into Artillery Bay. There a furious hand-to-hand fight took place for twenty minutes, and ended in the repulse of the foe, who carried off all their dead and wounded. Besides those made prisoners, the French, in this affair, had five officers and forty-one men put *hors de combat*.

The enemies of Russia were increased during the first month of the year. The king of Sardinia—who, with his minister Cavour, at that time entertained the desire with respect to Italy, which he afterwards entirely realised—thought the most likely means of gratifying his ambition would be, to acquire the firm friendship of Great Britain and France, and to procure admission for his kingdom into the class of European powers to whom the smaller states look to settle disputed questions, and to preserve the equilibrium of the continent. He, therefore, made advances to the courts of London and Paris; and requested to be admitted into their alliance against Russia, under the 4th clause of the treaty of April 10th, 1854.* His request was granted; and, by a treaty between Great Britain and France on the one side, and Sardinia on the other, Victor Emmanuel agreed to furnish a contingent of 15,000 men to join the allies in the Crimea. A supplementary convention was added on the 26th of January, by which it was arranged that the Sardinian troops should be conveyed to the Crimea in British transports; and that the queen of England should with the consent of her parliament, advance a loan to the Sardinian monarch, of £1,000,000, at 4 per cent.; 1 per cent. to be appropriated as a sinking-fund.—A convention was also signed, on the 3rd of February, between the queen of England and the sultan of Turkey, by which her majesty engaged to take into her pay, 25,000 regular, and 5,000 irregular, Turkish troops, to serve under the command of British generals; and, at the end of the war, to be placed at the disposal of the Turkish government.

Early in February, Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown returned to the camp,

* See *ante*, p. 16.

with his wound healed, and in excellent health, and he immediately resumed the command of his division. General Sir H. Jones, R.E., also arrived from England, to take the superintendance of the royal engineers; the presence of Sir J. Burgoyne being required at home as inspector-general of fortifications: and General Niel landed in Kamiesch Bay, having been sent, by the French emperor, to examine the siegeworks, and to report to his majesty upon their efficiency. His arrival produced a change as to the principal point of attack. Lord Raglan and Sir John Burgoyne had always been of opinion that the Malakoff was the key of Sebastopol; but General Bizot, who was at the head of the French engineers, decided that the *Bastion du Mat*, or the Flagstaff Battery, was the vulnerable point. General Niel agreed with the English officers; and, on the 8th, a new attack, between the Malakoff Tower and the harbour, was commenced by the French, who broke ground on the right of the second parallel of the English right attack. Two heavy batteries, of eight and fifteen guns, were constructed, and armed, at first, with English ordnance, being manned by the royal artillery, French infantry guarding the trenches, which were converted into a regular parallel, the most advanced overlooking the Careening Bay. The French troops first encamped in this position on the 15th of February. General Niel then went to Constantinople, where he received an order from the emperor to return to the Crimea, and assume the charge of the siege operations, without taking the actual command of the engineers from General Bizot. He arrived again on the plateau before the end of the month.

On the 13th of February, Lord Raglan received a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, announcing the recall of Earl Lucan, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry. The noble earl objected to the passage in Lord Raglan's despatch giving an account of the battle of Balaklava, in which he was charged with having misconceived the instruction to advance. He wrote a letter to Lord Raglan, remonstrating with him upon the subject; and as he refused to withdraw that letter, on his lordship's request, it was forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle. His grace, thinking it incompatible with military discipline to retain a lieutenant-general in an important military command, who had thought pro-

per to censure the judgment of his commander-in-chief, recalled the noble earl; and he was succeeded in the command of the cavalry by the senior officer.

On the 17th of February, the most important military event of the first two months of the year, took place at Eupatoria. A part of the Turkish army—about 16,000 in number—had been conveyed to that port, from Varna, in English transports, between December 20th and 31st, 1854. They were commanded by Omar Pasha, who, on the 5th of January, proceeded to the plateau of Sebastopol, to hold a conference with Lord Raglan. The result was, that the Turkish commander engaged, if transports were furnished, to send 20,000 or 30,000 more Turkish troops to the Crimea. The pasha left the English head-quarters on the 6th, to return to Eupatoria, where his presence was very unpleasant to the Russians, who were well aware of his energy, activity, and military talents. No attempt was made to dislodge him, however, till the middle of February. On the 15th, several large bodies of troops were seen moving along the north shore of the Sasik Putrid Lake, a short distance from Eupatoria. They appeared to come from the eastward; and the movement caused Omar Pasha to put the garrison on the alert. All was still, however, on that day and the 16th; but on the 17th, the enemy, under General Chrulleff, advanced in great force early in the morning, and when about 1,200 yards from the walls, opened a heavy fire of artillery, which was continued for some time; then the guns were pushed forward to a small crown-work, erecting in front of the mills to the north-east of the town, at a distance of 800 yards. Under the fire from these guns—sixty of which, some of them 32-pounders, were firing at one time—the infantry advanced to the attack, having formed under cover of a wall about 600 yards from the right of the town, and made their assault about half-past nine o'clock.* They were received with great firmness by the Turks, who “showed that the character they acquired on the Danube was well-merited, and remained unimpaired;”† and a rocket party, which was landed from the English frigate *Furious*, rendered great assistance. The *Valorous*, one of the Eng-

lish ships off the port, completely covered the left of the defenders; and the *Viper* gun-boat took up a flanking position on the right. A French detachment in the town joined in the defence. The engagement was a brief one. The fire on both sides, while it continued, was kept up with great vigour and rapidity; but as the Russians made no impression upon the defences of the town, they retired, leaving from 150 to 200 dead on the field, with a number of horses. The loss of the garrison was—Turks, ninety-seven killed; 277 wounded: French, four killed; nine wounded: and of the Tartar population, thirteen were killed, and eleven wounded. Omar Pasha immediately took measures to improve the defences of Eupatoria, raising the parapets, and placing twelve or fourteen more guns in position.‡

In the afternoon of the 18th of February, a council of war of the allied generals was held at the English head-quarters, on the plateau of Sebastopol; at which it was resolved, that a force of 12,000 French, under General Bosquet, and 3,000 English troops, under Sir Colin Campbell, should, early on the morning of the 20th, attack the Russian force near Tchorgouna, consisting, said deserters, of about 7,000 men, and a complete field battery of eight guns. It was determined to send so large a force from the hope that the enemy would surrender to such superior numbers, and thus prevent the unnecessary sacrifice of life.§ The arrangements were all made, Sir Colin Campbell being to take with him the Highland brigade, the 14th and 71st regiments, 300 cavalry, one battery, and a troop of horse artillery; in all, about 3,600 men. Sir Colin had them ready at the appointed time; and although snow had begun to fall, and the cold was intense, the force marched at 2 A.M. on the 20th, from the village of Kadikoi, to an eminence overlooking the village of Tchorgouna, and the valley of Baidar beyond. Though it was very dark, and the snow blew in their faces all the way, the troops reached the appointed spot at 5 A.M. But it was only to wait four hours, that severe winter morning, doing nothing. General Bosquet, who had mustered his troops, and reached the plain of Balaklava with them, thought the weather too cold to proceed, and re-

* Despatch of Brevet-major Simmons (English commissioner to Omar Pasha) to Lord Raglan, February 17^h.

† Despatch of Lord Raglan, February 20th.

‡ Major Simmons' despatch.

§ Letters from Head-quarters.

turned to his camp. He sent a messenger to inform Sir Colin Campbell of his determination; but he missed his way, and it was nine o'clock before the English commander received an order from Lord Raglan to return to his camp, which he reached about an hour after. Several of his men had to go into the hospital from frost-bites; and general disgust was felt at Bosquet's conduct, as, if he had carried out the arrangement—and Sir Colin's men being exposed nearly eight hours, shows that it was quite possible to do so—no doubt that the Russian force on the Tchernaya would have been entirely broken up.*

In the night of the 22nd of February, an immense working party of the Russians commenced throwing up a redoubt on Mount Sapoune, in advance of the left flank of the fortifications of Sebastopol, and in front of the extreme right of the parallel of the new French advance. It was at first called the Selenghinsk redoubt, from the name of the regiment principally employed in its construction; and was intended, most probably, to take in reverse the batteries of that attack. General Canrobert and General Bizot, having reconnoitred this work on the 23rd, came to the decision, that it must, at all hazards, be destroyed. That night it was attacked by a pretty numerous corps of regiments of the line, Zouaves and marines, under Generals Mayran and de Monet. Chiefly from the bad conduct of the infantry and marines, the attack failed: the Zouaves, who fought bravely, having nineteen officers, and 284 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed, wounded, and missing, retired; and the battery remained in the hands of the enemy. The casualties in the other battalions were estimated at about fifty. The Zouaves laid all the fault on the marines; and one of them expressing his indignation—an indignation generally felt by his comrades—at "*Ces sacrés ma'elots,*" added—"Ah! if we had had a few hundred of you English, we should have done the trick; but these marines—bah!"† Lord Raglan, the next day, strongly urged General Canrobert to renew the attack, and offered him the co-operation of English troops. As it was a French affair, the general declined this offer: but he said the redoubt should be attacked that night; and 10,000 men were sent into the trenches at Inker-

mann for that purpose. No attack was, however, made; and the enemy not only completed this formidable earthwork, but threw up another in its rear, supporting it.‡ Both were armed with heavy guns, and did good service to the besieged for some time subsequently. This last erected redoubt was called by the Russians, the Volhynia; but the French called the two, and a third which was ultimately connected with them, *Les Ouvrages Blancs*, or the White Works; and by that name they were known to the allies.

In the first two months of the year, the besiegers made little progress in their task of subduing Sebastopol; but the French, by taking up the position on the Inkermann heights, had rendered more effective the extreme right of the attack; the works, offensive and defensive, which they constructed in that position, being of great strength, and so placed as to command several of the salient points of the enemy's defences. The English also erected a six-gun battery on the left attack; and a new three-gun battery for firing on the Russian ships at the head of the harbour, whose shot and shell were very annoying to the stragglers from the camp. At this time, General Canrobert was by no means sanguine as to the result. He thought the Russian works on the Inkermann and Karabelnaia side of Sebastopol to be so strong, as to render their conquest extremely difficult, if not impracticable; and, on the 3rd of March, he laid a formal proposal before Lord Raglan, to send for Omar Pasha, and 20,000 Turks, who, he thought, could be employed more advantageously at Sebastopol than at Eupatoria. By their assistance the north side of the harbour might be invested, as well as the south; and thus all supplies would be cut off from the enemy. Lord Raglan summoned a council of officers to consider this proposal. It consisted of his lordship, Sir John Burgoyne, Sir George Brown, and Sir H. Jones; and the French generals Canrobert, Bizot, Bosquet, and Niel. They met on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of March, and entered into a minute investigation of the question in all its bearings. The result was, that the proposal to invest the north side of the harbour was rejected; but it was resolved to send for Omar Pasha, and to arrange with him for the arrival of a Turkish contingent, to share in the duties

* Letters from Head-quarters. † W. H. Russell.

‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

of the siege.—General Pelissier had arrived from Algiers on the 1st of March, and taken the command of the French 1st division: he was not, however, summoned to these councils, though it was known he stood high in the emperor's confidence.

Before the council broke up on the 6th, Lord Raglan received a telegraphic despatch from Lord John Russell, dated the 2nd; informing him that the emperor of Russia had died that day, at ten minutes past twelve o'clock. The intelligence, doubted by some—but creating considerable excitement in the minds of all—was true. His majesty had been attacked by the "grippe," or influenza, about the 14th of February; and the symptoms of that disease were increased by his persisting to inspect the guards on the 22nd, in opposition to the advice of his physicians. A day or two after, intelligence of the repulse of his troops before Eupatoria reached him, and he never rallied after. He died on the day, and at the hour, mentioned in Lord John Russell's despatch.—It was at first expected that this event would cause a change in the Russian policy, and probably occasion a panic in Sebastopol which the allies might take advantage of. Alexander, however, issued manifestoes to the people and the army, which showed that, for the present, at all events, he meant to follow in the steps of his father; and no change was visible in the "beleaguered city," as Sebastopol was called.—On the 7th of March, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael left Sebastopol, having received intelligence, no doubt, of the death of the czar; although, on the 10th, when Lord Raglan—having received a confirmation, on the 9th, of the intelligence contained in the previous despatch—sent a messenger, bearing a flag of truce, with the news to Sebastopol, the garrison was unaware of the melancholy event, and did not, it was evident, credit it. It was reported, some days after, that Prince Mentschikoff was dead from the effects of a wound, and also the Russian admiral Yermiloff. The last report was true; but the prince recovered. He, however, left the Crimea for Cronstadt, and was succeeded in the chief command in the peninsula by Prince Michael Gortschakoff, who took up his residence at Sebastopol; General Osten-Sacken commanding the armies in the field, outside the city, where he felt the utmost confidence, he said, that his position was impregnable.

At this time the English troops were much more lively than they had ever been since their arrival in the Crimea. They had a variety of amusements; amongst others, races—the first meeting being held on the 5th of March. These races "were got up chiefly by officers of the cavalry, and took place near their camp—of course the quadrupeds being either chargers or baggage ponies. The variety of costume, both in riders and spectators, was very striking:"* most of the former were officer amateurs. The sports "lasted through the greater part of the day; and the garrison of Sebastopol was moved to unusual alertness by the shouting of the soldiers, and fired repeatedly, though without doing any damage of note."† There was also a "grand spring meeting" on St. Patrick's day, got up by the 4th division; which occasioned a considerable amount of fun and merriment, and again caused the enemy to become diffuse in his distribution of shot and shells. They "were, however, in keeping with the rest of the scene, which was characteristic of the life and amusements of an army in the field. The spectators were soldiers, camp-followers, and fatigue-parties, leading up long strings of commissariat mules, laden with hay, rum, fresh meat, &c.; and the *élite* of the company were officers, clad in all the heterogeneous garments intended for winter clothing."‡

Amusement was not the standing "order of the day" in the English camp; it was only resorted to as an occasional relief. The men were busily employed, besides attending to their guns, in enlarging the old works, and constructing new ones; and a considerable number of cannon, and large quantities of ammunition, were landed at Balaklava in the months of February and March, and conveyed, as quick as possible, to the camp.—The railway was also commenced. Early in February, about 250 "navvies"—as the workmen on railways are popularly called—landed at Balaklava, who had come from England to construct the road: and they commenced their labours by erecting a large wharf, for the more convenient landing of the very heavy materials required for the work, which was carried on with great alacrity. While the men were thus employed, the commanders—

* Dr. Frederick Robinson's *Diary of the Crimean War*.

† Letter from a spectator.

‡ *The Past Campaign*.

in-chief, aided by the engineers, were constantly reconnoitring the enemy's works, for the purpose of ascertaining how they could be assailed with the best chance of success. As they became better acquainted with those works, it appeared evident to many officers, that the operations against Sebastopol could not take the character of a regular siege, from the nature of the defences, which were extended on all sides of the town and harbour. They had been, since the siege commenced, improved and strengthened, under the direction of a captain of engineers, named Todleben, who was born at Mitau, in Courland, in 1818; and when the allies set down before Sebastopol—when all was confusion and alarm, the Russian generals being at a loss to know what measures to adopt, whilst the engineers said it would take two months to put the place in a state of defence—this officer declared that he would execute the works immediately necessary in two weeks, if he had the number of men he required. Prince Mentschikoff ordered him to undertake the duty; and he completed his first plans in twelve days: he was then elevated to the rank of colonel; the direction of the engineering department was placed in his hands, with unlimited powers; and, under his superintendence, all the new redoubts and batteries sprang up on the south side, which had such a formidable appearance, and occasioned so much loss and trouble to the allies. The fortifications were carried round Sebastopol, from Arrow Bay on the north-west, to Mount Sapoune on the north-east. The only approach to a regular attack that could be made, was on the west—and there the French had carried on their works, and made their attack as regular as the ground permitted, on that part of the town which laid west of the inner harbour. But then came the Garden, the Flagstaff, and the Barrack batteries; the latter, "in its turn, being flanked by the Redan, which was supported by the Malakoff; and so on, in a sequence of as many links as the House which Jack built. Thus, in a regular attack, an advance on all these points was necessary; and thus was constituted, rather than one siege, a multitude of sieges."*

In the night of the 10th of March, the Russians began the construction of an additional redoubt. In front of the hill on which the Malakoff was built, and about

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

600 yards nearer the trenches of the allies, is another hill, which the French called the Mamelon Vert. Sir John Burgoyne wished the allies to have occupied this eminence; but it was generally considered to be too much exposed to the enemy's fire, to render it an eligible position. The enemy, however, thought it very eligible for them; and in the night above-mentioned, they began to construct that redoubt, known as the Mamelon, from the name of the hill on which it was placed. It was a great quadrangular fort, the sides being formed of enormous parapets, with a steep slope. It had, in the interior, numerous traverses, covers, and excavations; and only a small number of men could be arranged in it in anything like order. At one time thirty heavy guns were placed in it.—It was connected with the three batteries or redoubts already erected on Mount Sapoune, known as the *Ouvrages Blancs*, or White Works, from which a flanking fire could be kept up on the Mamelon, thus rendered almost invulnerable, unless those works could be attacked and captured with it.—Thus, as a writer in one of the papers of the day observed:—

"In this extraordinary siege, the order of things was inverted; and, instead of the besieging army working up to the walls of the town by regular approaches, the besieged garrison was found throwing out fresh works, which brought them closer to the lines of the allies; and the space between the two antagonists was progressively narrowed, not by our drawing nearer to the works of the enemy, but by the enemy advancing his works to meet those of the besiegers."

The Russians also constructed in front, and to the right and left of the Malakoff, and connected with the Mamelon, a number of pits or trenches, varying from 20 to 200 feet in length. In front were low gabions, filled with earth; on the top, sand-bags, with apertures, through which the riflemen who manned these trenches—all picked marksmen—could see their foe, and take their aim. These "rifle-pits," as they were called, were also constructed in connection with the Selenghinsk, and their other works. The small pits would not hold more than ten men: there were greater numbers in the larger pits; but they were always so manned, that there was room for the occupants to be constantly moving about, so that no one knew where they were. The pits near the Mamelon commanded the right of the British advance, and the entire line of the French position on Inkermann; and the continued fusillade kept up by the occu-

pants against every living object seen in the allied trenches, was a great annoyance, and occasioned the loss of many men.

With the Mamelon, and with most of their works, the Russians connected *fougasses*, or small mines, that exploded with a touch of the foot. They were composed of a strong case, filled with powder and an explosive mixture, having a thin tin or lead tube attached to it, several feet in length: in the upper end of this tube, another, of thin glass, was enclosed, containing sulphuric or nitric acid. This case was sunk in the earth, leaving a small portion of the tube above the surface, but concealed by the grass, or covered with a stone. Pressure upon the exposed end bent the tin tube, broke the glass one, and caused an explosion by the escape of the acid, and its admixture with a few grains of chlorate of potash. This explosion destroyed everything in the vicinity of the case, and also threw out a quantity of bitumen in a state of ignition, which burned whatever it rested upon. The spots where these *fougasses* were placed, were marked by a small flag, which was removed as the enemy advanced.*

The construction of these new works of offence and defence by the Russians, rendered it necessary that the allies should strengthen their positions; and measures for that purpose were immediately taken. The English added two batteries to their right attack; and a parallel was constructed for the purpose of connecting the advanced portion of that position with the French Inkermann attacks.—The work was commenced on their part, by the English, in the night of the 11th, and by the French in that of the 12th, of March. "In consequence of the difficulty of working in a rocky soil, it took several nights before the trench could be completed, as during the day it was impossible to work at it, on account of the fire kept up by the enemy's sharpshooters in their rifle-pits," some of which were constructed on the first night. "When finished, it afforded a tolerable cover between the two attacks."†

In pursuance of the decision come to by the councils of war, held at the beginning of the month, Lord Raglan despatched a messenger to Omar Pasha, with a request from his lordship and General Canrobert, that he would give them the meeting at

* W. H. Russell.

the English head-quarters. He arrived on the 12th of March; and, on the same day, a council of war was held of the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies, the two admirals of the fleets, and the Turkish pasha. The object was, to obtain a further reinforcement of Turkish troops to relieve the allies of some of the siege-works; and it was arranged, that "a division of about 12,000 Egyptian soldiers, then at Constantinople, should immediately be brought up to Eupatoria; and, on its arrival there, Omar Pasha should embark with 20,000 men, and land them at Kamiesch, for the purpose of co-operating with the allies."‡ Only 14,000, however, arrived; 9,000 under Ismail Pasha, on the 7th, and 5,000 under Omar Pasha, on the 8th of April. They remained on the plateau for about three weeks; and, in the beginning of May, 9,000, under Omar Pasha, marched from Kamiesch to the plain of Balaklava, and encamped on the heights above the ruined village of Kamara. The remainder, under Ismail Pasha, joined the force under Sir Colin Campbell, at Balaklava.

The chief military events of March, were the attacks made by the French on the rifle-pits in the vicinity of the Mamelon; two of the most important being in the night of the 17th, and the 22nd. On the former occasion, soon after six o'clock, there was such a continuous rattle of musketry, and roar of cannon, that the alarm spread through the English camp, of an attack being made along the entire line from the garrison. The assembly was, in consequence, sounded in the 4th and light divisions, by order of Sir John Campbell and Sir George Brown; and the men were soon under arms. It was then ascertained that the French on the Inkermann heights were attacking the rifle-pits in their front, which they had endeavoured to take on the night of the 14th, and failed; the Russians, after being driven out, having returned, strongly reinforced, and, in their turn, expelled the assailants. In the night of the 17th, the fighting continued for four hours and a-half, during which time the English were kept under arms, ready to afford assistance if required. Our allies captured five small rifle-pits, but could not retain them; and they lost 150 men killed and wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

In the affair of the 22nd, both English and French were engaged. In the morn-

† Letters from Head-quarters

‡ *Ibid.*

ing, the French troops in the advanced parallel moved forward, and drove the enemy out of the rifle-pits in their immediate front. Nothing more of importance occurred during the day; but, early in the night, the Russians sallied from Sebastopol in great force, and made a serious attack upon the French works, in front of a redoubt they had recently erected opposite the Mamelon, and called the Victoria Redoubt;* and also upon the English lines in that vicinity. Failing in their previous attempts to carry the pits, the French "had decided upon a novel experiment against works of so small a nature—viz., that of making a flying sap, by means of which they hoped to be able to take several of the enemy's rifle-pits in reverse."† The Russians appear to have been aware of this movement; and one of their objects in the attack on the 22nd, was to destroy this sap. They began collecting troops in the Mamelon, in the rifle-pits, and in the Karabelnaia ravine, soon after dark; and a heavy fire was commenced on the French advanced trenches. Our allies had been apprised by their sentries that troops were gathering on the points mentioned, and had prepared for an attack by concentrating upwards of 8,000 men in and near the threatened positions. In the English trenches there were only the usual guards, and two working parties, engaged in constructing new batteries on the extreme left of each of the English attacks.

"It was shortly after 11 P.M. that the enemy advanced in great force, and assaulted the head of the French sap, at the same time falling upon their parallel in two different places, from both flanks of the Mamelon. Our allies, after a gallant resistance, were forced to relinquish their parallel. It was, however, but for a moment, as they were immediately led back, and drove the enemy again over the parapet. Three several times did the Russians come on, and endeavour to take the French parallel; but they were always met with such steady determination, and so heavy a fire from the Zouaves who occupied it, that their energy was unavailing; and, finally, after upwards of an hour's fighting, they retired, having been totally unsuccessful in their attempt to destroy the French sap; and, with the exception of upsetting a few gabions at its head, did no further damage. On the other hand, our allies, in the last repulse of the enemy, levelled several of the rifle-pits which had caused them so much annoyance."‡

The attack on the English lines was made by a portion of the column which

* Lord Raglan's despatch, March 24th.

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Lord Raglan's despatch.

had been collected in the Karabelnaia ravine, that runs between the hill on which the Malakoff stood, and the English right attack. The Russians passed along the new parallel of the French, and in rear of it, till they came in contact with detachments of the English 77th and 97th regiments, forming part of the guard of the trenches which extended into the ravine. Those troops were taken suddenly in flank and rear, but "behaved with the utmost gallantry and coolness." The detachment of the 97th, under the command of Captain Hedley Vicars, which was on the extreme right, "first came in contact with the enemy, and received the attack at the point of the bayonet." Unfortunately, Captain Vicars, after knocking over two Russians, and while charging at the head of his men, shouting, "This way, 97th!" received his death wound. A detachment of the 77th, under Major Gordon, R.E., came up at this moment; and the corps, though outnumbered considerably by the enemy, drove them out of the parallel.

"The attention of the troops in our advanced works, having been, by these transactions, drawn to the right, the enemy took occasion to move upon, and succeeded in penetrating into, the left front of our right attack, near the battery where two 10-inch mortars had recently been placed. They advanced along the works until they were met by a detachment of the 7th and 34th regiments, which had been at work in the neighbourhood, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the royal engineers, who promptly made them stand to their arms, and led them, with the greatest determination and steadiness, against the enemy, who were speedily ejected from the works, and fairly pitched over the parapet, with but little or no firing on our part. Captain the Hon. Cavendish Browne, of the 7th, and Lieutenant W. W. Jordan, of the 34th, were unfortunately killed in this attack."§

The Russians made another attempt on the English lines upon the extreme left, where the workmen were employed upon some advanced batteries, which were not, at that time, armed. They slightly wounded and took prisoner Captain Montague, R.E., who was superintending the works; but Captain Chapman, of the 20th regiment, acting engineer, rallied the working-parties, who gallantly charged the enemy, and drove him out of the works. This was the last attempt of the Russians, and they made the best of their way back to the town, leaving several hundred dead behind them, besides those which they carried off.—The following is a return of

the loss sustained by the English and French:—

		Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
English.	{ Officers .	3	3	2	85
	{ Privates .	18	48	11	
French.	{ Officers .	13	12	4	642
	{ Privates .	169	361	83	
Grand Total . . .					727

There was a truce of three hours on the 24th, when the dead were buried, and the army interchanged friendly civilities. At those times, officers and privates of the different nations saluted each other more like friends than enemies; and, on this occasion, in the midst of the stern evidence of war, produced by the scenes around them, "a certain amount of lively conversation sprang up, in which the Russian officers indulged in a little badinage."*

Before the month of March—which had been very favourable for siege operations—expired, the Russians had, besides the Mamelon, "thrown up two new redoubts, one opposite the left, another on the flank of the right attack;" had "regularly connected and entrenched their remaining rifle-pits, and in one of them had mounted a heavy gun in advance of the Round Tower. In fact, they had made a parallel towards the English works, and were gradually approaching the French right attack towards Inkermann."† There was a constant interchange of shot and shell between the town and the camp, but no regular bombardment on either side. The night attacks were frequent; and they were very "harassing to the men in the trenches, though they did not occasion the loss of life that might have been expected from the desperate fusillades which so frequently ensued. The quantity of ammunition consumed each night in the trenches was prodigious."‡ Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe, writing on the 20th of March, told his correspondent, that he "understood, during the last week, in the two English attacks alone, there had been an expenditure of 35,000 rounds of ball-cartridge every twenty-four hours!"

In the second week in March, Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch arrived at Balaklava, as royal commissioners, to inquire into and investigate the arrangements and conduct of the commissariat. General Simpson arrived at the same time.

* W. H. Russell.

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ Dr. F. Robertson's *Diary.*

† *Ibid.*

He came to the Crimea to take the appointment of chief of the staff; and joining head-quarters on the 16th, he entered on the duties of his office on the 19th. On the 20th, Sir John Burgoyne left Balaklava for England. At that port Colonel Hardingham had been appointed commandant; and Captain Heath had superseded Captain Christie in the superintendence of the transport service. The latter officer was ordered to appear before a court-martial, having been most unjustly charged as being the cause of the loss of the *Prince* and *Resolute*, in the storm of the 14th of November. He died before the time appointed for the court to be held.

The town and harbour of Balaklava had been greatly improved since the arrival of Admiral Boxer as harbour-master. The extremity of the latter had become a foul swamp: this was rendered firm by putting in stones and gravel; and a quay was constructed, which not only checked the waves from rolling up on the shore, but afforded great facilities for loading and unloading the vessels. The rocks on the side of the harbour were blown up, so as to enable the men to construct a broad road, which wound under those rocks, from the sea to the plain of Balaklava. In the centre of this road a railway was laid down, from the sea to the main line at the head of the harbour. Jetties were also constructed for vessels to be moored alongside, and where they could discharge their cargo with ease. Not one of the least of the gallant admiral's reforms, was the establishment of a harbour police, which did its duty admirably, and effectually preserved order.—The town was as much improved as the harbour; a number of houses being pulled down where the streets were most crowded, and neat wooden huts and sheds springing up over their ruins. An hotel was also announced to be opened by "Mrs. Seacole, of Jamaica." "At Kadikoi, there had sprung up quite a small town of huts, where every ordinary want, and some few luxuries, were supplied: even a '*restaurant*' was established. Books, too (railway publications, chiefly), were procurable there. A number of shops were fitted up: the stalls in the open air, kept by Maltese chiefly, were also very numerous."§—A Convalescent Hospital was also erected on the Balaklava heights, close to the Genoese castle. It consisted of thirty large huts, capable of accommodating near 400 men.

which were sent from England for the purpose. Many of the huts erected on the plateau were also used for hospitals; and thus, though there were 700 of these edifices—and both comfortable and commodious they were—capable of holding 17,500 men, not above 14,000 were accommodated in them. The French had 270 huts, most of which were appropriated to the *état-majors*, or used as military offices.

By the end of March, telegraph communication was established throughout the camp. It commenced at Lord Raglan's head-quarters, and from thence passed to the extremities of the right and left attacks, and to Sir Colin Campbell's head-quarters at Kadikoi. The submarine telegraph was extended to the peninsula in April, the end of the wire being landed near the monastery of St. George on the 12th. It was brought in a direct line across the Black Sea from Cape Kalagria, thirty miles north of Varna, and completed the telegraphic communication with England, with the exception of the comparatively few miles between Giurgevo and Varna. The line was carried between these two places before the middle of May; but, previously, it only required about thirty hours to communicate with England.

The railway works had been actively carried on during the month of March, and they were completed the first week in April, the passenger-trains starting on the 6th of that month; when, unfortunately, an accident occurred on going down an incline, from the insufficiency of the breaks, and two lives were lost. The line "was constructed on an inclined plane, intervening for about the distance of a mile before the heights in front of Sebastopol. An even surface of three or four miles then extended to the divisions in front. The course of the line was very serpentine, every inclination being avoided as much as practicable."* It terminated on the plateau, near Lord Raglan's head-quarters, where a *depôt* and station were established. Its direction was placed in the hands of Colonel M'Murdo, who had organised a land transport corps, which worked with great success.

The completion of the railway made a wonderful change in the camps. Asiatics, Greeks, and Turks were brought to Balaklava, and used as labourers; ammunition,

which arrived in large quantities, was conveyed to the plateau in the cars, instead of having to be carried by hand; the same by stores, provisions, and every necessary. During the spring, heavy field artillery had been transmitted from England; and, as soon as the guns and mortars arrived at Balaklava, they were conveyed to the front, and placed in the batteries: the English were even enabled to lend some to their allies. Thus, by Easter Monday (April the 9th), the day when the bombardment reopened, the allies had effected great improvements in, and made considerable additions to, their works. "The old batteries, both English and French, had been strengthened and repaired. Ordnance had been replaced. Besides the two batteries commenced early in March, a six-gun battery was completed in the advanced trench, to compete with the flanking works of the Redan; and three French and one English battery were constructed on the Inkermann heights, to command the Careening Creek and the Little Redan. These works were on the right. On the left, the French pushed their trenches close under the Flagstaff Battery; and several heavy batteries had been erected."† Thus there was opposed to the enemy a formidable array of nearly 400 cannon, and 100 mortars; the batteries and other works forming an immense semicircle, whose two points were at Streletska, or Arrow Bay, and at Inkermann.‡

The construction of this railway—the idea of which emanated from the Duke of Newcastle—was an act of patriotism which deserves a permanent record. His grace applied to the eminent firm of railway contractors, Peto and Betts; and those gentlemen "cheerfully undertook to make all the arrangements for carrying his grace's views into execution, on the understanding that the work should be considered national, and that they should be permitted to execute it without any charge for profit."§ On those terms it was executed, all the resources of the firm being placed at the disposal of her majesty's government. The contractors—

"Fitted out transports with the stores necessary for the construction of the railway; employed and equipped hundreds of men to execute the works; provided a commissariat expressly for their use; engaged medical officers to attend to their health;

* Robertson's *Diary*.

† *The Past Campaign*.

‡ See the Plan.

§ Letter from Sir S. M. Peto, in the *Times*.

and placed the whole service under the direction of the most experienced agents on their staff. These important preliminaries were arranged so effectually, and with so much despatch, that the emperor of the French sent an agent to this country, to instruct himself as to the mode in which they equipped the expedition."*

The engagement into which Messrs. Peto and Betts entered, was performed to the letter; they did not profit by the undertaking to the extent of a single shilling. The works were conducted under the superintendence of their agent, Mr. Beattie, whose "labours were so arduous, and his efforts so untiring, that he died of fatigue six weeks after the completion of the work—a victim absolutely to his unparalleled exertions."† His widow, the daughter of an estimable clergyman in the north of Ireland,

is the only one connected with the firm that profited, pecuniarily, by the work. Her majesty's government granted this lady a pension of the same amount as would be granted to "the widow of a colonel falling in the field."—Mr. Peto was, when he signed the contract, one of the representatives in the House of Commons for the city of Norwich. As a government contractor he was obliged to resign his seat: soon after her majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. We record these facts, as it is seldom that a work of such magnitude has been so undertaken and carried out: indeed, we believe the proceeding is *unique*; and it is one which entitles the members of the firm to the gratitude of their country.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BALAKLAVA VALLEY; THE MONASTERY OF ST. GEORGE; DR. HALL'S REPORT; SECOND BOMBARDMENT; REFUSAL OF GENERAL CANROBERT TO ASSAULT SEBASTOPOL; EXPEDITION TO KERTCH; ITS RECALL; EVENTS EARLY IN MAY; RESIGNATION OF GENERAL CANROBERT; GENERAL PELISSIER, THE NEW COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH; CAPTURE OF THE CEMETERY; EXPEDITION TO KERTCH AND THE SEA OF AZOFF; EXTENSION OF THE ALLIED POSITIONS; CASUALTIES IN THE ARMY FROM JANUARY 1ST TO MAY 31ST.

WHEN the spring of 1855 was passing away, and the allies had completed their camping works on the plateau, and in the Balaklava valley, the face of the country was essentially changed. One of the medical men of the army, writing to a friend on Easter Sunday (April 8th), says—

"In attending service to-day, I had occasion to cross over the valley leading into Balaklava, for the first time since encamping there on the day of our arrival. A greater change in the aspect of the site it is impossible to conceive. In the place of an orchard and garden, abounding with every fruit and vegetable, sheltered with hedges, poplars, &c., cottages with farms, haystacks, and vineyards, there is now a level surface, devoid of everything I have mentioned except a few roots of trees, and gooseberry bushes; the latter being, apparently, too hardy to be destroyed by the devastating process. The brook is now a series of vile muddy pools, at which some correspondingly dirty Turks perform ablutions; whilst a number of buffaloes (imported, I suppose, from Bulgaria, and employed as draught animals) were grazing adjacent, reminding one—

the more so, from the absence of hair in various parts—of rare quadrupeds in zoological gardens."‡

On the plateau the change had been as great. Everything that interfered with the tents and the works had been swept away; and—

"The monastery of St. George, which is very picturesquely situated, was almost the only edifice within the range of the camp which had been respected. It consisted merely of a few plain buildings, and a couple of small chapels; but it had a noble well, and a fountain of the coldest and most delicious spring water. The ground immediately in front was arranged in small terraces, shaded by trees, overlooking the perpendicular cliffs, and the blue sea. In the neighbourhood, a sanatorium was established for sick officers and soldiers, and a few Russian monks resided in the monastery. The French, gay everywhere, delighted to have there their little *pic-nics*, occasionally enlivened by the presence of some *piquante brunette*, the wife of an officer of the navy or army; and "a party was often seen sitting on the ground, around the relics of a feast, singing, and drinking champagne. It was certainly a contrast to 'life in the trenches.'"§

* Letter of Sir S. M. Peto.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Robinson's *Diary*. § *Canada and the Crimea*.

When April commenced, the preparations for a renewed bombardment left neither officers nor men in either army much time for amusement, as the services of all were required. The improved condition of the men in the English camps, caused their services to be cheerfully rendered. At that time the troops had many increased comforts. Their rations were good and abundant; they were well clothed; and due attention was paid to the sanitary condition of the different camps. Indeed, so far as the physical wants of the men were concerned, the force was as well provided for as any army could reasonably expect to be, when employed on active service in the field.*

The enemy was also observed to be very active as the spring progressed. Battalions and considerable convoys had entered the town, and other bodies of troops were seen to leave it on the north side. The garrison was constantly engaged in adding to the works, and particularly in connecting the rifle-pits in the immediate front of the English right attack. As the latter pressed forward, the fire upon their advance unfortunately occasioned more loss than they had sustained since the sortie of the 22nd; † whilst the "working parties occasionally came in contact, and bloody *rencontres* in the trenches were not unfrequent."—One of the latter, in the night of the 4th, was, for the time, a fierce battle. The Russians, in numbers superior to the British, met the latter in front of the right attack; and, after fighting some time, were driven back with the loss of 150 killed and wounded. The English lost one officer, Lieutenant "Inkermann" Jones, of the 7th, and thirty-seven privates, killed and wounded.—The French, during this time, also "suffered severe loss, especially in their Inkermann attacks, from the fire of the Mamelon and the Russian rifle-pits in its front." ‡

The English were ready to open their fire on the town on the 3rd of April; but the French were not: then the 5th was fixed for the commencement of a general bombardment; but it was, at the request of General Canrobert, postponed till the 9th. On that morning, soon after day-break, the "second bombardment" was opened from 303 guns in the French attack

on the left; 109 in the English attacks; and fifty-two in the French attack on the right—being a total of 464. The Russians were taken quite by surprise, and at least 2,000 shot and shell were thrown into the town before they made any return. The weather was extremely unpropitious, much rain having fallen in the course of the night. The trenches were extremely muddy, adding greatly to the labour of the men employed in the batteries, consisting chiefly of sailors, artillerymen, and sappers. They performed their duties, however, admirably; § and the fire from the Sailors' Battery, under the orders of Captain Peel, was very effective.

The arrangements for maintaining the fire were much better at this period than formerly. "Caves in the ravine, close to Chapman's battery, formed capacious and secure magazines, from whence ammunition was drawn, as required for the smaller ones in the batteries, the explosion of which would consequently be of comparatively little importance. The parapets had been heightened and strengthened, and bomb-proof chambers had been constructed in rear of them, to which wounded men were conveyed, and their hurts attended to in security. The guards of the trenches were no longer stationed in the batteries, which were exclusively occupied by artillerymen, but lined the parallels;" || and thus the casualties amongst that part of the army were greatly reduced.

The fire of the British artillery was chiefly directed against the Garden and the Barrack batteries, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakoff. The works on the west of Sebastopol, the Flagstaff Battery, and the right flank and front of the Garden Battery, were bombarded by the French from the plateau; and the Mamelon, the Little Redan, and the White Works, were attacked by them from the Inkermann heights. It was nearly noon before the Russians manned the whole of their guns; but, subsequently, they kept up a rapid fire, almost continuously with that of the allies. The bombardment was resumed on both sides on the 10th, when it was evident the Russians were not so unprepared as they were on the previous day. That day, the number of shots from each gun, in the English attack, was restricted to 120 rounds in the twenty-four

* Dr. Hall's Report to Lord Raglan, April 3rd, 1855.

† Lord Raglan's despatch, April 7th.

‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

§ Lord Raglan's despatch, April 10th.

|| Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

hours, the service-mortars firing only once in thirty minutes. Under those regulations the bombardment was continued till the 15th of April, the firing being frequently carried into the night from some part or other of the attack. There were the usual effects. Guns on both sides were disabled and replaced; injuries were inflicted on the works, and repaired; and many lives were lost. One of the killed was General Bizot, the chief of the French engineers. He was shot through the head, by a bullet fired from one of the enemy's rifle-pits, as he was passing, on the 11th of April, from the English right attack to the French Inkermann trenches. The wound caused his death shortly after.* His funeral took place on the 16th. It was attended by the French general officers off duty; and by Lord Raglan, Omar Pasha, and their staffs.

The Russians had constructed, near the Cemetery of the Quarantine Bay, a series of what were called ambuscades; which were "rather more than rifle-pits—being a sort of small quarries, probably where stone or rock had been taken out for building purposes."† Lined with riflemen, they were a great annoyance to the French, who, in the night of the 11th of April, attempted to dislodge them. At first they drove out the Russians, and commenced destroying the ambuscades; but soon the enemy returned in numbers far exceeding the French, and, in their turn, compelled our allies to retreat. Firing was kept up till day began to break, when the French were obliged to regain their trenches, having lost 250 men killed and wounded.—On the 13th, the English, from a new battery of eight 8-inch guns, opened a very effective fire on the Malakoff; but the same day, an advanced 6-gun battery, in the left attack, in which a 32-pounder had been placed that morning, was completely silenced by the concentrated fire from the Garden and Barrack batteries and the Redan.—In the night of the 13th, the French renewed their attacks on the ambuscades; Generals Canrobert and Bosquet being determined they should be captured at any risk, as the riflemen sheltered in them daily shot so many men in the trenches. There were ten of these ambuscades in all; and the attack was made in two columns. One of 800 men attacked six ambuscades on the extreme left; and

the second, of 500 men, marched against the remaining four, which lay more to the right, and above the others. The Russians expected that the attack would be renewed, and had concentrated a considerable force upon the pits, which they defended with great gallantry. The firing was incessant; and the effect has been described, "as though all the constellations of heaven had settled on the earth, and were twinkling in flashes and flickering threads of fire in front of the Russian lines."‡ Before daylight the enemy was driven away from these works, which were occupied by the French, who had six officers killed, and eleven wounded; and 207 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded. Having gained the ambuscades, our allies turned and connected them together, forming a new advanced trench on the ground they had gained.

On the 15th, Lord Raglan ordered the discharges from each gun to be reduced to eighty rounds per day; and, in the night, the French exploded three mines which they had sprung between their advanced sap and the Flagstaff Battery. Only two took effect; and 300 volunteers immediately rushed into the breach; but, gallantly as they fought, they were unable to maintain their footing against the numbers and determined resistance of the Russians. The latter kept up a heavy fire all night on the batteries of the allies. They continued it during the next day; and about 2 P.M., a shot fell into the new eight-gun battery, and completely ruined it—the magazine exploding; and one poor fellow who was in it, was literally blown to pieces, and scattered to the winds, only one of his hands being found.—Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe remarks, that this was the first occurrence of the kind that had happened to the English during the siege. The battery was repaired by the 17th, and reopened on that day with considerable effect.

The operations continued to be carried on, upon the scale fixed on the 15th, till the close of the month. In the nights of the 17th and 19th, rifle-pits, in front of their right attack, were gallantly captured by the English troops; and the enemy was as gallantly defeated on the night of the 20th, when they attempted to recover possession of these works. In the attack on the 19th, Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, one of the best officers in the army, was killed. On

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*† *Ibid.*

‡ W. H. Russell.

that day, Omar Pasha made a *reconnaissance* in front of Balaklava, to ascertain what force the enemy had on the Tchernaya. He had with him twelve battalions of Turkish infantry, supported on the left by English and French detachments, and advanced as far as Kamara. That village was deserted; and the Greek church, respected by the English when they were in possession of the place, had been plundered by the Cossacks. The enemy was found not to be in force in the Vale of Tchernaya; and Omar Pasha did not think it wise to cross the river, but returned to the camp. It appears that Liprandi's force in that quarter had been considerably reduced; reinforcements for the garrison of Sebastopol, and the army before Eupatoria, having been detached from it. It was reported that the last-named town was to be again attacked; and shortly after the *reconnaissance*, Omar Pasha, at the head of 9,000 Turks, returned there to aid in its defence. No attack, however, was made; and the Turkish generalissimo soon after wrote to Lord Raglan, describing the works that had been raised under the direction of Major Simmons; and stating that they would enable him to resist any attempt to capture the town.

The bombardment of Sebastopol had been considered, in both armies, as preparatory to the assault of the town; and, at a council of war, composed of the principal English and French generals, and held at Lord Raglan's head-quarters on the 24th of April, it was arranged that it should be made on the 28th. In the interval, the naval brigade and artillerymen were ordered to increase their fire again to 120 rounds per day. The different points of assault were also determined upon; and the troops which were to undertake the movement, and the commanders, were selected. On the 25th, however, General Canrobert apprised Lord Raglan, that he and his principal generals, on reflection, had come to the conclusion that the assault could not be successfully carried out; and, therefore, they had resolved that it should be postponed till the remainder of the imperial guard arrived from Constantinople, as well as reinforcements which were expected to form a reserve corps of 20,000 men. The English commander-in-chief, and those of his colleagues who were aware of the previous arrangements, were greatly annoyed at this vacillation on the

part of the French general, which they firmly believe prevented the fall of the city at that time.*

The bombardment thenceforward ceased, one or two shots a day being fired on both sides, which seemed more like signal-guns than anything else. During its continuance, the firing of the allies maintained a superiority over that of the enemy, and inflicted great damage on the works, but with no lasting result. The little permanent effect produced by a fire kept up for such a long period, from so many heavy guns, proves, we think, satisfactorily, the superiority of earth to stone in resisting the fire from artillery. "The solid mass of stone of which the Malakoff Tower consisted, was smashed, rent up, and split from top to bottom by the first day's fire, and remained a heap of ruins; whilst the earthwork beneath continued as firm as it was on its first formation."† The shot sunk into the earth, whilst it shattered the stone-works; and had there been none of the former, numerous and industrious as the Russians were, they would not have been able to have repaired in the night the damage done in the day, as we are informed they did;‡ thus neutralising, to a great extent, the destructive operations of the allies.

In the progress of the siege, from the 9th to the 30th of April, the English lost six officers, and eighty-three non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and thirteen officers, and 334 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. In the naval brigade, eighteen were killed and eighty-two wounded; making a gross number of 517. The loss of the French was more than double; and that of the Russians, probably, four times that number.

As the garrison was known to receive a large part of its supplies from Kertch, and the ports on the Sea of Azoff, it was resolved by the allied commanders, in April, that an expedition should be sent to that part of the Crimea. There was, however, no intention of despatching it till after the assault on Sebastopol had taken place. When Canrobert had caused the postponement of that operation, Lord Raglan thought it a proper and convenient time to despatch a detachment of the allies to

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe, in his *Letters from Head-quarters*, goes more into detail on these transactions.

† General Canrobert's despatch.

‡ W. H. Russell.

Kertch. A council of war was held on the 1st of May, at his lordship's instance; and the French commander-in-chief was, with difficulty, induced to give his consent that the expedition should immediately be undertaken. Accordingly, it sailed on the 3rd of May; the French contingent, of eleven battalions of infantry, and two batteries of artillery in all, about 8,500 men, being under the command of General d'Aute-marre. The English division consisted of the 42nd, 71st, and 93rd regiments; four companies of the rifle brigade; two companies of sappers and miners; one battery of artillery, and one troop (fifty) of light cavalry. The command was given to Sir George Brown; to whom, at the request of General Canrobert, the supreme direction of the expedition was entrusted. This allied force sailed from Kamiesch Bay for its destination, under the most favourable auspices as to weather, and with the men—both soldiers and sailors—in the best possible spirits. The same evening, not six hours after the fleet of transports and steamers had left the bay, General Canrobert called on Lord Raglan, to inform him, that he had received peremptory orders from the emperor to concentrate all his forces; that he could not, therefore, suffer any of the troops in the Crimea to depart, whilst he required the transports to convey the reserve from Constantinople; the expedition, therefore, must be recalled. Lord Raglan urged him to alter this determination; and his lordship's representation that, when the emperor despatched the order, he was not aware that the Kertch expedition had been undertaken, had so much weight with the general, that he agreed to act as Lord Raglan wished. However, two hours after, General Trochu, the chief of General Canrobert's personal staff, sought an interview with Lord Raglan, to inform him that his chief, on carefully re-perusing the emperor's instructions, felt himself bound to recall the French fleet and troops. Lord Raglan had no alternative, therefore, but to write to Admiral Lyons and General Brown, recalling, also, the English contingent of the expedition, unless Sir George Brown was of opinion that he had a good chance of success without the French allies. In that case he was to proceed, Lord Raglan agreeing to take all the responsibility. The despatches were entrusted to Lieutenant Maxse, R.N., who was enabled to deliver them just as the expedition came in sight

of Kertch. Sir George Brown, on reading Lord Raglan's letter, thought it best to return. The ships re-entered Kamiesch Bay on the 5th of May; and the entire army, British and French, expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Canrobert, when the circumstances became generally known.*

Although the actual bombardment of the works round Sebastopol, and the return by the garrison ceased at the close of April—scarcely a shot being fired from the allied batteries except when groups of the enemy were seen together—the troops on either side were not permitted to pass their time in idleness. The Russians continued to be actively engaged in covering their advanced works, and they constructed a new battery on their left of the Mamelon. Their soldiers were, also, constantly in motion on the north side, and there was every indication of an intention to establish a large camp above the Belbec, extending to Mackenzie's Farm. These movements continued for several days during the first week in May. They had also employed themselves in the construction of new ambuscades, or rifle-pits, in front of the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff Battery, after the French had driven them from those first made. These works were so advanced in the last week in April, and occasioned so many daily losses to the French, that General Canrobert determined to occupy or destroy them at any cost. In the evening of the 1st of May, 10,000 troops were concentrated in the neighbourhood of the Central Bastion, and then divided into three columns—two to attack the flanks, and the third the centre of the ambuscades. The Russians, who, in this affair, were considerably outnumbered, contended manfully for their positions, but were finally expelled from all of them, leaving a number of prisoners and nine small mortars in the hands of the victors. In the afternoon of the 2nd, while the French were at work, turning the ambuscades, and opening a communication with their own trenches, a task they had nearly completed—they were attacked by the Russians, and driven out from the works. It was only for a few minutes. Our allies instantaneously rallied, and the enemy were seen flying towards the town. They did not make a second attempt to regain the ambuscades; and the French not only deprived the enemy of

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

the means of inflicting upon them a considerable annoyance, but obtained a new position themselves, 100 yards nearer the town. This was not done, however, without considerable loss: in the engagements of the 1st and 2nd, thirty-three officers, and about 900 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, were killed and wounded.

In the night of the 5th of May, the enemy commenced a series of attacks on the English advanced works. They attacked, that night, the advanced parallel on the right, in considerable numbers, rushing down the slope with an impetuosity which carried them into our trenches; but they were speedily driven out, and forced back into their own works by detachments of the 30th and 49th regiments, under Captain Williamson and Lieutenant Gubbins, of the former, and Lieutenant Rochfort, of the latter. The attack was repeated in the nights of the 9th, 10th, and 11th; that of the 10th being made under a heavy cannonade from their batteries. All failed; but they occasioned the loss of four officers, and thirty-seven rank and file, killed; and four officers, and 184 rank and file, wounded—thus placing 229 men *hors de combat*. The Russians must have lost quite as many in the attack, as the British did in defence.

Early in May, Miss Nightingale and M. Soyer arrived at Balaklava. The former visited the hospitals; and, though she found them in a better state than she expected, many improvements were, at her suggestion, introduced.—M. Soyer brought some of his stoves with him, and soon effected a considerable change for the better in the cooking operations of the camps.—Miss Nightingale suffered from the Crimean fever, and left Balaklava on the 2nd of June: while she remained, she received that attention and respect from Lord Raglan and the officers, which her patriotism and courageous humanity so eminently deserved.

On the 8th of May, General la Marmora, with a portion of the troops which Sardinia, by the treaty of the 10th of January, agreed to send to the Crimea, arrived at Balaklava; and the next day the general presented himself at Lord Raglan's headquarters. He is described as "a tall, fine-looking man, with the air and bearing of one of great determination, but, at the same time, with most courteous manners."*

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

He made a favourable impression on Lord Raglan, who appeared to feel confident that he might rely upon him for able assistance. The general brought 5,000 troops with him; the rest followed shortly after from Constantinople; and the entire contingent arrived, and were encamped, before the month closed. They landed all ready for the field, with every requisite for service; and their horses and carts appeared to be quite equal to what was required. "Their transport cars were simple, strongly made, covered vehicles, not unlike a London bread-cart, painted blue, with the words '*Armata Sarda*' in black letters, and the name of the regiment to the service of which each belonged. The officers were well mounted, and every one admired the air and character of the troops, more especially of the '*Bersaglieri*' (chasseurs); and the eye was attracted by their melodramatic head-dress—a bandit-looking hat, with a large plume of black cock's feathers in the side."†

Besides the Sardinians, several thousand English and French troops arrived in the Crimea in the last weeks of April and the first of May, the 10th hussars and 12th lancers being amongst the former. The anticipated attack on Eupatoria not having been made, Omar Pasha had also returned to the plateau, with a strong detachment of Turkish troops; and, by the middle of the latter month, there were about 150,000 soldiers, all in excellent condition, collected before Sebastopol. This number was constantly increased by the arrival of convalescents from the hospitals, numbers being discharged every week; and as the English medical, land-transport, and commissariat departments were all in excellent working order, the state and condition of that army afforded a striking contrast to what they were at the commencement of the year. "As the reinforcements arrived, and as the beauties of the country developed themselves, under the influence of the genial weather which prevailed, the spirits of the army, damped by the failure of the bombardment, and the apparent impregnability of the enemy's defences, revived; and though despondency had almost arrived at the stage of 'hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick', that feeling was dispersed, and the more buoyant one prevailed, that 'all would be right.'"‡

On the 13th of May, Lord Raglan, Gen-
† W. H. Russell. ‡ *History of the War* (1856).

erals Brown and Simpson, and Admiral Lyons, Generals Canrobert, Pelissier, and Bosquet, and Admiral Bruat, General la Marmora, and Omar Pasha, assembled in a council of war, which was held at the English head-quarters. There were long and animated discussions, and the officers continued to meet till the 17th. No official report of the proceedings has ever transpired; but it is understood that the subject before the council was, a plan submitted by General Canrobert for dividing the army into three bodies—one to remain before Sebastopol; the others to operate in the field, to the north and south-west. The commanders could not agree; and General Canrobert, not receiving the support he expected, forwarded, on the 16th of May, a telegraphic despatch to the minister of war, expressing his wish to resign the command-in-chief into the hands of General Pelissier, as "his enfeebled health no longer permitted him to retain it." A private letter to the emperor, however, assigned, as the causes of his sudden determination, his inability to execute the plan of campaign prepared by his majesty, then "become almost impossible by the non-co-operation of the chief of the English army."—From this it must be inferred, that the proposal to divide the army, discussed at the council of war, emanated from his imperial majesty. Lord Raglan strongly opposed that proposal; and it is now universally admitted that he was right in doing so. Canrobert also said, in this letter, that "he had been placed in a very false position towards the English, by the sudden recall of the Kertch expedition, to which he had since discovered they attached a great importance." The little relative effect produced by the bombardment, and, strangely enough, "the non-attack of the French external lines by the enemy—an attack which had appeared very probable, and from which he had founded hopes of a success more decisive than that of Inkermann"—were also enumerated by the general, as causes which had "produced in his mind the conviction that he ought no longer to direct in chief that immense army, the esteem, affection, and confidence of which he had been enabled to obtain."*

No opposition was offered by the emperor, or the minister at war, to General Canrobert's wish to retire from the command-

* Baron de Bezanourt's *Crimean Expedition*.

in-chief; and, on the evening of the 18th of May, the emperor's appointment of Pelissier as his successor, was received by telegram at the French head-quarters. The next morning that officer waited on Lord Raglan, to inform him, in person, of the change, and to explain to him his views with respect to the conduct of the war, which appear to have been perfectly in unison with those of his lordship. General Canrobert did not leave the Crimea, but resumed the command of his old division, refusing that of the 1st corps, which Pelissier offered him.—The new general soon signalised his appointment by the adoption of a more vigorous line of action than had lately been pursued by his predecessor.

To the left of the French attack, in a green hollow or basin, a short distance from the head of Quarantine Bay, are the church and cemetery of St. Vladimir. When the allies took possession of the plateau, the latter was surrounded by a wall, distant, on one side, about 150 yards from the wall of the town. In the interval between the two walls, and running from Quarantine Bay to the Central Bastion, the Russians, after the affair of the 1st of May, constructed a new line of rifle-pits, which they strengthened by a gabionnade, and united, by a covered way, with the right lunette of the bastion. They also established a corps in the cemetery, which was about seventy yards square. These posts formed a great obstruction and an annoyance to the French; and one of the first measures adopted by the new commander-in-chief was, to send a division to take them out of the hands of the enemy. The attack was made in the night of the 22nd of May, when two of the pits only were taken. The next night the attack was renewed, and the Russians were driven from the remaining pits, and also from the cemetery. On both occasions several thousand men were engaged; and the French field-pieces caused an immense slaughter in the dense columns of the Russian infantry, which were sent from Sebastopol to support the occupants of the posts. There was a truce for six hours, on the 24th, to bury the dead, when the French delivered to the Russians 1,150 bodies; and 800 more were collected by the burial parties on the ground. The French had about 400 killed, and 1,200 wounded. The pits in their hands, they connected the pits by trenches; opened a communica-

tion between them and their nearest approach; and occupied them as a new advanced line.*

General Pelissier was decidedly of opinion that no time should be lost in taking possession of Kertch; and the expedition for that service was reorganised immediately after his appointment, the preliminaries being settled at a council of war held on the 20th of May, which Omar Pasha attended. The English and French contingents were organised as before; and a Turkish corps of 5,000 men, under Redschid Pasha, was added. The expedition—the naval part of it being under the command of Vice-admirals Sir Edmund Lyons and Bruat, who were on board the *Royal Albert* and the *Montebello*—sailed on the 22nd of May, and all the ships and steamers reached the rendezvous, four leagues off Cape Takli, soon after daylight on the 24th. They were safely anchored about 9 A.M.; and although some six or eight pieces of artillery were observed following them along the shore, no opposition was offered to the disembarkation, which took place at Kamish, a village lying to the south-west of Kertch. There the first of the troops that landed were drawn up to cover the disembarkation of the others, which it was expected a body of about 2,000 Russian cavalry, seen in the distance, would have attempted to interrupt. However, they rode off, and the disembarkation proceeded. While it was going on, several explosions were heard; which, it was afterwards ascertained, arose from the works at St. Paul and Kertch. Following their usual course, the Russians, as they found they could not defend, destroyed them: they also set fire to several large corn-stacks at Kertch, as well as to steamers in the harbour, and spiked the guns. They then retired into the interior, the Cossacks burning all the forage and farm-houses in the way.

The disembarkation of horses, guns, and *matériel* went on during the remainder of the 24th, and through the night. The next day, at 6 A.M., the troops were in motion, the French being formed in contiguous columns, followed by their artillery; the British in *echelons* of columns, covering their flank and their own artillery and

baggage; and the Turkish troops in contiguous columns of battalions, covering the rear of the whole. In this order they reached Kertch, which was found deserted; and the only delay made was, to blow up an iron-foundry that had been employed in the manufacture of shot and shells. The troops then pushed on to Yenikalé, where they arrived at 1 P.M. There they found a large squadron of small steamers and gun-boats, ready to proceed into the Sea of Azoff, under the command of Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*.† This squadron had preceded the transports, and had bombarded the forts and earthworks at Fort Paul, erected to guard the entrance to the small bay in which Kertch and Yenikalé are situated. The Russians resisted for a short time, and then, as already stated, blew up their works and retreated. The gun-boats kept up a running fight along the coast till dark.‡

At Yenikalé, a large fleet of vessels fell into the hands of the allies; also all the government stores, and many guns, some of them loaded. Amongst the vessels were two gun-boats, each carrying twelve small guns; two barks, armed on the main-deck with guns; and a floating battery, armed with two very heavy guns.§—Sir George Brown took up his residence at a small house in Yenikalé; and while he and the French general were organising measures for the occupation of the district, the squadron, under Captain Lyons, entered the Sea of Azoff, where it captured 241 boats laden with grain. Proceeding, on the 28th, to Arabat—a strong fort at the southern extremity of the long narrow isthmus, called the Tongue of Arabat, running between the Sea of Azoff and the Putrid Sea, which bounds the Crimea on the west, and by which the land communication with the neighbouring provinces of Russia was maintained—the squadron commenced a bombardment of the fort, which mounted thirty guns. The firing continued an hour and a-half, an immense magazine being blown up with the first shell fired. No landing was made at Arabat; and, a day or two afterwards, Captain Lyons appeared before Genitschi, at the opposite extremity of the isthmus. A government depôt was established there, and ninety vessels were in the port, having on board supplies for the Russian army. As the authorities refused to surrender them, the *Miranda*, and several other vessels,

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

† Sir George Brown's despatch, dated "Yenikalé, May 25th."

‡ W. H. Russell.

§ *Ibid.*

bombarded the place. The garrison being driven out, the sailors and marines were landed, and all the stores and shipping destroyed. Some English and French vessels, the latter commanded by M. de Sedaiges, next proceeded to Berdiansk, on the north shore of the Sea of Azoff, where four steamers were stationed. The Russians destroyed them, and also considerable depôts of corn, and abandoned the place. The united squadron then visited Taganrog, Marioupol, and Eisk, and destroyed all the government stores and vessels at those places.

The presence of the squadron in the Sea of Azoff, caused the Russians to abandon Sujik-Kaleh on the 28th of May, and Anapa on the 5th of June—the only fortresses they held on the Circassian coast. Thus, “one of the fruits of the attack and capture of Kertch, and of the brilliant operations of the allied naval forces in the Sea of Azoff, was, that no flag was seen there but those of England and France.”* Other results were, that “besides the towns, guns, 108 in all, many of them of large calibre, 68-pounders., ammunition, and vessels taken, the Russians either destroyed, or lost, grain sufficient for 100,000 men for four months; and the road by which supplies had chiefly been sent to Sebastopol, was rendered unavailable.”† Garrisons of English, French, and Turks were placed in Yenikalé and St. Paul’s; but only a guard for the protection of the inhabitants was stationed at Kertch. Lines were constructed to defend the two first-named places from attack by land; and guns were brought from Constantinople to be placed in the batteries.—But although the Russians had an intrenched camp between Arabat and Kertch, under Generals Wrangel and Bellegarde, no attack was made on the allied positions; and the only hostile movement heard of, was an affair with Cossacks on the 21st of September, near Yenikalé. The English forces engaged were—two companies of the 10th hussars, under Captains Fitzclarence and Clarke, and two troops of the *Chasseurs d’Afrique*: they beat a large body of Cossacks, engaged in collecting and driving away all the *arabas* they could find in the neighbourhood; charging them repeatedly, and compelling them to retreat.

* Despatch of Lord Raglan, June 12th.

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ *Ibid.*

The expedition returned to Balaklava on the 14th of June, and took up their old positions. They found that, during their absence, a change had been made in the camps, and the ground occupied had been considerably extended. This extension was necessary for the comfort of the men, after their numbers became so considerably increased; and the possession of the Tchernaya was required to secure an adequate supply of water. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, a large division of English, French, Sardinians, and Turks, moved from the heights and the plateau of Sebastopol, towards that river. The French contingent comprised the divisions of Generals Canrobert and Brunet, about 14,000, all the French cavalry, and five batteries of artillery. They encamped on the south side of the Tchernaya; and were supported by two divisions of Turks, under Omar Pasha. The latter comprised about 16,000 men, and encamped immediately in the rear of the French, on the plain of Balaklava, where the memorable light cavalry charge took place. About 8,000 Sardinians, under General la Marmora, took up the ground between the villages of Kamara and Tchorgouna; the royal marines, from Balaklava, moving to the next ridge of hills, which overlooked Kamara and the valley of the Baidar; whilst the 10th hussars and 12th lancers, under Colonel Parby, were posted on the opposite flank of La Marmora’s force. Thus, “the area of the allied position was nearly doubled; the passage of the river secured, with a plentiful supply of water; and a large portion of the army encamped on spots far more eligible than could be found on the bare and trodden surface of the heights.”‡

“Soon after General Canrobert had taken up his new position by the Tchernaya river, Lord Raglan paid him a visit there. They rode all about the ground, and conversed together for two or three hours. General Canrobert was much pleased with his lordship’s attention; and, when taking leave of him, said, with a voice full of emotion, ‘Ah! milord, you are very good to me, for you visit me in adversity, and treat me in the same manner as when I was in prosperity: that is not the case with most men.’”§

From this it would seem, that the general, when he sent his resignation to the emperor, hoped it would not be accepted; and considered that the compliance with his request was, in fact, a disgrace.

The remainder of the month of May was not marked by any event of importance.

“There was an unusual languor on the side of the Russians, due, as one would have it, to pestilence raging in Sebastopol; or, as another speculated, to the desire of economising ammunition: whilst a third attributed it, on the authority of a deserter, to the detachment of a large body of men to strengthen the outlying force on the other bank of the Tchernaya, and keep Bosquet in check.”* The allies were more active. They were preparing for another bombardment; and enormous quantities of shot, shell, and ammunition were placed in the English batteries, which were repaired where necessary, and strengthened. The 24-pounders, mostly worn out by the first and second bombardments, were all replaced, before the month ended, by 32-pounders. The men were in good spirits, and eager for another attack, especially after they received intelligence of the first successes of the Kertch expedition.

From the 1st of January to the close of May, there had been numerous casualties in the army, the effect of the fire from the

enemy's guns by day, and of sorties by night. The following figures show the aggregate loss of the five months:—

	Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.	Naval Brigade.
Killed . . .	14	221	33
Wounded . . .	31	892	123
Missing . . .	7	29	—
	52	1,142	156

Ten officers, ten sergeants, and 170 rank and file, had been taken prisoners by the enemy, from the 25th of October to the 4th of May: and the army serving under Lord Raglan had captured 647 Russians, seven Tartars, eighty-seven Poles, and five Jews; in all, 746. On the 26th of May, “Major-general Buller was obliged, by the failure of his health, to leave the Crimea. He had been constant in the discharge of his duty since he joined the army, distinguishing himself both at Alma and Inkermann, and persevered in taking his turn in the trenches until driven by illness to withdraw.”†

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHOLERA; THE THIRD BOMBARDMENT; ATTACK ON THE MAMELON, THE WHITE WORKS, AND THE QUARRIES; SCENES ON THE 8TH OF JUNE; TRUCE TO BURY THE DEAD; FOURTH BOMBARDMENT; ATTACK ON THE MALAKOFF AND REDAN; THE RESULT; LOSSES OF THE ALLIES AND THE RUSSIANS; REPORT OF THE SEBASTOPOL COMMITTEE.

WHEN June opened, the cholera was very prevalent in the camp. Every day men died of this disease after a very brief illness, the newly-arrived regiments suffering the most. The Sardinians, though “camped on fresh healthy ground, with plenty of water, plenty of firewood, good wholesome rations, including fresh meat and bread, and with but little duty to perform,” lost more men, in proportion to their number, than the British.‡ On the 4th of June, Admiral Boxer, commandant at the harbour of Balaklava, died of the disease. He was an officer much respected, possessing great ability, and rose from before the mast to his high rank.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the disease, Lord Raglan and General Pelissier, who had carefully reconnoitred the

enemy's works, decided, that the White Works on Mount Sapoune, the Mamelon, and a series of ambuscades nearly in front of the latter, called the Quarries, should be assaulted and taken. The subject was referred to the general of engineers to give the necessary directions; and General Niel, with two or three of his colleagues, who were opposed to the operation, raised various objections, which General Pelissier peremptorily silenced, by telling them that Lord Raglan and he had decided; that the entire responsibility belonged to them; and that the generals of the engineers were not required to give any advice as to the act itself—only to offer such suggestions as presented themselves with respect to the best mode of carrying it out. Finding opposition useless, these officers confined themselves to the practical part of their duty.

* W. H. Russell. † Lord Raglan's despatch.
‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

The attack on the works was preceded by a third bombardment, which opened at 3 P.M. on the 6th of June, from about 500 guns and mortars; 157 being in the English batteries, and upwards of 300 in those of the French. They produced more than the usual effect; for by noon on the 7th, the guns in the different Russian works were, for the most part, disabled, or their ammunition was very deficient, as twenty or thirty shots were thrown on the English side to one from the enemy's. The afternoon of the 7th had been fixed upon by Lord Raglan and General Pelissier for the attack on the works to be made—the White Works and the Mamelon being allotted to the French, and the Quarries to the English. The latter were new works, constructed in consequence of the English having pushed their advances too near to the Redan to be pleasant to its defenders. They consisted of a long trench cut through an abandoned quarry, extending for 150 yards, and divided into several separate pits. They were regularly formed of gabions and sand-bags, and were manned by riflemen, who were enabled, from their shelter, to keep up an almost continuous fire upon the English working parties: many lives were lost in consequence. This rendered it very desirable that the enemy should be driven from the position. The French were also equally annoyed by the discharges from the Mamelon and the White Works; hence the determination to attack and carry them. The arrangements for that attack were as follows. On the English side—

“Two parties, of 200 men each, placed in the advanced trench (right attack), were to turn the flanks of the Quarries; after capturing which, they were to advance towards the Redan, as far as practicable, and then, lying down, keep up a heavy fire of musketry upon the embrasures of the enemy's batteries in their front. This they were to do, to cover the work of 800 men, who were, immediately on the Quarries being taken, to enter, and commence operations to turn that work in our favour, and make a trench to connect it with our most advanced parallel. Besides this, there were two bodies, of 500 men each, ready to support in case of need; and two regiments were placed in reserve, in the Woronzoff-road ravine, between the two English attacks. There were, also, the usual guards of the trenches, and the artillerymen serving the guns, amounting to about 3,000 men; so that, in all, about 6,000 men were engaged for the operation.”*

* Letters from Head-quarters.

† Lord Raglan's despatch, June 9th.

‡ Letters from Head-quarters.

The troops employed in this service were composed of detachments from the light and 2nd divisions, supported by the 62nd regiment. They were placed under the command of Colonel Shirley, of the 88th, who was acting as general officer of the trenches; he was assisted in the arrangement, and guided on to the points of attack, and the distribution of the forces, by Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, R.E., who was the engineer officer directing the right attack.†

The works to be attacked by the French were situated on each side of the Careening ravine, which divided, obliquely, the French Inkermann position; and the service required more men than were employed against the Quarries. Four divisions of the 2nd *corps d'armée* were selected, under Generals Mayran, Dulac, Camou, and Brunet; those of the two former to assault the White Works, on the right, and the two latter, the Mamelon on the left. Besides these troops, two battalions of the imperial guard, and a division of Turks, under Osman Pasha, were held in reserve; making, with the usual guard of the trenches, and the artillerymen, at least 34,000 men.‡

At half-past 5 P.M., the troops engaged in this affair were in motion; and, at that hour, Lord Raglan and Sir Colin Campbell were seen on an eminence, commanding a view of the positions to be attacked, eagerly watching the result. At half-past six all was ready; and three rockets thrown up from the French Victoria Battery, gave the signal to advance. A cannonade was immediately commenced from the English and French trenches; and the British storming party rushed almost immediately on the Quarries, which they found deserted; and the strategy proposed was immediately carried out—one party intently watching the enemy, and firing at every available opportunity; whilst another commenced the necessary operation of reversing the parapets, to convert the Russian into a British work.

Simultaneously the French advanced to the Mamelon, their storming party being composed of 600 *Chasseurs Indigènes* and *Zouaves*; the rest of the force forming a reserve. The assailants, “like light shadows, flitting across the dun barrier of earthworks, were seen to mount up unfailingly—running, climbing, scrambling like skirmishers up the slopes, on to the

body of the work, amid a plunging fire from the guns of the Malakoff, Mamelon, and Redan, which, owing to their loose formation, did them little damage.* The Zouaves reached the parapet first, and commenced firing into the fort; whilst a corps, under General de Wimpffen, ascended the hill, stormed and carried two advanced trenches, and some intermediate rifle-pits; and a detached party seized a four-gun battery on the slope. A flag was elevated on the wall whilst this was going on, being planted by Colonel de Brancion, of the 50th regiment, who immediately fell, mortally wounded. To the point where this flag waved, the assailants rushed, leaped into the fort, and commenced fighting, hand-to-hand, with the garrison. The first men who entered all perished; but so swift were their comrades in following them, that they were soon avenged. The supporting column, under General de Wimpffen, joined the storming party, to the number of from four to five thousand men; and, in less than fifteen minutes, this formidable work was in possession of the French. The Zouaves, looking after the retreating garrison, and seeing only a brief space between them and the Malakoff, thoughtlessly rushed into the hollow running between the two hills, and up the Malakoff slope. They had to repent their temerity; a sweeping discharge of shell, grape, and musketry was opened upon them, and few escaped. The gunners in the English batteries that commanded the Malakoff, witnessed the gallant rush of the Zouaves; and they directed a heavy fire on that work, which attracted the attention of the Russians, or the brave fellows would all have perished.

A heavy column sallied from the town to attempt the recapture of the Mamelon. One of the supporting columns met this force, drove it back to the town, and attempted to get over the parapets with the routed foe. The men at the Russian guns opened a rapid and destructive fire upon the mixed party which was endeavouring to enter the town, killing numbers of both friends and foes, and at last obliging the latter to retire towards the Mamelon. Just at this moment, the discovery of a burning fuse in that fort, caused an alarm to be given that a mine was about to explode—some say there really was an explosion—and its captors rushed out on

* W. H. Russell.

one side, as the scattered force which had been driven back from the walls of Sebastopol entered on the other. The alarm spread to them; and they, also, ran from the fort. They had been followed from the town by a large party of Russians, who, on entering the Mamelon, found it deserted. General Brunet's division, however, which had not been engaged, and the remainder of General Camou's corps, came to the rescue. They joined General de Wimpffen's brigade, and the foremost men again jumped into the fort: being followed by others in quick succession, the Russians were once more, and finally, expelled. The French immediately began to turn the embrasures and the guns, so as to make them effective against the enemy; and they called the work the Brancion Redoubt, from the gallant officer who first planted the French eagle on its walls.

Thus the attack on the Mamelon was entirely successful. That on the White Works was made at the same time, by two columns of the divisions of Generals Mayran and Dulac, under the orders of Generals de Lavarande and de Failly. One of these columns attacked the Volhynian, the other the Selenghinsk redoubt; and having 200 yards to march to reach the one, and 400 before they were nigh the other, numbers fell in the advance, from the fierce discharge of grape which was kept up upon them. But our gallant allies, nothing daunted—perhaps rendered more fierce from seeing so many of their countrymen fall around them—kept on at a quick pace; and, as soon as they reached the works, they leaped in, over the parapets, and through the embrasures, commencing a desperate hand-to-hand fight with the garrisons. It did not continue many minutes. The Russians, finding themselves overpowered, turned their backs on the redoubts, and made for the Careening Bay, where a shelter awaited them, and where the French could not follow. That the works were lost, was known in the town almost as soon as the garrisons retreated; and a body of troops instantly marched to retake them. It was beaten, and forced to retreat. While the struggle with it was taking place, the reserve of Mayran and Dulac's divisions descended the ravine of the Careening Bay, and advancing some distance, they regained the plain by the eastern slope, thus intercepting the fugitive Russians as they were endeavouring to re-enter

the town; 400 of them, including twelve officers, were made prisoners.—A third work stood in the rear of the *Ouvrages Blancs*, which had been built in May, on a point of land running out between Careening Bay and the harbour. Only a few guns were mounted, it being used chiefly as a *place d'armes* for collecting troops for the support of the larger redoubts.* Some of the Russians, driven from the *Ouvrages Blancs*, took shelter in this work. A party of the French troops followed and expelled them; but a sharp fire opened from a heavy battery in the town, which completely commanded the spot, compelled the victors, in their turn, to retreat. They spiked the guns; and, soon after, a body of the enemy from the town destroyed and dismantled the work, finding that they would not be permitted to retain it.†

When the Russians succeeded in temporarily repossessing themselves of the Mamelon, a large body of men was sent to the rear of the Redan to attack the Quarries; very few of whom returned, the greater number falling under the well-directed fire of the English, who also lost many brave men. During the night, no fewer than six attempts were made to regain this work, so important did the Russians consider it; and, on three occasions, overpowering numbers succeeded in re-entering. The English, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 90th, gallantly repulsed all these attacks at the point of the bayonet; and successfully retained possession of their new acquisition. "Notwithstanding the attempts to regain possession of the Quarries, and the interruption of the works to which those attacks gave rise, Lieutenant-colonel Tylden was enabled to effect the lodgment, and to establish the communication with the advanced parallel;‡ and the English derived considerable advantages from holding this position, in the subsequent prosecution of the siege. Those advantages were not, however, gained without considerable loss; thirty-five officers, and 365 rank and file being killed or wounded. The French lost double the number of officers; and the privates killed or wounded have been stated, variously, at from 1,500 to 3,700. The Russians lost at least 2,000 men, besides the prisoners; and the French

captured sixty-two heavy guns. The English made a few prisoners; amongst them a captain of infantry, gallantly wounded and taken by Corporal Quin, of the 47th regiment. In one of the attacks on the Quarries, this officer was leading on four men, when the corporal leaped from the work, knocked down one man with the butt-end of his musket, and bayoneted a second: the other two ran off; and Quin, pricking the officer with his bayonet, made him march on, a prisoner, to the works.§ There were many similar acts of individual bravery manifested during the day; and the general bearing and conduct of the men could not have been better. The English and French commanders-in-chief spoke in high terms of their perseverance and bravery, and mutually praised each other's troops. "I never saw anything more spirited than the advance of our allies," wrote Lord Raglan, "though the fire of musketry and cannon which was brought to bear upon them was tremendous."—"While we were taking the White Works and the Mamelon Vert," said General Pelissier, "the English, with rare intrepidity, stormed the Quarries, and established themselves firmly there, taking thus a glorious part in the day's successes."

The next day, many varied scenes were passing in the vicinity of the previous day and night's fighting.

"The ammunition waggons, the ambulance carts, the French mules, with their panniers full freighted, thronged the ravine below the English light division, which was the straight, or rather the crooked, road down to the attack on the right. Troops of wounded men came slowly up—some English, the greater portion French—begrimed with the soil of battle. On the left, a party of Zouaves were seen, stopping awhile to rest their burden, it being the dead bodies of three of their officers. A little lower, an English soldier was down on the grass, exhausted, and well-nigh unconscious, from some sudden seizure. A party of French were gathered round him, supporting him on the bank, and offering water from their canteens, which he wildly motioned aside. On the right, lining a deep bay in the gorge, was dotted, over half a mile of ground, a French reserve, with their muskets piled, attending the signal to move forward. They were partially within view of the Malakoff, and the round shot and shell came plumping down into the hollow, producing, every minute or so, little commotions of the *saute qui peut* order—replaced, the next moment, by the accustomed *nonchalance*, and the crack of stale charges, fired off by way of precaution. A lively and even pretty *vivandière* came striding up the ascent, without a symptom of acknowledgment to the racing masses of iron, and smiling, as if the honour of her corps had been properly maintained.—At the head of the harbour

* Letters from *Head-quarters*.

† General Pelissier's despatch.

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch.

§ W. H. Russell.

the Russians were busily engaged burying their dead. Outside the *abatiss* of the Round Tower, several corpses of Zouaves were to be distinguished. About the Mamelon, the French troops were hard at work, some of them stripped, for coolness, to their drawers, and were seen creeping down the declivity on the side towards the Malakoff, and making themselves a deep shelter from its fire. Our people, on the right, were calmly shelling the Malakoff, in a cool matter-of-business sort of way; but an eternal gun on its right, which had been endowed with nine months of strange vitality, launched an indirect response into the Mamelon.*

Thus the hours passed away; and every day some such tangible occurrences greeted the eye of those few in the camp who had nothing to do but observe, and not work.

At this time the Redan and the Malakoff were much dilapidated; many of their guns were displaced; and a very faint return was made, on the 8th, to the fire of the allies. On the 9th, the Russians solicited a short truce "to bury their dead." It was at once granted; and continued from 2 till 6 P.M. Whilst it lasted, "strolling about the ground," writes Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe—

"I walked on, to where I saw General Todtleben with two French officers, and joining the party, we were soon engaged in conversation. He appeared to treat the capture of the Mamelon with perfect indifference, and said, that it had cost the lives of so many men to construct and hold it, that its value was questionable; adding, significantly to the French officers, 'You will find that to be the case too.' He also intimated, that we were no nearer taking the place than before. However, it was not said with an air of confidence; only, I suppose, he felt bound to appear cheerful on the occasion. He is a man of very gentlemanly address, with handsome features, and his bearing seems to betoken great resolution and firmness. I shortly after returned to head-quarters, not a little pleased at having conversed with General Todtleben, the man who has most distinguished himself in the Russian army during the war."

On this occasion, as on many others, the Russians availed themselves of the truce for other purposes besides interring the killed. They placed fresh guns in the Malakoff and the Redan; and, during the night, many lives were lost in the English and French attacks, from the new weapons thus introduced into those works, which commanded the advanced lines of both the besieging armies in their vicinity.

Lord Raglan had wished to follow up the capture of the Mamelon, the White Works, and the Quarries, by an assault on the Malakoff and Redan. General Pelissier, however, doubted whether the attempt could be made with success. At his sug-

* W. H. Russell.

gestion, a council of war, composed of the commanders-in-chief, and the generals of engineers and artillery of the two armies, was held on the 9th of June; at which the English generals advocated immediate action; the French, the erection of new works. The latter carried their proposition; and it was ordered, on the English side, that while these works were progressing, the fire from their guns should be reduced from 120 to twenty rounds a day. For the next seven days there was great activity in the trenches. The French occupied and armed the batteries captured on Mount Sapoune; they also constructed new works on the Mamelon mount, which brought them to within 500 yards of the outworks of the Malakoff: in another direction, they advanced their trenches to within 230 yards of that work.—The English placed several pieces of artillery in the Quarries, to attack both the Redan and a six-gun battery in the rear, between that work and the Malakoff; they also completed saps 100 yards in advance of the Quarries, towards the Redan; and constructed a mortar-battery, from which they could throw shells directly into that work. They were ready to recommence the bombardment on the 14th of June; but the French were not. It was postponed till the 17th: it was arranged that it should be preliminary to an attack on the two great works, the capture of which was considered certain; and it was hoped that event would be a prelude to the fall of Sebastopol, and the close of the campaign.

The general plan of assault was arranged at a council of war, held at Lord Raglan's head-quarters on the 15th of June. The bombardment was to be reopened on the 17th, and renewed for three hours on the morning of the 18th. Then the French, in three columns, were to attack the Quarantine Batteries, the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff Battery on the left; the troops undertaking that duty being under the command of the officer commanding the 1st *corps d'armée*, General de Salles. The attack on the right was also to be made by the French in three columns. The first, on the left, under General d'Autemarre, was to pass by the Karabelnaia ravine, and attack the west face of the Malakoff, and a work in the rear, called the Gervaise Battery: the second, under General Brunet, sallying from the trenches and the Mamelon, was to assault the Malakoff on the east, and the Little Redan,

which was connected with the great redoubt by a wall or curtain in that direction: the third, under General Mayran, was to take the route of the Careening Bay ravine, and attack the batteries, which formed the extreme left of the enemy's defences, and were opposed to the extreme right of the allied attack. The chief command of the French in this quarter, during the attack, was entrusted to General Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely, to whom General Pelissier had committed the command of the French division on the Inkermann heights, in the place of General Bosquet, whom he sent into the valley of the Tchernaya.—The English were to operate in the centre, but not to move till the French had established themselves in the Malakoff. Two columns, under the command of Major-general Sir John Campbell, and Colonel Yea, were to attack the east and west faces of the Redan; and, when these had made a decided impression in that direction, a third column, under Lieutenant-colonel Eman, was to assault the salient angle of that work. A fourth column, composed of Major-general Eyre's brigade, of the 3rd division, was to pass down the ravine to the left of their encampment, and attack a small cemetery, which the Russians had fortified, and other works in that direction. Brigadier-general Barnard's brigade, from the same division, was to take post in the ravine, to be ready to support Major-general Eyre, if necessary. It was further arranged that skirmishing parties of riflemen were to cover the head of each column, and, advancing as near the Redan as possible, pick off the enemy's gunners. Parties of sailors, of fifty men each, under the direction of Captain Peel, R.N., were to carry the scaling-ladders; parties of soldiers, of sixty men each, were to carry wool-bags; and an officer of engineers was to go with each party, to give directions where the ladders and bags were to be placed. Each column was further to be accompanied by an officer of the royal artillery, and twenty men, who, immediately on any part of the works being occupied, were to spike the guns, or turn them against the enemy—whichever could be done to the greatest advantage.*—All the English operations were to be directed by Sir George Brown. Whilst these movements were carried out on the

plateau, a *corps d'armée*, under General Bosquet, was to make a diversion in the direction of Mackenzie's Farm, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter.

This was a well-considered, well-arranged plan; and, had it been fully and entirely carried out, there is little doubt but it would have been successful: but there were several changes, and a want of precision on the part of our allies, which caused all the attacks, except that of Major-general Eyre, to fail. The progress of the new works had been perfectly satisfactory; and the generals anticipated, that the new batteries which were completed, would enable both the English and French armies to resume the offensive with the utmost vigour.† “Accordingly, on the 17th, at daylight, a very heavy fire was opened from all the batteries in the English and French trenches, and maintained throughout the day.”‡ Great execution must have been done, for nearly 12,000 discharges were made from the guns and mortars; and the enemy's reply, after the first three hours, was extremely feeble. Several vessels of the allied fleets co-operated in the attack—“the *Tribune*, *High-flyer*, *Terrible*, *Miranda*, *Niger*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, *Snake*, and *Weser*, with some French steamers, opening a heavy fire on the town and sea defences; whilst the *Danube* and *Royal Albert* poured in a shower of rockets.” The ships renewed the attack in the night of the 17th, when Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*, was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell. That night, showers of shells and rockets were poured into the town, and upon the ships in the harbour, some even reaching the northern forts. The enemy, however, repaired the ramparts, remounted their guns, and prepared themselves for the assaults of the 18th;§ of which they appear, doubtless by spies or traitors in the camp, to have been apprised.—They were greatly aided by the alterations made in the original plan. General Pelissier had, in the afternoon of the 16th, announced to Lord Raglan, that the French officers of engineers and artillery were of opinion that the three attacks on the left could not be successful; he therefore proposed, the Malakoff being the key of Sebastopol, that they should be deferred till that work had fallen. Lord Raglan did not think this proposal ought

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† Lord Raglan's despatch, June 16th.

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch, June 19th.

§ Prince Gortschakoff's despatch.

to be agreed to; but the French commander-in-chief was urgent; and it was at last arranged that the French columns on the left should only make a demonstration at the commencement of the day's operations; but, if the Malakoff and the Redan were carried, then the assault on the Quarantine, Central, and Flagstaff Batteries was to take place. If those works had been attacked in the morning, it would have found employment for several thousand men, and prevented such a powerful force from being concentrated at the Redan and Malakoff.—Another departure from the original plan was equally serious.—On the evening of the 17th, General Pelissier sent an aide-de-camp to inform Lord Raglan, that General Regnaud Saint Jean d'Angely was decidedly of opinion that the French columns could not be arranged in the trenches at the time, and in the way proposed, without being seen by the enemy; that a council of war of the French generals of engineers and artillery, had resolved that the assault ought to take place "*au point du jour*" (then about 3 A.M.); and that he was of the same opinion, though he regretted changing the plan of operation. Lord Raglan was greatly annoyed at this announcement; he had no alternative, however, but to submit: "at the same time, he expressed his opinion that the change was most unwise, and that he feared much confusion would ensue."*

The English commander-in-chief had to issue fresh instructions to Sir George Brown and the other English commanders, before he could get an hour's repose in the night of the 17th of June. He did not retire till after twelve o'clock; and shortly after 2 A.M. on the 18th, he left the headquarters with his staff; and a little before three, his lordship, Sir H. Jones, and the other officers, took up a position in a mortar-battery, in the third parallel, from whence a good view could be obtained of the works to be attacked: but it was a spot very much exposed to the shot from the guns in the Malakoff and Redan. General Pelissier, about the same time, stationed himself in the English five-gun battery, which the French called "*la batterie Lancaster*," from one of the Lancaster guns being placed in it. The French columns were then collecting in the trenches—so were the English; and the signal for the

attack by the former, was to be the discharge of three rockets from the battery where General Pelissier had taken up his position.—On the other hand, "the Russians, evidently informed of the plans of the allies, were on their guard, and ready to repel any attack;"† and the commencement of the assault, without a previous bombardment, enabled them to have all their guns in position, and to concentrate a mass of men on every point threatened with attack.

Notwithstanding—"if the attack could have been made general and instantaneous on the whole extent of the line—if there had been a simultaneous action and *ensemble* in the efforts of the brave troops," it is very probable that "the object would have been achieved. Unhappily, it was not so; and an inconceivable fatality caused a sad failure."‡ The great error was made by General Mayran. Some light appeared—one account says it was caused by the fuse of a shell sent up by the Mamelon; another, that it was an ordinary rocket: whichever it was, there was the light; and the general, taking it for the signal, ordered his column to commence the attack on the works to the left of the Little Redan, though he was warned, by several of his staff, that he was in error.—The men, in the gloom of the morning, took a wrong direction, and "went directly towards a Russian battery, instead of keeping down the Careening Bay ravine, and then following the edge of the harbour, which would have brought them, eventually, on its flank."§ The enemy's sentries were driven in; but the guns of the battery, and those of several ships in the harbour, immediately opened upon the French troops a fearful cannonade, which caused a dreadful slaughter, and threw the whole body into confusion. General Mayran was wounded, and had to be taken to the rear at almost the first discharge; his column was broken and defeated—all attempts to rally it failing—and its remains retreated towards the trenches, terribly dismayed.

General Pelissier did not arrive at the Lancaster battery till ten or fifteen minutes after General Mayran's advance. He was astonished, and indignant, when apprised of the mistake that general had made; and sent four battalions of the imperial guard, under General Mellinet, to his relief, which encountered the retreating column in the

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

† General Pelissier's despatch.

‡ General Pelissier's despatch.

§ *Letters from Head-quarters.*

Careening Bay ravine. Animated by the sight of this reinforcement, the men rallied under General de Failly, who took the command when de Mayran was wounded, and returned to the attack, only to be swept away, as before, by the fire from the Russian batteries. The attack was therefore abandoned, and the survivors returned to their trenches, covered by the guards.

The assault of the other two columns was equally unsuccessful. From some mistake or mismanagement, the signal was given twenty minutes earlier than it was expected by General Brunet's column, and the officers, in consequence, had great difficulty in getting their men out of the trenches in anything like order. At length they advanced towards the east side of the Malakoff, their appointed rendezvous. They were received by a cross-fire from that fort and the Little Redan, which was terrible in its effect, and numbers fell; amongst them Brunet, who was succeeded by General Lafont de Villiers. The assailants gallantly pressed on, and reached the ditch which defended the curtain uniting the two works. There they were met by such a storm of shot and shells, rattling around and amongst them in all directions, that, after a brief attempt to gain the parapet, they desisted, and returned to their trenches terribly shattered, and leaving many dead on the ground. They gallantly risked their lives, however, to bring off the wounded.

General d'Autemarre's division advanced against the west face of the Malakoff, and the battery Gervaise in the rear, being exposed to the fire from that fort and the Redan. One corps reached the battery; but it had lost many of its members, and is described as "presenting more the appearance of a hurried crowd than of a regularly-formed body of troops." The men, however, were not daunted in spirit, and they gallantly climbed the parapet, and dashed into the battery, followed by others. This work became theirs for a brief period; and those who did not get into the battery, took possession of some houses in the Karabelnaia suburb, where they were advantageously posted by Commandant Garnier, who sent off messengers, desiring that reinforcements should be forwarded to him. A reserve of Russians, under General Pauloff, soon advanced to drive them from this position, and a sanguinary struggle ensued amongst the houses and ruins.

The French made a determined resistance: "it was necessary to take each house by storm; and the Russians scrambled up to the top, pulled off the roofs, and threw the *débris* down on the troops inside. Others burst open the doors, and rushing in, killed the enemy, or made them prisoners."* General Pelissier, on receiving information of Commandant Garnier's position—forwarded by D'Autemarre, who was unable to render him any assistance—despatched the Zouaves of the guard to his relief; but, before they could arrive, their gallant comrades had been compelled to yield to superior force, and were on their way back to the trenches.

Whilst this desperate and sanguinary affray was going on, the division of D'Autemarre's column directed against the Malakoff, was also endeavouring boldly to accomplish its mission.

"At a given signal, the men left the trenches of the Mamelon; volunteers taking the lead, provided with scaling-ladders. Despite the violent fire of grape and musketry, they advanced boldly: the head of their column entered the ditch, and the volunteers jumped into it to place their ladders; but the brave defenders, leaping upon the crest of the parapet, fired down point-blank upon them, running them through with their bayonets, knocking them over with the butt-end of their muskets, and pelting them with stones in the ditch. The enemy, repulsed, threw away their ladders and retreated."†

Then a supporting column, under General Niot, which went to the aid of D'Autemarre, forced its way into the outworks of the Malakoff; but it could not hold them. The Russians, having dispersed the first assailants, rushed upon the men who had got over the parapet, and soon drove them back. They were aided by a numerous corps which emerged from the Karabelnaia ravine, and completed the discomfiture of the French.

Lord Raglan saw the movements of the French army from the mortar-battery; and seeing that they encountered the most serious opposition, he was induced to order the British columns at once to move out of the trenches upon the Redan,‡ although the French had not gained possession of the Malakoff, which was to have been accomplished before the British commenced their attack. His lordship's order was immediately obeyed. The flank columns, under Colonel Yea, of the royal fusiliers, and Major-general Sir John Campbell, which

* Prince Gortschakoff's despatch.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lord Raglan's despatch, June 19th.

had to attack the left and right faces of the Redan, left their shelter, "preceded by covering parties of the rifle brigade, and by sailors carrying ladders, and soldiers carrying wool-bags, as previously arranged. But they had no sooner shown themselves beyond the trenches, than they were assailed by a most murderous fire of grape and musketry. Those in advance were either killed or wounded, and the remainder found it impossible to proceed. I never before," writes Lord Raglan, who had passed through the whole of the Peninsular war, "witnessed such a heavy fire of grape, combined with musketry, from the enemy's works, which appeared to be fully manned."* Lieutenant-colonel Johnstone, of the 33rd, led the storming party of the light division, which was composed of 400 men, selected from the 7th, 23rd, 33rd, and 34th regiments, against the right flank of the Redan. The sailors accompanying it were headed by Captain Peel; and all rushed eagerly forward till the number who fell startled and dismayed them. Colonel Johnstone was severely wounded; Captain Peel was shot through the arm; other officers fell; the men began to waver, and Colonel Yea stepped forward, and pointing his sword towards the Redan, was calling on his soldiers to follow him, when he was shot down. For the moment there was no one to give orders; and the men, after making another effort to advance, and being again met with an astounding volley from cannon and small arms, gave up the attempt, and returned to their trenches.—The column advancing to the left flank of the Redan had no better success. The storming party of the 57th and 21st regiments was led by Colonel Shadforth, of the former corps, who was killed almost before the column got clear of the trenches. Major-general Sir John Campbell then put himself at its head, and the men followed him till they got close to the *abattis*, when the gallant general was shot dead. Colonel Lord West, of the 21st, then took the command: the stormers were rallied again, and returned to the attack; but they could not stand against the concentrated discharges of balls and grape brought upon them; and ultimately retired, but not till great bravery had been displayed; the men rallying, and making parapets of the dead bodies of their comrades, from behind

which they fired till their ammunition was exhausted.†—The centre column, which was to have attacked the salient angle of the Redan, returned to the trenches, after the discomfiture of the other columns, without making the assault, having lost several officers and many privates from the Russian fire.

Lord Raglan saw these repulses, as he did those of the French—which led to the abandonment of the attack on Mackenzie's Farm by General Bosquet—from the mortar-battery, where he and his staff were exposed to great danger, the grapeshot falling about them like hail. Sir Henry Jones was wounded in the forehead when standing close to his lordship; and another officer lost his arm, but the commander-in-chief escaped. He maintained his usual coolness and decision when he ascertained that the troops had met with very unusual reverses; and, finding that they had returned to their trenches, and that the French also were repulsed, his lordship ordered the commandant of the artillery, Colonel Dacres, to give directions for opening every gun and mortar in the English attacks, that could be brought to bear upon the Redan and Malakoff. "The order was promptly obeyed; and, in five minutes, the officers with his lordship had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing the shot and shell fly roaring through the air, carrying death and destruction to their enemies."‡

While the direct attack upon the Redan was proceeding, Lieutenant-general Sir R. England sent one of the brigades of the 3rd division, under Major-general Barnard, down the Woronzoff ravine, to support the attacking columns on his right.§ This division took up the assigned position, but was not called into action. Major-general Eyre, with 1,800 men, selected from the 9th, 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th regiments, forming the 2nd brigade of this division, had started upon the duty assigned to them, and descended into the ravine, in rear of Chapman's battery, just as day began to dawn. As they were proceeding, a grapeshot plunged into the column from the Barrack Battery, showing that they were seen by the enemy. They went forward, however; and in descending the great ravine, on "turning a corner of the defile, just in advance of the allied

* Lord Raglan's despatch, June 19th.

† Letter of an officer.

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‡ Letters from *Head-quarters*.

§ Lord Raglan's despatch.

works, the head of the column came on a small cemetery, occupied by Russian sharpshooters, whom they drove out, and, pushing on, occupied the houses which skirt the course of the ravine.* Further in advance, the Woronzoff ravine joins the great one; "and at the junction, resting against the slope of the high ground which separates them, were a number of houses sufficient to rank as a small town—some mere hovels, and some of better appearance; and these were taken possession of.† The occupants had only just escaped, for the beds were still warm; and articles of ladies' apparel were strewn about in some of them. These houses were covered by a battery upon a hill on the left, and a party was detached, which promptly scaled the hill, and occupied the work. This column, thus dispersed in small parties, was attacked by the Russians issuing from the Garden Battery, and the riflemen who occupied the ground in front of the Barrack Battery; and, during the entire day, they maintained a fierce skirmishing fight, unsupported, and ignorant of what had taken place at the Redan and Malakoff. Their position left them no object to attain; but, "uncheered by any hope of solid achievement or success, the brigade held its ground, and, at nightfall, withdrew unmolested, with a loss of 600 killed and wounded. The British continued to hold the cemetery, and thus the contest was not entirely barren of result; while the valour of the troops engaged brought some consolation for the loss, and rendered this the least painful to dwell on, among the unhappy mistakes of the day.‡

The English bombardment, commenced after the failure of the attack on the Redan and Malakoff, silenced the enemy's fire, and Lord Raglan was desirous that the assault on those works should be renewed. He gave directions to Sir George Brown to make the necessary arrangements for the British troops, and sent a message on the subject to General Pelissier, who was also disposed to make another assault, in the hope of a better result. General d'Autemarre, however, was of opinion, that the French losses had been so great, and that the troops were so dispirited, that it would be hazardous to return to the attack. In the face of such a declaration, it would have been rash in the extreme to resume

the fighting; and the allies were obliged to acknowledge they had received a decided check, having left to the Russians the honours of the day. The causes of the failure were, there is no doubt, the omission of the preliminary bombardment, and the "want of simultaneity in the attack of the French divisions.§ The French commander-in-chief, indeed, "connects the defeat of D'Autemarre with the retreat of the British from the Redan; forgetting that, according to the arrangement, the Redan was only to have been attacked when the French colours were seen flying over the Malakoff. Contrary to this arrangement, Lord Raglan ordered the attack to commence as a diversion for the French, when he saw how the right attack was met; and, but for that movement, it is questionable whether General d'Autemarre would have attained the temporary success he did.¶

The losses of all parties, in this disastrous affair, were very great. That of the English and French was as follows:—

	ENGLISH.		FRENCH.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	22	78	37	96
Non-commiss. Officers } and Privates.....	244	1209	1274	1644
	266	1287	1311	1740

The English had also 159 missing; and the French had seventeen officers, and 270 rank and file, made prisoners. Thus the aggregate losses of the former were 1,712; of the latter, 3,338: total losses of the allies, 5,050.—The Russians had "two superior officers, fourteen subaltern officers, and 781 soldiers killed: four superior officers, forty-three subaltern officers, and 3,132 men wounded; one general, five superior officers, and 815 men, received contusions. Moreover, two generals, twelve superior officers, fifty-one subaltern officers, and 879 men were slightly wounded, but not sufficiently to quit the ranks."¶ This is a total of 5,741.—There was a truce on the 9th, solicited by the allies, to bury the dead. The allied officers again got into conversation with the Russians, who appeared very gloomy and reserved. One of them, a young man, in reply to a remark of Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe, as to the losses of the allies, said—"Losses! you do not know what the word means! You

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

§ General Pelissier's despatch.

¶ *History of the War, 1856.*

¶ Prince Gortschakoff's despatch.

should see our batteries; the dead lie there in heaps and heaps! Troops cannot live under such a fire of hell as you pour upon us!"—The armistice continued for only two hours, and then the work of war again commenced.

On the day the allies received their first check in the Crimea, the report of the committee of the House of Commons—appointed, on the motion of Mr. Roebuck, to inquire into the condition of the army before Sebastopol—was brought under the consideration of that house. This report went minutely into the events which had occurred in the previous winter, and into the causes which had produced the distress and sufferings of the troops. It was an elaborate and ably drawn-up document; and concluded as follows:—

"Your committee report, that the sufferings of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition, had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made

no provision for a winter campaign.—The patience and fortitude of the army deserve the gratitude of the nation, on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon their country, which will, doubtless, be gratefully acknowledged.—Your committee will close their report with a hope that every British army may, in future, display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

The report and evidence were published in a "Blue-Book," of several hundred pages; and when printed, and in the hands of the members, Mr. Roebuck moved a resolution, pledging the house "to visit with its severest reprobation," every member of the Aberdeen government, whose councils led to the disastrous sufferings of the army. This resolution gave rise to two nights' animated debate on the 17th and 19th of July, without any result; the "previous question" being moved, and carried by 289 to 182. Thus the house avoided all expression of opinion; merely deciding that it was not then expedient to say either "aye" or "no," on the resolution itself. If the Aberdeen ministry had been still in power, it is probable a different decision would have been come to.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW WORKS; STORM OF THE 23RD OF JUNE; DEATH OF GENERAL ESTCOURT, AND OF LORD RAGLAN; REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF THE LATTER; GENERAL ORDERS ISSUED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS DEATH; TRIBUTES TO HIS LORDSHIP'S MEMORY; CHANGES IN THE MILITARY APPOINTMENTS; EVENTS IN JULY; PREPARATIONS FOR WINTER; THE BRITISH HOTEL; THE CONDITION OF THE RUSSIANS; THE BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA; ITS RESULTS; THE FIFTH BOMBARDMENT; PROGRESS OF THE WORKS; PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENEMY; INSTALLATION OF KNIGHTS OF THE BATH; LOSSES OF THE ENGLISH FROM JUNE 1ST TILL THE END OF AUGUST; STRENGTH OF THE ARMY ON THE 1ST OF SEPTEMBER.

The consequence of the failure on the 18th of June, was, that the allies had, for a time, to give up the idea of carrying Sebastopol by assault, and to recommence the operations of a regular siege. As the enemy did not reoccupy the ground which Major-general Eyre had taken on that day, it was, on the 19th, taken possession of by a force of English and French troops, who erected works to strengthen the position, and connect it with their trenches to the east and west of the ravine. These works,

when completed, had a formidable appearance, and the ground was of great importance to the allies, whose occupation of it was regarded by the Russians with much jealousy.*—In other parts of the camps new works were also constructed; the principal being, a trench to connect the White Works; a casemated battery to the left of the Selenghinsk redoubt (one of those works), on the incline towards Careening Bay; two trenches, from the Mamelon

* *Letters from Head-quarters.*

and the trenches on its right, to the Malakoff and the Little Redan; and a sap, forming an advanced musketry trench, from the Quarries towards the Great Redan. These works kept the men busily employed from the 19th to the 27th of June. During that time the firing on both sides was slack; still the daily losses of the allies were numerous, owing to the near approach of the trenches to the enemy's works.

On the 23rd of June, at 8 P.M., a terrible thunder-storm passed over the plateau, accompanied by lightning, which, for two hours, kept the sky in a blaze, that was, as near as possible, continuous. In some parts the rain fell in a dense mass, "like a great wall of water. Not a drop descended over the camp in front; but it was seen in a steep glistening cascade, illuminated by the lightning falling all across the camp, from sea to land, just in front of Lord Raglan, and nearly in a straight line, as if marked out by a ruler."* The rain converted the ravines into rapid watercourses, in which men and beasts were drowned. In many places the rush of water swept away the mould spread over the dead bodies, and left them bare; and it broke up several portions of the railroad, rendering it useless till repaired.

This storm was followed, on the 24th (to the great regret of the army), by the death of General Estcourt, adjutant-general—caused by a combined attack of diarrhoea and cholera. This event appears to have given Lord Raglan such a shock, as to have completely paralysed a constitution already enfeebled by age and long service. His lordship visited the general, who was an old friend, the night before his death, and wished to attend his funeral; "but he found the trial too much for him: his wonted composure then left him for the first time, and he was quite overcome with grief."† The general was buried on the 25th. On the 26th, Lord Raglan wrote to Lord Panmure and Lord Hardinge (the secretary at war, and the general commanding-in-chief), announcing his death, and recommending Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, deputy adjutant-general, as his successor, who received the appointment; Colonel Steele, of the 1st battalion Coldstream guards, being the new deputy.—Two days later, in the afternoon

of the 28th of June, his lordship promulgated the following:—

"General Order.

"The field-marshal has the satisfaction of publishing to the army the following extract from a telegraphic despatch from Lord Panmure, dated the 22nd of June:—'I have her majesty's commands to express her grief that so much bravery should not have been rewarded with merited success, and to assure her brave troops that her majesty's confidence in them is entire.'"

A few hours after, a little before nine o'clock in the evening, the gallant and noble field-marshal breathed his last.—His death was, like General Estcourt's, caused by diarrhoea and cholera; and "he expired, without any suffering, in the midst of the officers composing his personal staff."‡ The manifestations of regret and sorrow at this melancholy event were universal throughout the camp; and it "appears to have at once stifled every other feeling but that of respect for his lordship's memory, and remembrance of the many long years he faithfully and untiringly served his country."§—That morning, Sir George Brown, who stood next to Lord Raglan in rank, had, on the recommendation of a medical board, embarked for England; and Lieutenant-general Simpson, as the next senior officer in the peninsula, took the command, until the telegram could convey from England the views of her majesty's government. On the 1st of July, a communication was received from the Horse-Guards, confirming Sir John Simpson in the appointment of commander-in-chief; with the local rank of general in the Crimea. He was succeeded, as chief of the staff, by Major-general Barnard.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of July, the remains of the late field-marshal were removed from the English head-quarters to Kazatch Bay, and placed on board H.M.S. *Caradoc*, to be conveyed to England. There was a mixed escort of British, Piedmontese, and French cavalry; and the three armies united in paying tokens of respect to his lordship's memory. The road, from the English to the French head-quarters, was lined by English troops, each regiment in the peninsula furnishing its quota. From the French head-quarters to Kazatch Bay it was kept by the infantry of the French imperial guard, and the 1st corps. English bands in the first part of the route, and French in the latter, were stationed at

* W. H. Russell.

† *Letters from Head-quarters.*

‡ Despatch of General Simpson, June 30th.

§ W. H. Russell.

intervals, and played the "Dead March in Saul;" and English and French field batteries, on the high grounds, right and left of the road, fired minute-guns. On the wharf, at Kazatch Bay the approach to which was lined by royal marines and sailors), the body was received by Admiral Bruat, Rear-admiral Houston Stewart, C.B., and a large number of officers of the combined fleets. As the coffin, on which was a wreath of *immortelles*, placed there by General Pelissier, left the shore, the troop and battery of the royal artillery, which had been part of the escort, formed on the rising ground above the bay, and fired a salute of nineteen guns. The coffin, placed in the launch of the *Royal Albert*, was towed slowly to the *Caradoc*, whilst the melancholy tone of the guns boomed in the air: as soon as it was received on board, the steamer got under weigh—"the touching signal, 'Farewell,' flying at her mast-head."—Most of the officers attached to the personal staff of Lord Raglan, accompanied the corpse to England.

The same day the following telegraphic despatch was published, addressed by Lord Panmure to General Simpson:—

"War Office, June 30th, 1855.

"I conveyed your sad intelligence to the Queen. Her majesty received it with profound grief. Inform the army, that her majesty has learnt, with the deepest sorrow, this great misfortune which has befallen it in the loss of its distinguished commander-in-chief. The country has been deprived of a brave and accomplished soldier, a true and devoted patriot, and an honourable and disinterested subject."

The following general orders were also issued by the commanders-in-chief of the French and Sardinian armies. That of General Pelissier called forth many expressions of admiration from the British soldiers, who described it as "not unworthy of its subject; and more could not be said in its praise."

I.—TO THE FRENCH ARMY.

"Army of the East.—No 15.

"General Order.

"Death has suddenly taken away, while in the full exercise of his command, the Field-marshal Lord Raglan, and has plunged the British in mourning.—We all share the regret of our brave allies. Those who knew Lord Raglan, who know the history of his life—so noble, so pure, so replete with service rendered to his country—those who witnessed his fearless demeanour at Alma and Inkermann—who recall the calm and stoic greatness of his character throughout this rude and memorable campaign—every generous heart, indeed, will

deplore the loss of such a man. The sentiments here expressed by the general-in-chief are those of the whole army. He has himself been cruelly struck by this unlooked-for blow.—The public grief only increases his sorrow at being for ever separated from a companion-in-arms whose genial spirit he loved, whose virtues he admired, and from whom he has always received the most loyal and hearty co-operation.

(Signed) "A. PELISSIER, Commander-in-Chief."

II.—TO THE SARDINIAN ARMY.

"Head-quarters, Sardinian Army, Kadikoi.

"June 29th, 1855.

"Order of the Day.

"Soldiers!—Yesterday, after a short illness, died Field-marshal Raglan, the illustrious commander-in-chief of the English army here. His long career, the important services he has rendered his country, his heroic courage, and the exemplary constancy with which, together with his army, he endured the hard trials and privations of a winter campaign, have made his loss a great calamity. He esteemed highly this our king's army, and did much to minister to its wants; let us unite, therefore, with our brave allies in deploring his death, and venerating his memory.

(Signed) "LA MARMORA, Commanding-in-Chief."

When General Simpson, about three weeks after the telegram announced his appointment, received his formal commission as commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea, he also received directions again to express her majesty's grief for the loss of his predecessor. This was done in the following terms:—

"July 18th, 1855.

"General After-Order.

"Her majesty, the Queen, has been pleased to command me to express to the army her majesty's deep and heartfelt grief at the loss of our gallant and excellent commander, Lord Raglan, which has cast a gloom over the whole service. Her majesty further desires to assure her army of her earnest hope, and confident trust, that all will continue to do their duty as they have hitherto so nobly done; and that her majesty will ever be as proud of her army as she has been, though their brave chief, who has so often led them to victory and glory, has been taken from them.

(Signed) "J. SIMPSON, Lieut.-gen. commanding."

We may here mention, before we resume the narrative of the occurrences in the Crimea, that the *Caradoc* arrived at Bristol on the 24th of July. On landing the corpse of the deceased field-marshal, every mark of honour and respect was paid to the memory of the noble lord; and many tokens of sincere grief were displayed by the inhabitants. The following day the funeral took place at Badminton, Gloucestershire, where the Beauforts have a mansion, and where the coffin was deposited in

the family mausoleum, with solemn funeral ceremonies, and general signs of sorrow and mourning.—In both houses of parliament due honour was paid to the deceased nobleman, upon whom Lord Palmerston passed a high eulogium. The two houses voted an annuity of £1,000 per annum to his widow, and one of £2,000 to his son and successor, with remainder to his next heir. And as “a lasting memorial to his lordship’s memory,” a subscription was opened, headed by the Dukes of Cambridge and Richmond, which realised a large sum: with it a fine property, surrounding Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire from which the noble lord derived his title, was purchased, and presented to his son, who became Lord Raglan.—“Thus nothing was left undone that could do honour to the deceased, or evince the respect which was felt for his memory,” alike by military men and civilians.

Illness amongst the officers of high rank produced several changes in the army, about the time that it was deprived of the commander-in-chief; and in the following two or three weeks, besides Sir George Brown, Major-general Codrington had gone on board-ship at Kamiesch, dangerously ill with cholera. Lieutenant-general Sir John Pennefather, invalided by dysentery, was ordered to England; and was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Markham, just arrived from India, in the command of the 2nd division. On the 10th of July, Lieutenant-colonel Vico, and on the 11th, Mr. Calvert, died at the English headquarters, of cholera. The former was the French commissioner attached to the English army; and so ably, and with so much good feeling, had he performed his duties, that he was a universal favourite. Mr. Calvert was the head of the Intelligence, or Secret Service department; and, from his knowledge of the language, and acquaintance with the manners and customs of the East, his services were invaluable. No one equally competent could be found to replace him. About the same time, Sir Stephen Lushington having been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, receiving also the order of K.C.B., was relieved from the command of the naval brigade, which was given to the Hon. Captain Henry Keppel; and the commissary-general, Mr. Filder, being obliged to relinquish his post from indisposition, and return to England, was succeeded by Sir George Maclean.—Soon

after, Sir Richard England, having long suffered from ill-health, resigned the command of the 3rd division, and returned home: he was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Sir William Eyre. Lieutenant-general Codrington, who was not long invalided, was appointed, on returning, to command the light division, *vice* Sir George Brown.—Colonel Barlow, of the 14th; Colonel the Hon. A. Spencer, of the 44th, and Colonel Von Straubenzee, of the Buffs, were advanced to the local rank of Brigadier-general, and appointed to command the 1st brigades of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and light divisions. Lieutenant-colonels Warren, Windham, and Trollope, with the same local rank, were appointed, respectively, to the 1st and 2nd brigades of the 2nd, and to the 2nd brigade of the 3rd division. The 72nd regiment was attached to the 1st division; the 3rd and 31st to the 2nd; and the 13th to the 4th.—The command of the cavalry division was given to Major-general the Hon. J. G. Scarlett; and that division was divided into three brigades, composed of the following regiments:—The *first* (heavy, Colonel Lawrence, of the 13th lancers, commandant), the 1st, 4th, and 5th dragoon guards; the 1st, 2nd (Scots Greys), and the 6th (Inneskillen) dragoons: the *second* (light, Colonel Lord George Paget, of the 4th light dragoons), the 6th dragoon guards, the 4th and 13th (light dragoons), and the 12th lancers: the *third* (light), the 8th, 10th, and 11th hussars, and 17th lancers.—There were many changes, also, in the French commands; but the only one necessary to be noticed in this history is, that, on the 1st of August, General Canrobert was recalled. There were various rumours in the camps on the subject; one being, that his popularity with the troops was endangering the authority of Pelissier. It is not improbable that he was recalled at his own request; as his position rendered him subordinate, not only to the general-in-chief, but to Bosquet, both of whom he had formerly commanded. The imperial order recalling him, was so worded, as to imply that the emperor wished to employ him about his own person.—After his departure, General Herbillion took the command of his division.

Very little of importance occurred, connected with the siege, during the month of July. Both the English and French continued, most perseveringly, to push on their

works nearer those of the enemy; and, in consequence, the casualties increased. In the early part of July, the weather was oppressively hot, which rendered the labour in the trenches extremely fatiguing; but, about the middle of the month, it changed to a far cooler and more agreeable temperature. At that time the health of the army was good, and the confidence and cheerfulness of the troops were unabated.*

Earnest as the allies were in pushing on the attacks, the Russians were no less eager in strengthening their defences; and they frequently made attempts, in the night, to arrest the progress of the English and French works. In the night between the 8th and 9th of July, a party sallied from the town, and assailed the French, who were working at the sap from the Mamelon to the Malakoff. Our allies had been apprised of the approach of this party before it reached them; they were, therefore, prepared, and gave the assailants such a rough reception, that they soon retreated: but they kept up a heavy fire all night from the batteries.—At five o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the allied batteries that commanded the Redan, commenced firing on that work; which was continued till 2 P.M., being returned by the Russians with quite as much energy and vigour. On this occasion, it was evident that the enemy had so fixed their guns in the embrasures, that they could withdraw them under cover to load, and then run them out again, to be discharged. This preserved their artillery; but they evidently lost a great many men, their ambulance waggons being seen passing and repassing in unusual numbers.—Attacks were made, by the Russians, on the nights of the 14th, 16th, and 22nd, with the same results—that of the 14th being the most desperate. Three times, that night, did the Russians throw themselves on the French trenches in front of the Malakoff, uttering the most fearful shouts and cries. The 1st division of the French, under General Vinoy, defended the lines; and the artillery of the White Works, which could be brought to bear in that direction, sent a well-directed and vigorous fire of projectiles into the Malakoff while the attacks continued. The enemy, repulsed each time, did not return after the third attack; and he must have lost a number of men.†

* General Simpson's despatch, July 14th.

† General Pelissier's despatch.

In July, a difference arose between Omar Pasha and the allied commanders-in-chief. The Russians, in considerable numbers, were operating against Kars, under General Mouravieff. The Turkish general, dissatisfied with remaining inactive, and being of opinion that the garrison of Kars could not withstand the Russian force, was very anxious to proceed to Asia, with at least 20,000 of his men who were encamped on the plateau and in the valley of Balaklava. At his request, a council of war was held on the 15th, to determine whether he should be permitted to withdraw so many of the Turkish troops. It was the unanimous opinion of the English and French generals, that "the fall of Sebastopol, as the key of the Russian position in the Crimea, was the object to which all their energies should be directed:" they, therefore, refused their consent; and the pasha immediately went to Constantinople, to lay his plans before his own government, by whom they were approved. The Turks, however, remained in the Crimea; though they could have rendered much more essential service to the general cause at Kars.

At this time the Russians were in considerable force on the north-east and east of Sebastopol. They—

"Held a strong position on the Mackenzie Heights, extending by Aitodor to Albat, with advanced posts by Chouli, Ogenbash, and the strong range of heights overhanging Urkusta, and the valley of Baidar. It was reported that they had also a force of infantry and artillery at Alupka. The French pushed forward the whole of their cavalry into the valley of Baidar, resting upon the Sardinians, upon the left bank of the Souhaia† river, and communicating with the division of their army upon the Tchernaya; while the high ridge, protecting Balaklava, was guarded by the Turkish army."§

It was expected, from information given by deserters, that the enemy was gathering in the north-east, with a view to make another assault upon the allies in the valley of Baidar and Balaklava: and towards the close of July, several *reconnaissances* were made by the French, towards Ogenbash, Aitodor, and through the Phoros Pass, towards Alupka; but the enemy was not found in any force—though after events proved that they had a large army stationed in that vicinity. The nature of the country, however, enabled them completely to conceal their strength.

† A small tributary of the Tchernaya.

§ General Simpson's despatch.

And in this way, till the middle of August approached, the war was continued; and "the siege dragged on its slow, but certainly not inactive course. The cannonade never totally ceased;" and the monotonous events were diversified by a sirocco, which swept the plateau on the 23rd of July, carrying away several hospital and other tents, and, for a few minutes, rendering everything invisible by the dense clouds of dust; and by a terrible explosion in the Mamelon, occasioned by the falling of a shell into the magazine, which contained 15,000 pounds of powder. The French had upwards of 100 men killed and wounded, and the works were seriously injured.—The enemy continued their night attacks, discharging fire-balls from their works, that they might discover the position of the working parties of the allies. In one sortie on the night of the 2nd of August, they attempted to destroy a heavy *chevaux-de-frize*, made across the Woronzoff road, by the English, between their right and left attacks. About 2,000 men issued from the town, and rushed into the road; and they were supported by heavy columns in the rear, whose object was to take advantage of such circumstances as might present themselves. The advanced picket of the English, under Lieutenant R.E. Carr, of the 39th, retired, firing as they went, to the advanced trench guard, under Captain Leckie, of the same regiment; which was supported by the trench guard, on the right of the fourth parallel, composed of a party of the 89th, under Captain Boyle, and of the 1st Royals, under Captain Turner. The sharp, well-directed fire this comparatively small force kept up, repulsed the enemy in about ten minutes. The attack, had it not been so well met, might have been a very serious affair.*

The slow progress of the siege led to a general belief that the army must again winter in the Crimea; and before July closed, preparations began to be made with a view to that event. Depôts for provisions and stores were established at Ismid and Sinope; and as the allies had the complete command of the Black Sea, there was no fear of the communication with those ports being interrupted. Near the British camp, sheds for the reception of about 4,000 cattle were constructed, and a regular transport service was organised between Balaklava and various ports, to ensure a

* General Simpson's despatch.

constant supply. The railway was completely repaired and extended, and the land-transport service rendered more efficient. M. Soyer, also, introduced his camp-stoves; and, under his superintendence, regimental messes were ultimately established, instead of each man cooking for himself. No change contributed more to the comfort of the troops than this. In the summer of 1855, the condition of the men was, indeed, from various causes, very much improved; and, perhaps, next to Soyer's stoves, and the alteration in the cooking department, the British Hotel, and the stores of Mrs. Seacole and Mr. Day, had the most influence in producing that improvement. The hotel and stores were built on a site named Spring Hill, two miles from Balaklava, in advance of Kadikoi, and within a mile of head-quarters. At the hotel, dinners, wines, and refreshments of almost all kinds, could be procured; and at the stores might be had—

"Linen and hosiery, saddlery, caps, boots and shoes, for the outer man; and, for the inner man, meats and soups in every variety, in tins; salmon, lobsters, and oysters, also in tins—which last, beaten up into fritters, with onions, butter, eggs, pepper, and salt, were very good; game, wild fowl, vegetables (also preserved), eggs, sardines, curry powder, cigars, tobacco, snuff, cigarette papers, tea, coffee, tooth-powder, and currant jelly. When cargoes came in from Constantinople," the proprietors "bought great supplies of potatoes, carrots, turnips, and greens. Ah! what a rush there used to be for the greens. Sometimes hot rolls might be had; but the bread generally supplied was the Turkish, baked at Balaklava."†

No wonder that this change from the deprivations and misery of the winter—and the former were felt partially in the spring—caused a feeling of content and satisfaction to pervade the British troops. They went cheerfully to their work; and when not in the trenches, in the batteries, or on parade—for discipline was strictly attended to—the men were never in want of amusement. They played skittles, and other games; listened to the music of their bands, no longer banished from the camps; and, as they lay on the slopes, "watching, with lazy indifference, the flames which burst forth from the Malakoff, the Mamelon, or the Redan," many a national ballad would be sung. With the guards, one song became an especial favourite; not a single night passed, but "Bonnie Annie Laurie" was sung, perhaps in several parties—one man singing the air, and the surrounding

† *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole.*

troop joining in the chorus. Besides other amusements, there was a theatre opened in the camp, called "The Theatre Royal, Naval Brigade;" the idea being, probably, prompted by "The Theatre Français, Kamiesch," which had been, for some time, established by our allies. In the neighbourhood of Kadikoi, a number of speculators also established what was called "Vanity Fair." It was an enormous bazaar, where many necessaries, and plenty of amusement, could be obtained. But abuses were found to prevail to a great extent; and spies were said to be harboured there. In consequence, about the end of August it was suppressed.

The condition of the Russian army, and of the few inhabitants left in Sebastopol, was, at this time, scarcely better than that of the British army in the winter. Scraps of food were found in the wallets of the dead soldiers, which consisted of bread made of unsifted flour and rapeseed (being of the colour and consistence of gingerbread), suet, and salt; some of the suet found had the appearance of having been cut out of a dead animal. Amongst both soldiers and inhabitants, cholera and fever prevailed. Nearly every house in the town was shattered; and—

"The warehouses and shops were removed into Fort Nicholas. The goods were placed in a long corridor on the ground-floor, which was vaulted over. The public offices—those of the governor, the post, the magistracy, the police, the customs, &c., were all in the same fort. One of the buildings was also appropriated to the dispensary, the guard-house, the head-quarters of General Osten-Sacken, and of General Kismar, the commandant of Sebastopol; and the troops were quartered in the upper storeys. In fact, the whole town had moved into Fort Nicholas.*"

The troops were greatly disheartened: even the "victory," as it was called, of the 18th of June, did not enliven them. To revive their spirits, and give them fresh courage, Prince Gortschakoff induced Innocenti, the archbishop of Kherson and the Taurida, to visit them. This prelate arrived on the 19th of July, bringing with him numerous pictures of saints, with which he had been supplied by the inhabitants of several towns. These were distributed amongst the troops at a religious service, performed on the 20th, at which Prince Gortschakoff, General Osten-Sacken, and all the officers of the garrison, were present. The visit and the ceremony "somewhat

* Letter from a resident Russian merchant.

† *Ibid.*

raised the spirits of the soldiers, and of the small number of inhabitants left."† Prince Gortschakoff soon called the former into action.

On the 14th of August, General Simpson informed Lord Panmure, that—

"During the last few days, considerable activity had been exhibited in the movements of the enemy, both in the town and on the north side: and, from the information received from the country, and the examination of deserters, he had reason to believe that the Russians might attempt to force the allies to raise the siege, by a vigorous attack from without. Every precaution was taken on the part of the allies; and the ground occupied by the Sardinians, above the village of Tchorgouna, and in its front, had been made very strong through the energy and skill of General La Marmora, who was unceasing in his care and attention, and evinced the utmost disposition to co-operate, in the most agreeable manner, with the allies."

About that time, the English noticed the arrival of fresh troops from the north, at Sebastopol. After he received these reinforcements, consisting of the 4th and 5th divisions of infantry, Prince Gortschakoff "considered it indispensable to execute a movement on the Tchernaya, in order to reconnoitre the position of the enemy's troops covering the siege of Sebastopol, and, if possible, drive them from the Tchernaya to Mount Sapoune."‡ This movement was made on the night of the 15th, and the morning of the 16th of August, upon the French and Sardinian armies posted in the neighbourhood of the Tchernaya, in a position described as "picturesque and romantic." The Tchernaya, in its course from the Valley of Baidar to the harbour of Sebastopol, runs between two ranges of hills—those on the west "dividing that part of the broad valley, extending from the harbour of Sebastopol to that of Balaklava, into two defiles."§ These hills, called the Fediukine Heights, were occupied by the French divisions of Generals Herbillon, Camou, and Faucheux; the last-named officer having succeeded General Mayran, who was killed on the 18th of June.

"These heights, lower than the plateaux, and of insignificant elevation compared with the surrounding mountain ranges, are ascended by easy slopes, are smooth and grassy at the top, and are furrowed by deep chasms, in one of which lies the road to the Traktir bridge, over the Tchernaya; which bridge the French had fortified. Other and more abrupt hills rise to the right, on both sides of the river; but in front of the French, the ground, be-

‡ Prince Gortschakoff's despatch to the minister of war.

§ Lieut.-colonel Hamley.

yond the Tchernaya, extended in level meadows to the wide plain, which winds round the base of the great plateau of Inkermann.*

A canal on the right bank receives the waters of the Tchernaya and of the Souhaia: it crosses the river by an aqueduct, and falls into a small lake at the foot of Mount Sapoune. There is a bridge over this canal, by which the road passes to the Mackenzie Heights. The valley of the Souhaia is overlooked by elevated and undulating hills, on which the advanced posts of the Sardinian army were stationed. The Sardinians also occupied the high ground on the left bank of the river, nearer Balaklava, and to the north of Kamara, called the Heights of Hasfort. There the greater part of their army was posted, amounting to about 12,000 men, with four batteries of artillery. Beyond them, to the east, was a portion of the Turkish troops.

"In the valley of Baidar was also stationed a mixed force of French and English cavalry and Turkish infantry, under General d'Allonville. The French had in reserve, four regiments of *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, and five troops of horse artillery, under the command of General Morris, stationed in rear of the Fediukine Heights. The larger portion of the English cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir James Scarlett, still occupied the valleys of Kadikoi and Kamara.†

In the evening of the 15th of August, General Herbillon, who held the command of the French troops by the Tchernaya, being the senior officer on that position, received a despatch from General d'Allonville, informing him, that, all the previous day, the Russian troops in that neighbourhood had been marching in the direction of the Mackenzie Heights: "but his attitude imposed on the enemy, who attempted nothing on that side, and dared not attack him."‡ The French general does not appear to have taken any additional precautions himself in consequence of this information; but he apprised the Sardinian chief, who kept his army under arms most part of that night. Before morning, large masses of the Russian troops had descended from the Mackenzie Heights, or debouched by Aitodor, to the plain on the right bank of the Tchernaya, in front of the French divisions. This force was composed of 6,000 cavalry, five divisions of infantry, and twenty field batteries, comprising 160 guns; the number of men—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—being up-

wards of 55,000. They were divided into two columns, and a reserve of cavalry and infantry, of about 15,000 men. One column was commanded by General Li-prandi; the other by General Read: Prince Gortschakoff took the command of the whole.

About one or two o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the Hon. Captain Keane, R.E., had his attention attracted by a number of lights which were displayed from various parts of the English camp. It was known that the Russians had spies amongst the troops, and he had no doubt that these were signals to intimate that all was right, and that they might make the attack, which the allied commanders had been informed they were preparing for. That officer acted promptly. He sent a messenger to General Jones, and rode off himself to General Scarlett's quarters, whom he roused; and informing him of his suspicions, that officer despatched an orderly to warn General Marmora.§ The Sardinian troops on the west side of the Tchernaya were immediately on the alert; but, in the meantime, the Russians, whose movements were obscured by a thick mist, opened their fire upon the Sardinian advanced posts on the east side of the river. The men stationed there were obliged to retire, and the enemy placed a field battery on the hill they left: it was commanded by some French guns in position, from which a fire was soon opened on the enemy. The Russian infantry then advanced to the Tchernaya in columns. One forced its way by the bridge over the canal; another attacked the *tête-du-pont*, by which the Traktir bridge was defended. General de Failly, who commanded there, was unable to maintain his post with the few men at his disposal. "The enemy rushed upon the bridge like an avalanche driven by storms from the summits of the mountains. By the aid of ladders, flying bridges, and heavy planks, they crossed the Tchernaya, under the protection of the fire of their artillery, and the thickness of the mist;"|| and despite the continued discharge of musketry from some battalions that had come to support the French advanced posts, kept on their way.

When the Russians reached the west side of the river, they re-formed, and the

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

† Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

‡ General Pelissier's despatch.

§ *Canada and the Crimea.* || Baron de Bazancourt.

column under General Read attacked the heights occupied by the French—too suddenly it appears, and in anticipation of the orders to have been given by Prince Gortschakoff, who never learnt the reason of this disobedience; General Read, and Major-general de Weimarn, the chief of his staff, being killed soon after the firing on that side of the river commenced. When the heights were attacked, the French divisions had struck their tents, taken their arms, and occupied the positions which had been previously assigned to them. Some heavy guns were also brought up, and a heavy fire of cannon and musketry was kept up for upwards of half-an-hour, with great loss on both sides. The right and left of the French position were attacked at the same time; for Prince Gortschakoff, as soon as he found that General Read had assailed the Fediukine Heights too soon, sent General Liprandi to his support. General Marmora, seeing that the French position, rather than his, was the object of attack, ordered “his 2nd division to descend to the lower ground, beyond the French cavalry bivouac; to take up a position on the canal, and to detach the disposable force to the right of the French hillock, whilst the artillery should take the Russians in flank and rear.”*—Its fire cut up the Russian ranks; a charge of Zouaves on the left added to their discomfiture; and a general repulse was the result. The Russians rallied and renewed the attack, and were again beaten and driven to the river, the French infantry pursuing them, and pouring in a continuous fire, while the shot and shell from their batteries did fearful execution.—The Sardinians—who were supported by an English battery of 32-pounder howitzers—were also attacked on Mount Hasfort, with no better success, the English battery compelling the Russian artillery to withdraw; whilst the Sardinians drove the infantry down the slopes, forced them back as far as the aqueduct, and compelled them to recross the river, leaving many dead and wounded behind them, and also some prisoners. In this part of the action, the Sardinian general, Montevecchio, was mortally wounded when leading his brigade against the Russians.—The Sardinians, when the enemy was driven back, and compelled to recross the river, went over

* General La Marmora’s despatch.

† Baron de Bazancourt.

again themselves, and reoccupied the heights from which they had retired in the morning: and three battalions of Turks, under Sefer Pasha, who had previously offered their services to the French, occupied a height on their right.

A third attempt on the left of the heights, where they face the Inkermann ruins, met with no better success: the enemy were compelled again to retire; and their infantry rallied behind the cavalry and artillery, on the other side of the Tchernaya. A sharp fire was then exchanged between the two artillery forces for some time, but with little effect on the guns; the shot, however, fell on the French troops massed on the road leading to the bridge, and many fell dead and wounded. The fire of the Russians soon after grew very faint, and they began to retreat on the road by which they advanced. This they did in good order, deploying in the plain where they had descended in the morning, their left wing resting on the Telegraph Mount, and their right at the base of the last slopes of the Mackenzie Heights.† There appeared every inducement to pursue, and completely disperse them; as, if they had been diverted by a feint in front, “a strong body of cavalry and light guns might have formed on the heights, the slopes of which are of easy descent to the plain, and thence have poured down on the enemy before they could have changed their front.”‡ General Pelissier had prepared some squadrons of *Chasseurs d’Afrique*, who were joined by a detachment of Sardinian cavalry, and by one of General Scarlett’s regiments, the 12th lancers, intending that they should “charge and cut down” the retiring enemy. But he found “the retreat of the Russians so prompt, that they could only expect to have made a small number of prisoners; and as the allied cavalry might have been reached by some of the enemy’s batteries still in position, he deemed it preferable not to expose it for so small a result.”§ For this the general was greatly blamed; but, if there was the slightest chance of another “Balaklava charge,” we think undeservedly. General Gortschakoff, however, boasted in his despatch, that he waited four hours for the enemy, who dared not attack him.

The victory was complete; for the enemy

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

§ General Pelissier’s despatch.

was repulsed in all his attacks, and retreated from the field, leaving the French and Sardinians in possession of every disputed piece of ground, although they were attacked by greatly superior numbers. The French had 12,000 infantry, and four batteries of artillery, actually engaged; the Sardinians had 10,000 men in position, but only 4,500, and twenty-four pieces of cannon, took part in the conflict. An English battery was engaged, and rendered good service to the Sardinians; but their cavalry, though formed in support, and quite ready and eager to fight, was not called into action: it was the same with the Turks. Thus the number of the allies who fought and won the battle of the Tchernaya, was considerably under 20,000. More than 40,000 Russians took part in the various attacks. The remainder of their force acted as a reserve; and some of the prisoners said, that division of the Russian army was also engaged. Numerous as the enemy was, compared with the allies, it was found necessary to ply the infantry well with spirits, to induce them to fight. A large brandy bottle was found with most, if not all, the dead bodies left on the ground—a proof of the species of incitement which was offered to them. They had, also, a talisman, which they wore under their coats to shield them from harm. This was “a small tablet of wood or brass, with a cover attached with a hinge. On the inside of the tablet or cover was embossed, either in silver or brass, some scenes from the ‘Legends of the Saints.’”

The loss of life, and the number of wounded, was very great, the Russians losing many more men than the allies. The following table is compiled from the returns which have been published in connection with the battle:—

	FRENCH.			SARDINIANS.			RUSSIANS.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Officers	19	61	—	—	—	—	34	78	—
Non-commis. Officers and Privates ...	172	1163	146	65	135	—	3329	4700	400
	191	1224	146	65	135	—	3363	4778	400

Thus the allied loss was, in all, 1,761; the Russian, 8,541: making a grand total of 10,302 officers and privates, killed, wounded, or prisoners. Of the Russian wounded, a great number were left on the

ground. The French removed, in their ambulances, thirty-eight officers, and 1,626 privates; and would have taken care of more, had not the Russian batteries fired upon the men who were engaged in burying the dead and removing the wounded. On the 17th, General Pelissier wrote to Prince Gortschakoff, remonstrating with him on this inhuman proceeding, and telling him, that the French could not attempt to relieve or inter any more of the enemy; but that he might, if he wished, send parties to remove the Russian wounded, and bury the killed. The prince accepted the offer; and about 2,000 infantry, unarmed, protected by a few Cossacks, appeared on the field of battle on the 18th, and were engaged nearly all that day, and the next, in their melancholy task. When he accepted General Pelissier's offer, Prince Gortschakoff stated, that “the Mackenzie batteries did not fire upon the burying parties until the French sharpshooters had fired on some of the Russians, who were endeavouring to carry off their wounded.”*

The French and Sardinian generals, in their orders of the day, spoke in high terms of the troops who had been engaged on the 16th of August; and the successful issue of the battle “caused the greatest delight amongst the ranks of the allied army. Whilst it added fresh lustre to the gallant achievements of the French arms,” it afforded an opportunity for a display of “the intrepid conduct of the Sardinian troops, who, for the first time, met, conquered, and shed their blood against the common enemy, who was disturbing the peace of Europe.”† It was an important victory in its consequences. Prince Gortschakoff, in his despatch giving an account of the affair, attempts to treat the Russian advance merely as a *reconnaissance*. But papers found on the person of General Read, comprising instructions and orders for his conduct, prove that it was part of a well-concerted plan. Victory was anticipated: the whole tenor of the instructions show that defeat was never thought probable. The attack on the French and Sardinian positions was a most determined attempt to force the allies to raise the siege. Had it succeeded, Balaklava was to have been attacked by one portion of the Russian army, while the heights on which the English and French were encamped, were

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

† General Simpson's despatch, August 18th.

to have been stormed by the other; at the same time, a vigorous sortie was to have been made from the town on the French works, on the English extreme left, and on their extreme right, on Mount Sapoune.* Providentially, the attempt failed; and the allies, instead of being driven from the plateau, were enabled to push on the siege with greater vigour.

Before we quit the battle of the Tchernaya, it will be no more than justice to notice a report which was current at the time, being founded on letters from the Crimea—that the surgeons of the English staff did not render that assistance which was due to the French, merely as men to men; much more when they were brethren in arms. We notice it, to give it the most positive contradiction. The English surgeons near the scene of action went, of their own accord, to attend to and relieve the wants of the wounded, as far as was in their power; and Dr. Hall, who was at the head of the medical department, sent others—some to attend the French, others to visit especially the Russian wounded. On that, as on all occasions, the gentlemen of the medical staff were indefatigable in their exertions; and no class in the army did their duty more zealously and conscientiously, or had a more arduous and difficult duty to perform.

The battle of the Tchernaya was followed by another bombardment—the fifth—of Sebastopol. It commenced on the morning of the 17th of August. General Pelissier having announced to General Simpson, on the previous day, that the batteries in the French trenches, against the Malakoff and adjacent works, were prepared to open fire, the general gave orders that the English should resume their fire on the morning of the 17th. However, when the time came, through some blunder or oversight, when the English guns began to discharge shot and shell at the Malakoff and Redan, the French were not ready, and “the Russians were enabled to concentrate their fire on the English advanced trenches, and caused us severe loss in officers and men.”† The English kept up a brisk discharge all day; but the Russian fire became feeble by the evening. One shell from an English battery fell amongst a number of explosives in a Russian magazine, apparently causing considerable

damage;‡ and, ultimately, their guns which bore on the sap the French were making in advance of the Mamelon, towards the Malakoff, were silenced, and our allies were enabled to pursue their work that night, and the following day, nearly unmolested. The bombardment was continued till the 20th, when the British sent a shower of rockets into the Karabelnaia, by which several houses were fired, and the inhabitants of the suburb appeared to be thrown into great confusion.

The same day, the French, who previously had only discharged a few guns now and then, opened a rapid fire on the defences in front of their left, and continued it for some time; more to distract the attention of the enemy, than to produce any particular effect on their works.—At this time a heavy fire was generally kept up all night from the trenches, to prevent the enemy from repairing their damaged parapets and embrasures; and few events worth mentioning occurred. On the 23rd, the French carried an ambuscade or rifle-pit, on the glacis of the Malakoff, being the nearest approach they made to that work till it was taken. At night, the Russians made a sally, and attempted its recapture. About 500 men rushed upon the French in a most determined manner; but they were beaten back, with the loss of more than half their number.—On the night of the 28th, the French had again the misfortune to have one of their magazines destroyed. A working-party were discharging powder into its repository near the Mamelon, when a shell from a Russian battery fell amongst them, and the whole exploded. About 1,400 rounds, of 10 lbs. each, were destroyed, causing a fearful noise, which reverberated through the camp, and produced the effects of an earthquake. One hundred and fifty men were killed and wounded, and several Englishmen were injured. A rapid fire was immediately opened, from the English batteries, upon the Malakoff and the Redan, to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of this accident to annoy the French by a sortie.—In the night of the 30th, a party of the 23rd Welsh fusiliers were working in the fifth parallel of the English right attack. A body of Russian infantry crept up close

* General Simpson's despatch to Lord Panmure, August 18th.

† Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

‡ General Simpson's despatch, August 18th.

upon them; and as they were too few in number to resist, the enemy occupied the parallel, and commenced destroying the gabions, besides seizing the tools which the 23rd had abandoned. They then went to the fourth parallel, expecting to be equally successful; but there they were met by a party of the 97th regiment, headed by Lieutenant Preston, and of the 77th under Captain Pechell. The Russians got into the parallel, but the 97th drove them out at the point of the bayonet; and they returned *minus* several of their men, the English losing Lieutenant Preston, and four rank and file killed; Captain Pechell, and twelve rank and file were wounded.—There was another sortie in the night of the 31st, also on the advanced trenches of the right attack. One officer was killed, four wounded, and several rank and file put *hors de combat*; but the Russians were beaten, and compelled to retire much more rapidly than they advanced. It was their last sortie from Sebastopol.

Our allies appeared to be most anxious to complete a sap and other works, which they were pushing on towards the Malakoff, with a view to a final assault on that work. They were also carrying on advanced works against the Little Redan on their extreme right, and the Central Bastion and Flagstaff Battery on their left. By the close of August—

“Their advanced trench was only twelve yards distant from the ditch of the Malakoff, and only thirty from the Little Redan. These works had not been carried to such dangerous proximity without considerable loss to our allies; but, as the ground was favourable, it was not possible for the enemy to hinder their approaches. On the side of the English, it was found impossible, from the position of the Malakoff, and the rocky nature of the soil, to construct works closer to the Great Redan. Their most advanced trench was still distant 196 yards from that formidable work; and it was seen, with considerable anxiety, that, whenever the general assault took place, the storming parties would have to pass that open space, exposed to a fearful fire.*”

Before the close of August, 720 men arrived, to form an army working corps, who were placed under the orders of Mr. Doyne, as superintendent. They were immediately employed—some on the railway, to effect necessary repairs; others in constructing a road from head-quarters to Balaklava; and two tramroads—one from the Col de Balaklava to Kamiesch, the other from Kadikoi to the Woronzoff road:

* *The Past Campaign.*

another portion was occupied in procuring a supply of water for the camp.

The Russians were observed to be very busy, in August, in constructing two bridges—one from Fort Nicholas, the other from the suburb of Karabelnaia, to the north side of the harbour. Before the month closed, they were ready for the passage of troops, carts, &c.; and it was seen that both goods and people were passing from the south to the north. Whilst this transfer was taking place, the Russian troops were concentrating on the Mackenzie Heights, at Tasova, and Karales, their left extending as far as the village of Makoul: they also received considerable reinforcements, conveyed in carts from Baktchi-Serai and Simpheropol; and made demonstrations in the valley of Baidar. These movements kept the allies in constant expectation of another attack, and led the Sardinians to erect redoubts on each side of their positions, the French also strengthened the defences of the Traktir bridge; and General Simpson sent the Highland division, composed of the 42nd, 71st, 79th, and 93rd regiments, under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, to reinforce the extreme right of the British position; and, on the 28th of August, they were encamped on the heights overhanging the village of Kamara. The cavalry and fifty guns were also placed in reserve, to act on the first appearance of the enemy.†

Whilst the generals-in-chief were led to apprehend another attack, various rumours of a different tendency were circulated by deserters in the camps. It was reported that both soldiers and people were getting discontented and disorderly in Sebastopol; and that the latter had great cause, having scarcely a roof left to shelter them; whilst provisions of all kinds, and also their beverages, were failing, and could only be procured with great difficulty. It was also asserted, that the Russian commander-in-chief had received permission from the czar to evacuate Sebastopol, if he thought proper; and that, in fact, he was making preparations for that event. These reports did not cause the allies, in the slightest degree, to relax their exertions; and, on the 28th of August, General Simpson reported to Lord Panmure, that “the siege operations were progressing favourably; but, owing to the brightness of the nights, a large amount of work could not be exe-

† General Simpson's despatch, August 28th.

cutted;" whilst the casualties amongst the workers were numerous.

On the 25th of August, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, arrived at head-quarters, accompanied by Lord Napier, and several other members of the legation. His object was, to invest several officers with the Order of the Bath—a ceremony which took place at the head-quarters of General Simpson, on the 27th. In a square court in front of the house, a tent or pavilion was formed of flags, over which waved the British standard, flanked by the union-jack and the French tricolour on one side, and by the Sardinian and Turkish ensigns on the other. The exterior of the pavilion was decked with flags, arrayed in festoons; in the interior, a daïs was formed for the ambassador, who appeared in a magnificent full-dress diplomatic uniform, between one and two o'clock. At that time the court was lined with troops, who received the distinguished personages, as they arrived, with military honours. The ambassador—who himself wore the Order of the Bath, and was surrounded by the naval and military commanders-in-chief of the allied forces—conducted the ceremony "with great dignity and solemnity;" delivering "a peculiarly eloquent discourse upon the character and history of the most honourable order."* The following officers were then invested with the insignia, and formally installed:—General Simpson; Admiral Sir E. Lyons; Lieutenant-generals Sir Colin Campbell, Sir J. Y. Scarlett, Sir W. Codrington, and Bentinck; Brigadier-generals Barnard and Rose; and Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Sir G. G. Foley, commissioner at the head-quarters of the French army. At the close of the investiture, the troops presented arms, the band played "God Save the Queen," and the artillery fired a royal salute. Sir H. Jones was also to receive the order; and as he was too unwell to attend, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe performed the ceremony of investiture at his lodgings. A grand banquet followed; and that rejoicing might be general, a *fête* was provided for the troops. A range of kitchens, prepared

* General Simpson's despatch.

under the superintendance of M. Soyer, was opened that afternoon; and all the men were made happy with a good dinner, in which savoury soups and stews formed a prominent feature. General Simpson and General Pelissier were present, with most of the other generals of both armies. The Duke of Newcastle, who was then in the Crimea, with several other civilians, joined the officers, and appeared to take great interest in what was passing. There were also several ladies, who are said to have "looked as blooming and sprightly as if they had been on a pic-nic or gipsying party at home." Both commanders-in-chief expressed their approbation of the improvement introduced into the system of regimental cooking by M. Soyer; and a general belief prevailed that it would contribute greatly to the comfort of the soldiers—a belief which was fully confirmed by the results.

During the summer, the casualties in the British army, from the fire of the Russians, had been numerous. The men in the trenches were never secure day or night, the enemy having guns in position in their works, and on the ships in the harbour, which commanded the entire line of attack; and, whenever our soldiers were seen exposed, they were fired upon. We have, in a former chapter, given the amount of the casualties from January 1st to the end of May. The following table shows the number of killed and wounded between June 1st and the 31st of August.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers	32	140	3
Non-commissioned Officers and Privates	546	2,675	166
Naval Brigade	49	224	4
	627	3,039	173

Making a total of 3,839. In July and August, reinforcements were received, several entire regiments landing at Balaklava; and, on the 1st of September, "the English force, of all arms, amounted to 48,024 rank and file, and 8,986 horses. Of these, the royal artillery employed in the siege, and with the field batteries, amounted to 6,778 rank and file."‡

‡ Lieut.-col. Calthorpe.

CHAPTER XV.

LOSSES OF THE FRENCH; COUNCIL OF WAR; THE LAST BOMBARDMENT; ASSAULT AND FALL OF SEBASTOPOL; GENERAL ORDERS; STATE OF SEBASTOPOL; ARRANGEMENTS FOR ITS GOVERNMENT; DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE RECEIPT OF THE NEWS OF ITS OCCUPATION BY THE ALLIES; HONOURS CONFERRED ON THE COMMANDERS; THE QUEEN'S THANKS TO THE ARMY; THANKS TO THE NAVAL BRIGADE; COMMISSION ON THE CAPTURED STORES; EXPEDITION TO KINBURN; RESIGNATION OF GENERAL SIMPSON; WINTER OF 1855-'56.

DURING the last few days of August the weather had been cold and disagreeable; but September opened with a bright and brilliant sun; and this change in the weather, added to a conviction that Sebastopol could not hold out much longer, caused considerable cheerfulness to prevail in the English camp. In the French, on the contrary, there was a tendency to despond: the losses had been great, 150 per day; and General Bosquet declared that his troops could no longer maintain their ground, under the perpetual fire that crushed them.—General Niel, the chief of the engineers, also sent a report to the general-in-chief, expressing to him the imperious and immediate necessity of acting. "If we do not take our leap at once," he wrote, "the enemy will construct fresh works."*

On the 3rd of September, a council of war was held at the French head-quarters, at which General Niel stated that their ammunition was nearly exhausted; and he and General Bosquet took an opposite side, in the discussion, from that they had on former occasions assumed. Then, they were for delay; now they contended the assault should take place immediately; whilst the general-in-chief, Pelissier, was desirous to wait for the arrival of a number of mortars, which were on their way from France. The decision was against Pelissier—it being resolved that the bombardment should be renewed on the 5th, and that an assault should be made on the 8th. This decision was in accordance with a report made to the commanders-in-chief by the engineer and artillery officers; and it was finally arranged that the French—who had a total of eighty-seven batteries and 627 guns—should attack the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff Battery, on the left; and the Malakoff, the Little Redan,

* Baron de Bazancourt.

† *Canada and the Crimea.*

and the Curtain that connected those two works, on the right. The first assault was to be made on the Malakoff; and when the French flag floated over that formidable fort, the English—who had thirty-two batteries, and 204 pieces of ordnance—were to assault the Redan.

On the morning of the 5th of September, soon after daybreak, the last bombardment of Sebastopol was accordingly commenced. It was opened from the English and French batteries on the whole Russian line of defence, "and was conducted with such violence, that, in half-an-hour, the Russians withdrew their guns from the embrasures, and ceased to reply to it."† The same fierce fire was continued on the 6th and 7th; and its effects cannot be better described than in the words of Prince Gortschakoff, who would not be likely to overrate its effects.

"Beginning with the 5th of September" he says, "the assailants augmented, in an incredible manner, the cannonade and bombardment; breaking down and destroying our works along our whole line of defence—sometimes by sudden salvos from all their batteries—sometimes by a continuous rolling fire of artillery. This infernal fire, directed against our embrasures and merlons, clearly showed the enemy's intention to dismount our guns and destroy our works, and then to assault the town. It was no longer possible to repair our fortifications; and we restricted ourselves, consequently, to embanking the powder-magazines and stockades. The falling parapets filled up the ditches; the merlons crumbled to pieces; it was, every moment, necessary to repair the embrasures; the gunners perished in great numbers, and it became exceedingly difficult to replace them. At this period the loss was enormous. From the 5th to the 8th of September, four field officers, forty-seven subalterns, and 3,917 men, were killed or disabled."‡

The continued reports received by Generals Simpson and Pelissier, had led them to believe that the enemy meditated to attack, in force, the positions on the Tchernaya.§ The Russians did make a recon-

‡ Report to the Russian government, on the fall of the city. § Gen. Simpson's despatch, Sept. 4th.

naissance in that direction during the 5th, while the bombardment was going on, with a *corps d'armée*, estimated at 15,000 men. There was some skirmishing between this force and the outposts of the Sardinians; but nothing serious occurred; and, before night, the Russians were withdrawn. That night, about nine o'clock, a large Russian frigate was seen to take fire in the harbour, which, by midnight, was burned to the water's edge. Flames burst out in a second vessel during the afternoon of the 7th; and, from the length of time it continued burning, it was supposed to contain stores. "The whole harbour and town of Sebastopol were lit up by this great conflagration. Excitement and confidence in the approaching assault were at the highest pitch in the allied camps; and the burning of the ship was looked upon as an omen of disaster to the enemy."* In Sebastopol, it was evident that fears of the result were entertained. During the bombardment there was a continued traffic over the recently-erected bridges, from the south to the north; heavily-loaded carts and wag-gons passing from the city, and returning empty, to carry away more goods.

It had been previously arranged that the brigade of General Levaillant was to attack the Central Bastion, and that of General d'Autemarre the Flagstaff Battery; the two assaults to be under the orders of General de Salles, who commanded the first *corps d'armée*. The divisions of General M'Mahon to which a corps of Sardinians was attached, La Motterouge, and Dulac, were to attack the Malakoff, the Curtain, and the Little Redan. Each column was to be accompanied by sixty sappers, 300 men with scaling-ladders, &c., and fifty artillerymen to spike the guns. The Zouaves of the *Garde Impériale*, and a brigade of General Camou's division, were to act as a reserve to the left column, under General M'Mahon; the chasseurs of the *Garde Impériale*, and a brigade of General d'Aurelle's division, were to support the right column of General Dulac's, and the remainder of the *Garde Impériale* was to remain in the trenches, ready to support General M'Mahon's attack of the Malakoff, it being determined to take that work, whatever might be the loss of life. General Bosquet took the command of the three columns.—The English assault was to be made on the Redan, from the right attack,

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

by 1,000 men, taken from the light and 2nd divisions, 500 from each; flanked by 100 men of the rifle brigade, and 100 of the 3rd, to pick off the enemy's gunners. There was also to be a supporting party of 750 men, of the 19th and 88th regiments, placed in the third parallel, who were to move into the fifth parallel as soon as the assault commenced, to be ready to take part in it; and 320 men were appointed to carry the scaling-ladders. The assaulting party was to be commanded by Lieutenant-generals Sir William Codrington and Markham; the Highland brigade was to be brought up from Kamara, and stationed in the trenches to support the assault; and the 1st, 3rd, and 4th divisions were to be placed in reserve, ready to act if required.

In the evening of the 7th of September, precise instructions were issued by General Simpson to the army, to enable the officers and troops to carry out these arrangements; and all that night the enemy kept up a fire upon the trenches, where the hours between sunset and day-break were spent in a state of great peril. The following extract of a letter written the next day, by Major Ranken, of the engineers, will give the reader some idea of what our countrymen had to undergo:—

"I was walking about, under fire, nearly the whole night, having working parties in various parts of the trenches, 450 strong. I was several times obliged to throw myself on the ground, to avoid splinters and shells. There is a little hut protected from fire in the quarries, which is called the Engineer Office. It is so small that one cannot stand upright in it, and is full of fleas and mice; but it is a welcome retreat from danger, after a long and fatiguing round through the rocky trenches. I gave it up, in a great measure, to the doctor on duty, last night, but happened to be present when several poor fellows were brought in with limbs torn away by splinters of shells. I was much shocked by the various sights I was compelled to witness. The wounded men behaved most heroically."†

On the 8th of September the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. The morning was gloomy and boisterous, clouds of dust covering the whole face of the plateau. The allied armies were moving into their positions soon after 7 A.M., under a rapid and heavy fire from the batteries; and when the troops began their preparations, several gun-boats and mortar-vessels appeared off the Quarantine Fort, upon which they opened a bombardment that was con-

† *Canada and the Crimea.*

tinued during the day, occasioning great loss to the Russians, and preventing them from turning the guns of that fort against the French assaulting column on the left. The troops occupied between three and four hours in taking up their positions, as along several of the approaches it was not safe for more than two men to march abreast. It was about half-past ten, therefore, when General Simpson and his staff entered the second parallel, from whence they intended to witness the assault. Sir H. Jones, who was still unable to walk, being enfeebled from the effects of the wound received on the 18th of June, was carried on a stretcher, to join the commander-in-chief. Almost simultaneously, General Pelissier and his staff took their stations in the Mamelon. "Up to near this time, the fire of the artillery had been more rapid and heavier, if possible, than it had ever been before: it then gradually ceased;" it being "thought that a partial cessation of the fire would be calculated to lead the enemy into a belief that no assault would take place."* The French had also broke ground during the night, as if they intended throwing up another parallel; which, probably, caused the enemy to imagine that there would be more works constructed before the assault was made:

General Pelissier had taken every precaution to render that movement successful. He had collected, in and near the Mamelon, 30,000 men; and on the left he had 10,000 troops in the trenches, who were joined by 5,000 Sardinians. His reserves were duly stationed, and the storming parties were all at their posts by the hour of noon. Precisely at that hour, the "three divisions of Dulac, M'Mahon, and La Motterouge left the trenches, drums beating, and bugles sounding the charge; and, to the shout of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' the several bodies rushed on the points of attack assigned them." Where the greatest difficulty and danger were expected, at the Malakoff, success was found the easiest. That fort extended about 400 yards in length, and was 150 yards wide. There was a ditch in front, twenty-four feet wide, and twenty feet deep; and behind it a parapet, twenty feet high. But the bombardment had ruptured the earthworks, and partially filled the ditch; and the French were provided with ladders thirty feet long, with spikes at their upper end to fix into

the earth, and with planks to lay across, so as to form a portable bridge. For days before the assault, their sappers were practising in one of the engineering yards attached to the camp, how to place five of these ladders side by side, lay the planks across them, and then file off to the right and left, to allow the stormers rapidly to advance: and, when the time arrived, they were enabled to perform their task with considerable celerity.

The French advances had been carried so near the Malakoff, that a sudden dash from the trenches brought the sappers, the engineers, and the advanced guard who carried their ladders and planks, almost instantaneously to the side of the ditch. In an instant the bridges were fixed, and the troops pouring over them. Strange to say, there was no one to meet them, and they leaped the parapet without opposition. There they found a few Russian soldiers, who discharged their muskets, and, retreating behind the traverses, made a stand; and what General Pelissier describes as "a terrible hand-to-hand struggle," took place; many of the Russians, who were without their muskets, arming themselves with gun-rammers, pickaxes, stones—anything that came to hand. They fought desperately, but were soon killed, made prisoners, or driven off;† and, in fifteen minutes from the time of the storming party leaving their trenches, the French flag was flying over the Malakoff.—The fact is, the Russians were completely taken by surprise. The general who commanded at the fort, and most of the officers, were at dinner, and several were made prisoners; others escaped. Many men were asleep; and not a few were shot before they were able to take to their arms. But after the tricolour was flying over the fort, some of the garrison who were still in a bomb-proof chamber at the base of the round stone tower—

"Whose loopholed wall looked on the rear of the interior, began to annoy the French extremely, and kept a large place clear from the assailants. A reminiscence of their Algerine experience helped our allies in their difficulty. General M'Mahon, collecting a quantity of gabions from the works, heaped them round the tower, and set them on fire, when the garrison made signs of surrender. But no sooner had this measure succeeded, than it occurred to the general that there possibly might be mines in the neighbourhood, which would be exploded by the burning gabions; and he looked hastily round for some means of extinguishing

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

† General Niel's Report.

them. Fortunately intrenching tools were at hand; a trench was dug along the course of the fire, and the earth heaped on it, which put it out. And here occurred a singular chance" [or rather a most gracious interposition of Providence]. "The trench thus dug, laid bare the wires placed by the Russians to fire a mine. They were immediately cut, and rendered useless."*

Thus, with comparative ease, did the French establish themselves in the Malakoff; but they had some difficulty in maintaining their possession. Before we notice, however, the attempts of the Russians to regain this important work, we will, as briefly as possible, state the results of the other attacks on the right.

At the same moment that M'Mahon's division sallied from the trenches, and threw themselves into the Malakoff, those of La Motterouge and Dulac assailed the Curtain and the Little Redan. Those were both strong works; the latter being covered by the fire of three Russian steamers which were brought to the head of the harbour; and sixteen guns were mounted upon the former: it was also strengthened by an interior parapet, on which several cannon were mounted. The French lines were only thirty yards from these works; and the storming parties had scarcely left the trenches before they were over the parapets—though at both they met with a stubborn resistance, as the Russians were prepared, and not taken by surprise, as they were at the Malakoff. They were outnumbered, however, and were soon beaten and driven out. The French officers in the trenches, seeing their flag flying over the Malakoff, and finding that their comrades had got into the Curtain and the Little Redan, "believed the victory secure, and fell to embracing one another in token of congratulation."† But the enemy was not disposed to surrender those works without a struggle. Large bodies of troops came from the town, supported by twenty pieces of field artillery, and opened a fierce and destructive fire on the French. Several batteries on the north side of the harbour were also within range of the two works, and opened their fire upon them, as did the three steamers—a battery which the French had erected to command the head of the harbour, seeming to have no effect upon them; the guns, it is supposed, not being sufficiently depressed. Under the

furious fire of their artillery, the Russians made a desperate attack on both the Curtain and Little Redan, and drove out the invaders. A second time the assault was made, and the works gained; and a second time the Russians re-established themselves. Taking a few minutes to re-organise their broken ranks, the assailants once more dashed at the contested posts—again got possession of them, and again were compelled to retreat before the overwhelming discharges of shot and shell from the Russian guns.‡ General Bosquet being wounded, the chief command of the attack was given, by Pelissier, to General Dulac;§ and, once more, the French infantry were ordered to the assault. To support them—

"Some field artillery was brought on the scene. In anticipation of such a measure, a road had been levelled straight across the trenches, and the gaps filled with gabions. These were thrown down, by sappers posted behind them, as the guns approached; and a troop of French horse-artillery galloping up from the rear, and losing a good many horses as it went, emerged on the level space between the French works and the Curtain, and its six 12-pounders came into action against the ramparts. It was a deed of great daring; the ground was swept by the Russian guns; and the musketry of the Little Redan and Curtain fired at a range which rendered their aim deadly. In taking up such a position, these field guns achieved a novel and brilliant exploit, and one which will, no doubt, be commemorated with pride in the annals of the French artillery. But their gallantry was unavailing; they were immediately crushed by the tremendous fire, and withdrew, having lost a great number of officers, men, and horses, besides the captain, who was killed."||

Before they retired, they drove back the Russian infantry, and silenced the steamships—thus enabling the division of General La Motterouge to establish themselves in the left of the Curtain, which adjoined the Malakoff:¶ the right of that work, and the Little Redan, remained in the hands of the Russians.

During a part of this struggle, the English had been engaged at the Redan; the signal for the attack of that work being given, as agreed upon, the minute the tricolour was seen floating over the Malakoff. General Simpson had "determined that the 2nd and light divisions should have the honour of the assault, from the circumstance of their having defended the batteries and approaches against the Redan for so many months, and from the intimate

* Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

† *Ibid.*

‡ General Niel's despatch.

§ Gen. Pelissier's despatch. || Lieut.-col. Hamley.

¶ General Pelissier's despatch.

knowledge they possessed of the ground."* The Redan was of this shape ▷. It was a very large work, "undefended at the wide part, or gorge, except by a single infantry trench; but with huge traverses, and a double line of parapet, which enabled the defenders to open a cross-fire on the head of any column advancing from the salient angle."† The fire of the artillery had made as much of a breach as was possible in that angle; and General Simpson decided, "that the column of assault should be directed against that part, as being less exposed to the heavy flanking fire by which this work was protected."‡ That column was selected from the 62nd, 41st, 90th, and 97th regiments; and the ladder party was formed from the 97th, and 3rd Buffs. Ready in the trenches, and "eagerly awaiting the combat," says the Baron de Bazancourt, these gallant fellows, "the moment the signal was perceived, rapidly advanced;" but that advance was made under very different circumstances from those which attended the French attack on the Malakoff.

"In the first place, instead of having before them a work whose embrasures had been bunged up, and guns silenced as was the case with that fort, our men had to rush upon a line of battery, nearly every piece in which was ready to receive them with grape and canister. The French, too, started from a place only a few yards from the spot to be attacked, whilst our troops were compelled to cross an open space of nearly six times the extent, and that under a direct and flanking fire from near a score of guns."§

The consequences may be conceived: "the whole ground," in the words of the French historian of the Crimean war, "was speedily strewn with dead;" officers and rank and file falling on every hand. Amongst the former, Brigadier Shirley, who led the stormers of the light division, contused by a shot, and temporarily blinded by the dust, had to retire. Brigadier Straubenzee was struck down, and carried to the rear. Colonel Unett, Captain Hammond, Major Welsford, who commanded the ladder party, and Colonel Handcock, were killed; and many others severely wounded. Of the commanders of parties, only Colonel Windham, Captain Fryers, Captain Lewes, and Captain Maude, got safe into the Redan.|| But—

* General Simpson's despatch.

† *Canada and the Crimea.*

‡ General Simpson's despatch.

§ Correspondent of the *Daily News.*

"The advance of the intrepid column was not arrested for a moment. When it had reached the crown of the moat, the ladders were placed; and the storming party" [what was left of it] "climbing the parapet of the Redan, soon penetrated the salient angle. But there the men found before them only a vast space, riddled with the balls of the enemy, who took shelter in the distant traverses. For more than an hour, the English, in no way daunted, struggled to maintain themselves against the murderous storm that showered on them from every part; those who arrived scarcely replacing those who fell."¶

When the work was entered, Colonel Windham was the senior officer, and he took the command, as acting brigadier-general, of the 2nd division of assault. He did the utmost to rally his men, and repeatedly sent for reinforcements: but except the 750 men at first set apart as a support, none arrived for some time; and amidst the desperate struggle, the cry arose, "Oh God! where are the regiments in support?" The Russians were continually receiving accessions—none came to the English: still the brave hearts in the Redan never quailed; and many acts of heroism were performed, both by individuals and parties. Soon after the survivors of the storming party had cleared the parapet, Sergeant Moynihan, of the 90th regiment, who was one of the first to enter, had his comrades killed, and was left alone.

"Then came a rush of British soldiers, headed by Lieutenant Grahame, who, with surprise, asked Moynihan, how long he had been there? This gallant knot of men instantly charged the Russians where they were thickest, and all fell, save Sergeant Moynihan. After some desperate struggling he was joined by six or seven men of different regiments, and they took the inner breastwork. Captain Rowland, of the 41st, was with this party, and they held possession of the centre of the fort, clear of all the breastworks and traverses, for upwards of five minutes; but, for want of support, they were compelled to seek shelter behind an inner breastwork. If another regiment had then come up, the place had been permanently won."**

Such were the incidents which took place in the Redan: each officer, and each private, and every little party of three or four, or half-a-dozen, that could be got together, fought as bravely as Sergeant Moynihan and his supporters. It was not so with the troops that formed the support. As they came up, "they seemed stunned and paralysed," according to Major Ranken;

¶ W. H. Russell.

¶ The Baron de Bazancourt.

** From the official report of the services of those on whom the "Victoria Cross" was conferred.

showing "little of that dash and enthusiasm which might have been looked for in British soldiers in an assault." They believed the Redan was mined, and the officers could not get them to follow their lead: even if they had, their numbers were too few to effect their object.* At length—

"Some supports were sent; the gallant 'fighting 7th,' led on by Major Turner, and the 23rd, by Colonel Lysons, advancing to the renewed attack. But they had to leave the trenches unorganised; came up in disorder, and only added to the confused masses opposed to the enemy's fire. The officers aided the brigadier (Windham), regardless of themselves; and the latter, after the fighting in the Redan had lasted nearly an hour, said to Captain Crealock, of the 90th, who was encouraging his men, and exerting himself with great bravery and energy—"I must go to the general for supports. Now mind, let it be known, in case I am killed, why I went away." It is surprising how, amidst showers of grape and bullets, he reached the fifth parallel, from which he had started two hours previously, in safety. He succeeded, however, in arriving unhurt;†

And obtained an immediate interview with Sir William Codrington, whom he implored to send some supports in formation, and not in the disorderly state in which those were who had previously been forwarded. But the trenches were so crowded with troops, that rapid organisation was impossible: and perhaps it was well that this was the case; for, at that moment, the remains of the assaulting party were rapidly leaving the Redan. The Russians had collected several thousand troops at the gorge of that work; and whilst a number of them rushed over the breastwork there, and charged with the bayonet the few British soldiers who remained, others mounted the breastwork, and fired upon the enfeebled remnant, over the heads of their own comrades. The British retired to the salient; for it was impossible for them, few in number as they were, to charge the enemy. If four or five hundred men had then come up, and cleared the gorge, the work would have been ours. As it was, the little band, many of whom were wounded, defended themselves with what a French officer terms, "the cold intrepidity that distinguishes them." They had little ammunition; and they used the stones which were strewed about, to pelt the enemy, who returned "hand-grape," and small cannon-shot. At last, the British, finding further defence impossible, com-

menced a quick retreat—leaping the parapet, or scrambling through the embrasures: from thence they got into the ditch, and then unto the plain that separated them from their own trenches, to which they returned with all speed, the Russians attacking them, while in the ditch, with the bayonet; and when they got beyond, with stones and grapeshot. The British batteries and riflemen soon compelled the enemy to retire; and, as no pursuit was attempted, all that were left of the assaulting party and its supports, reached the trenches—"defeated," as a former historian remarked; "disappointed; to some extent disheartened; but certainly not dishonoured." The enemy—

"Placed two brass guns, which were in the Redan when our men entered, in embrasures, where their green wheels were plainly visible, and began firing into our trenches, and upon the French on the slope before the Malakoff. Two or three of our guns were directed on them, and struck and silenced both. The heavy guns of the Redan, some of which had been spiked by our people, scarcely fired at all after the attack.‡

In this attack the English loss of the day was incurred. Few of the first storming party of 1,000 escaped unhurt; and amongst the officers killed in the Redan, were Lieutenant-colonel J. Eman, Captains E. Every and J. A. Lockhart, of the 41st; Captain L. A. Cox, and Lieutenant L. Blakiston, of the 62nd; Captains H. Preston and Vaughan, and Lieutenants A. D. Swift and H. F. Willmer, of the 90th; Captain J. Hutton, and Lieutenant and Adjutant A. D. M'Gregor, of the 97th. More than double the number were wounded in the works; and still more were killed and wounded in the rush across the open area between the British parallels and the Redan. Nothing, however, could exceed "the gallantry and self-devotion with which the officers so nobly placed themselves at the head of their men during this sanguinary conflict;" and the commander-in-chief "felt himself unable to express, in adequate terms, the sense he entertained of the conduct and gallantry they exhibited, though their devotion was not rewarded with the success they so well merited."‡

There was, whilst these events took place in the centre and on the right, some sharp fighting going on upon the left. There the principal attack of the French was directed against the Central Bastion; that against the Flagstaff Battery being ordered to be made in connection with it,

* *History of the Russian War (1856).*

† Lieutenant-colonel Hamley.

‡ General Simpson's despatch, September 9th.

but considered of secondary interest; as, if the former were taken, the latter could not maintain its resistance. Two mines were sprung against the Central Bastion in the morning, and their explosion appeared to cause great disorder. Two brigades of Levaillant's division, under Generals Trochu and Couston, were to attack that bastion; and two brigades of D'Autemarre's division, under Generals Niot and Breton, were ordered to follow on the track of the first two columns, occupy the gorge of the Flagstaff Battery, and take the batteries that defended it. General de Salles, of the 1st corps, took the direction of the combined movements. The attack on the bastion was bravely made, but it was met with a terrible discharge of grape, and explosions of mines, which broke up the ground beneath the assailants. The chasseurs penetrated to the lunette of the bastion, but nearly all the officers fell; and the mass was thrown into confusion. General Trochu was severely wounded when endeavouring to re-form his broken companies; and greater confusion was caused by a shower of grenades falling on the heads of the troops. Generals Rivet and Breton, with reinforcements from D'Autemarre's division, endeavoured to reach the scene of conflict, and both were killed. Fresh mines were exploded; and the Russians availed themselves of the increased confusion caused by this unexpected event, to make a charge upon the already retreating French. It was found useless to contend any longer. "Orders were given to the columns of assault to fall back into the interior of the advanced *places d'armes*:" and, although D'Autemarre's division prepared for a second attack; the batteries, under General Lebœuf, which had been silent while the assault was going on, recommenced their fire; and a brigade of Sardinians was waiting for the order to dash upon the Flagstaff Battery—General Pelissier, satisfied with the possession of the Malakoff, gave orders to suspend the renewal of offensive operations on the left,* as he thought it useless to lose any more lives in that quarter.

The general took this step because he was satisfied the capture of the Malakoff must decide the success of the day; and he concentrated all his attention to retain

* The Baron de Bazancourt.

† General Pelissier's despatch.

‡ General Simpson's, despatch.

the possession of that work, which was then—

"Completely in the power of General M'Mahon. A critical moment was, however, at hand. A powder-magazine, in the Curtain near the Malakoff, blew up, and caused the general to fear the most serious consequences. The Russians, hoping to profit by this accident, advanced in dense masses, and, in three columns, attacked the centre, left, and right of the work. But arrangements had already been made to defend it. General M'Mahon had daring troops, who feared nothing to oppose them; and, after some desperate attempts, the Russians were compelled to beat a retreat. From that moment they relinquished any offensive attack. The Malakoff was in the hands of the French, and could not be taken from them. It was then about half-past four; and measures were immediately taken to enable the troops to repulse the enemy, should he attempt to attack them in the night."†

The superintendence of these arrangements was left, in the French parallels, to Generals Beuret and Prossard, who commanded the artillery and engineers of the French army. On the part of the British, General Simpson sent for Major-general Sir William Eyre, and Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell, to arrange with them for renewing, on the next morning, the attack on the Redan, the trenches being so crowded, that he was unable to organise a second assault on the 8th.‡ The failure of the first was owing, in the first place, to the number of men engaged in it being greatly inadequate to the service entrusted to them; and, in the second, to the disorganised state of the trenches, which prevented supports, "in formation," from being forwarded in aid of the assaulting column after it had entered the Redan. If the attack on that work had been supported as those on the Curtain and Little Redan were, it would not have failed. However, it was no use looking to the past, except as a warning for the future; and the steps taken during the evening of the 8th, for a renewal of the assault the next day, were confidently expected to be such as to ensure success. That assault was not, however, to be made.

Whilst the generals were engaged with the arrangements for the morrow, the troops, many of them, were employed in collecting the wounded, and burying the dead, who lay, on the plain: those who fell in the forts were obliged, for the present, to be left to the tender mercies of the Russians. Active as the men of both armies were in performing this service, all the bodies could not be collected that night.

As they proceeded, it was found, that the English, in proportion to the number engaged, had more men put *hors de combat* than the French. The losses in each army were ultimately given, as in the following table. We add the number of the Russian killed and wounded, from Prince Gortschakoff's report to his government.

	ENGLISH.			FRENCH.			RUSSIANS.			Totals.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded & Confused.	Missing.	
Officers	29	124	1	29	30	2	59	279	24	577
Subaltern officers	—	—	—	116	224	8	—	—	—	348
Sergeants	36	142	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	190
Drummers	6	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Rank and file (including corporals in the English, and all non-commissioned officers in the French and Russian lists)	314	1,608	163	1,489	4,259	1,400	2,625	6,964	1,739	20,561
	385	1,886	176	1,634	4,513	1,410	2,684	7,243	1,763	—
Grand Totals		2,447			7,557			11,690		21,694

The result of the fall of the Malakoff proved the correctness of the opinion—maintained, from the first, by Sir John Burgoyne and the majority of the English engineers—that that fort was the key of Sebastopol. Although the attacks on all the other works had been repulsed, Prince Gortschakoff knew that the fate of the city was sealed, and he resolved to abandon it. He announced this determination in an address to his troops; in which he said—

“Valiant Comrades!—It is painful, it is hard, to leave Sebastopol in the enemy's hands: but remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812. Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol: we abandoned it after the immortal battle of Borodino. The defence of Sebastopol during 349 days, is superior to Borodino; and when the enemy entered Moscow in that great year of 1812, they only found heaps of stones and ashes. Likewise it is not Sebastopol which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner, that our great-grandchildren may recall the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity.”

The evacuation was most skilfully carried out. The Russians had prepared for the movement by undermining all the defensive works on the north side, and all the principal buildings in the town; and by removing large quantities of ammunition, and most of the goods of the inhabitants. As evening set in, on the 8th, a fire of musketry and artillery was begun and kept up from the advanced posts; and—

“The lines of barricades constructed, before-

hand, in the interior of the town, were occupied by different regiments. Covered by their advanced troops, the different corps, drawn up in the rear, commenced their march in the Place Nicholas, whence they crossed the bay by the bridge; those from the faubourg of Karabelnaia embarked on board the steamers and other vessels prepared for that purpose by Admiral Novossilsky. When all the troops had evacuated the Place Nicholas and the Cape Paulovsky, and the wounded, which were in Forts Nicholas and Paul, had been conveyed to the north side, a signal was given, and the artillery, the volunteers, and the regiments at the barricades, began to fall back towards the points for crossing the bay. As the last of the troops left the different points of the line of defence, the pieces of heavy artillery were, as much as possible, rendered unfit for service, and the powder-magazines were set fire to. In all, thirty-five were blown up. After the whole of the troops had crossed over to the north side, the bridge was dismantled.*”

While the troops were leaving Sebastopol, all the ships in the harbour, except the steamers, were sunk; and the forts on the south side were evacuated. The first sign of that movement was discovered by Lieutenant Fenwick, of the 93rd Highlanders. That regiment, with the rest of the Highland brigade, had been stationed in the advanced trenches, ready to take part in the renewed assault of the Redan the next morning. The officer named, after dark had set in, “felt cold and uncomfortable; and, by way of giving himself a little heat, and some amusement,” he says,† he strolled through the trenches, taking the direction

* Prince Gortschakoff's Report.
 † In a letter, which appeared in the papers of the day.

of the Redan. All was so quiet, that his impression was, he could get to it; but he first communicated with Sir Colin Campbell, who authorised him to go and examine the fort, and to take ten men with him, if as many would volunteer. He went to the station of his regiment, and no sooner mentioned his object, than the ten men were forthcoming, and he could have had many more if he had wanted them. They made their way to the fort, which was entirely deserted; and, on entering, they found the interior in the most horrid confusion. The dead and dying Russians and British were mixed together; and here and there was seen "a British soldier grasping a Russian by the breast of his coat, with the hold still firm in his hand, but stretched dead on the ground." The little party returned to the camp; and, soon after, the town was seen to be on fire in different parts. "The flames burst out on all sides," and attracted the notice of the allies; "then mines exploded, powder-magazines blew up;" and "the spectacle of Sebastopol in flames, witnessed by the whole army, was one of the most imposing and terrible sights ever presented in the history of war."*

The first magazine that exploded was that of the Redan; and the concussion was "so great that it shook the earth, and made those who had laid down in the different camps, for a short interval to rest, start out of their sleep, and rush to the front, to ascertain what had happened; but they could only see before them the doomed city, a sheet of flame. At a quarter to 5 A.M. another great explosion took place: this was the *Bastion du Mat*; and it was immediately followed by that of the Garden Battery."† The troops were then discovered passing over the bridge, the evacuation not being completed; but no attempt was made to prevent them—motives of humanity, probably, preventing the allied generals from ordering a cannonade to be opened, as their retreat could not have been prevented, though many might have been killed, if a discharge of grape had been poured upon them. The French did fire a few shots into the suburbs; but it is not known with what effect.—About 8 A.M. it was discovered that the bridge was broken up, its different portions being disconnected, and floated off to

the north side. "At nine, several violent explosions took place in the works on the British left, opposite the French—the town being, by this time, in a mass of flames; and the pillar of black, gray, and velvety fat smoke from it seemed to support the heavens."‡ Then Fort Paul "blew up with a terrific roar, which shook the country all round; and, when the smoke cleared away, nothing remained of the handsomest and best constructed fort in Sebastopol, but a huge heap of smouldering ruins."§

Some stragglers from the French camp began to enter the town soon after day-break: they found a few Russians, probably left to set fire to the mines, and made them prisoners. It was soon ascertained that, notwithstanding the inhabitants had been engaged, for some days, in removing their property, many things of value were left behind; and as soon as the commanders-in-chief were aware of the real state of things, General Simpson issued orders, strictly prohibiting the British troops from plundering, and placed a double line of cavalry sentries round the English camp, who were directed to suffer no one to pass without a permit from the adjutant-general's department. General Pelissier placed sentries round Sebastopol, with orders to exclude all persons who attempted to enter without passes—a prudent measure, when it was not known how many mines there might yet be unexploded; and it probably saved many lives.

The two camps were in a state of great excitement during the whole day, on the 9th of September. The city kept burning all that day, and during the night: it was not safe to enter it; and the commanders-in-chief, after having taken the necessary precautionary measures, retired to their tents, and drew up "General Orders" to their troops, congratulating them upon the result of the long siege; "the brilliant assault and occupation of the Malakoff by the French," having "obliged the enemy," said General Simpson, "to abandon the works they had so long held with such bravery and determination." The general heartily thanked the officers and privates engaged in the attack on the Redan; regretting that, "from the formidable nature of the flanking defences, their devotion did not meet with that immediate success they so well merited." The deepest

* General Pelissier's despatch.

† Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

‡ W. H. Russell.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

sympathy was expressed for the wounded; and the order concluded as follows:—

“General Simpson avails himself of this opportunity, to congratulate, and convey his warmest thanks to, the general officers, officers, and soldiers of the several divisions, to the royal engineers and artillery, for their cheerful endurance of almost unparalleled hardships and sufferings, and for the unflinching courage and determination which, on so many trying occasions, they have evinced. It is with equal satisfaction that the commander of the forces thanks the officers and men of the naval brigade, for the long and uniform course of valuable service rendered by them from the commencement of the siege.”

This General Order was dated from “Head-quarters, Sebastopol:” General Pellissier dated his from “Head-quarters in the Malakoff Redoubt.” The “capture of the Malakoff,” he said—

“Decided the fate of Sebastopol—a result, owing not only to their firm valour, but their indomitable energy and perseverance. Never had artillery, by land and sea—never had engineers—never had infantry to triumph over parallel obstacles. Never, also, did three armies display more valour, more science, more resolution.” * * * “The 8th of September—the day on which the standards of the English, Piedmontese, and French armies floated together—would be a day for ever memorable. French soldiers then illustrated their eagles with a new and imperishable glory,” and “deserved well of France, and of the emperor.”

Prince Gortschakoff waited till his troops were established in tents or quarters on the north side of Sebastopol, before he issued his “General Order.” It was dated the 12th of September. His highness spoke in well-deserved terms of the valour and perseverance of his men. A new war was now to commence, he said—“a war in the open field—that most congenial to the Russian soldier;” and he expressed his confidence in the result.

On the 10th of September Sebastopol was generally accessible; and it was then found that not one building in the city remained uninjured, except a large barrack in the Karabelnaia suburb, which had been used as a hospital. This building was not mined; it being full of wounded, dying, and dead: and presented a scene, on entering, than which one more horrible cannot be conceived. In the afternoon a steamer came from the north side, under a flag of truce, with a message from Prince Gortschakoff, asking leave to remove the wounded; which was readily granted. There were near 500 living, and about 1,500 dead bodies, nearly one-half of which were in a state of decomposition; whilst

maggots were crawling on the wounds of the living!—All the other public buildings were more or less injured; scarcely anything was seen but “ruins, blackened walls, and gutted houses; the ground strewed with projectiles, and broken or spoiled furniture;” and all the inhabitants vanished. None were seen in the streets. A few were found hid in corners; and they were not molested, if they remained inoffensive. They, however, appear to have been afraid of their fate; for they are said to have “crept away into holes and corners of every house, to die like poisoned rats.”*

When the allies fairly took possession of the town, one of the first measures was to attempt the destruction of the steamers, which still remained uninjured; the next, to establish a government for the preservation of order. For the former purpose, a battery was ordered to be constructed on the ruins of the fort of St. Paul, which would command the place where the vessels were anchored; and in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 11th of September, the guns in the battery below the Redan were turned upon them. That night the Russians disposed of those vessels themselves: they set fire to them, and all were destroyed. With respect to the government, the city was divided—the western part being entrusted to the French; the eastern, including the Karabelnaia, to the English. General Bazaine was appointed governor of the former, and Brigadier-general Windham of the latter; Captain Rowland, of the 41st, Captain Dewar, of the 49th, and two other officers, were nominated his town majors. Karabelnaia was garrisoned by the 3rd Buffs, and 500 of the royal artillery; and 2,000 French soldiers were encamped in the streets of the western portion. Their bands assembled in the afternoons, and played a variety of English and French airs, greatly to the delight of the soldiers of both armies, who were permitted to go into the town without their muskets, to hear them.

When the intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol reached England and France, it occasioned great rejoicing; and at Berlin, Brussels, Vienna, Stockholm, and many other places, the popular demonstrations evinced the pleasure the people felt at the success of the allies. In France, a grand *Te Deum* was performed in all the churches of the empire, on Sunday, the 16th of

* Letter from a French officer.

September: in England, Sunday, the 30th of the same month, was observed as "a day of thanksgiving for the success of her majesty's arms." The Queen and the Prince Consort were at Balmoral when the news arrived, by telegram, on the 10th of September; and the prince ordered an immense bonfire to be kindled on a neighbouring hill. It attracted the inhabitants for miles round; and a very joyous scene ensued, which the Queen, the Duchess of Kent, the princesses, and the ladies of their suite, viewed from the windows of the castle: the Prince Consort, Earl Granville, and the young princes, mixed with the crowd round the bonfire. In every city and town in the United Kingdom, the event was celebrated by public dinners and other rejoicings, and numerous addresses of congratulation were sent to the Queen.—Her majesty promoted Lieutenant-general Simpson to the rank of general, and sent him the Grand Cross of the Bath; and Colonel Windham, who had been acting as brigadier-general in the Crimea, was made a major-general. The inhabitants of Norfolk, of which county that gallant officer was a native, also presented him with a handsome testimonial, for his heroism in the Redan.—The emperor of France made Pelissier a field-marshal; Queen Victoria sent him the Grand Cross of the Bath: the sultan, also, appointed that officer a sirdar, or marshal of the empire; conferred upon him the imperial order of the Medjidie, and granted him an annuity of 200,000 francs [£8,000]. To General Simpson, his imperial highness addressed a cordial letter of thanks, and conferred upon him the order of the Medjidie, of the first class.—To that officer the Queen addressed the following letter:—

"War Department, September 12th, 1855.

"The Queen has received, with deep emotion, the welcome intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol. Penetrated with profound gratitude to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed this triumph to the allied army, her majesty has commanded me to express to yourself, and, through you, to the army, the pride with which she regards this fresh instance of their heroism. The Queen congratulates her troops on the triumphant issue of this protracted siege, and thanks them for the cheerfulness and fortitude with which they have encountered its toils, and the valour which has led to its termination. The Queen deeply laments that this success is not without its alloy in the heavy losses which have been sustained; and while she rejoices in the victory, her majesty deeply sympathises with the noble sufferers in their country's cause. You will be pleased to congratulate General Pelissier, in her majesty's

name, upon the brilliant result of the assault on the Malakoff, which proves the irresistible force, as well as the indomitable courage, of our brave allies."

This letter was received with great enthusiasm by the troops, who deemed the approbation of their Queen the greatest reward that could be conferred upon them.

As the fall of Sebastopol rendered the services of the naval brigade no longer necessary, they returned to their vessels on the 17th of September. The commander-in-chief issued a "General Order" on their embarkation, in which they were heartily thanked for their services; and the general cordially acknowledged the obligations he was under to Rear-admiral Sir Stephen Lushington, K.C.B., who so ably commanded the brigade, from its formation, till his removal, by promotion, to a higher rank; and to Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, who succeeded him.—About the same time, a commission of English and French officers was appointed, to apportion the stores that had fallen into the hands of the allies, the quantities of which were infinitely greater than they could have expected to find, even if they had not seen so much removed after the erection of the bridge across the harbour. There were, amongst other things (in round numbers), 4,000 pieces of ordnance, 407,000 round shot, 101,000 hollow shot, 24,000 canister do., 525,000lbs. of gunpowder, 630,000 ball-cartridges, eighty waggons, 540 anchors, with several hundred thousand pounds weight of metals such as bar iron and steel, sheet iron, tin plates, copper, &c., two steam-engines, and various other articles. There was, also, a large quantity of provisions, and marble statues, sphinxes, clocks, &c. It was ultimately arranged that these spoils and trophies should be divided amongst the three allied armies, in proportion to their numbers.

With the fall of Sebastopol, the campaign in the Crimea may be said to have ended; there being no more fighting in the peninsula, except some slight skirmishing in the neighbourhood of Yenikalé, and at Eupatoria. The Russians, on the north side of Sebastopol, were formidable in numbers, and also in position; occupying a line strong by nature, and rendered more so by art—forming a semicircle round the position of the allies, from the north-west to the north-east, and extending from Fort Constantine to the chain of

mountains known as the Tchadir Dag. The allies knew they could not force this position, and they made no attempt upon it; and the Russians, after the first few days, when they kept up a perpetual shower of balls on the Karabelnaia suburb—which caused the English to withdraw their troops for a time, simply leaving strong pickets on the water's edge—seldom fired, unless they saw large bodies of men collected together. “They appeared chiefly to turn their attention to strengthening their already strong position on the north side; and, for this purpose, very large bodies of men were employed in erecting new earth-works, and improving and reconstructing those already made.”*

Only one military movement of any consequence took place after the 8th of September. When the allies had completed their arrangements for the occupation of Sebastopol, it was resolved to send an expedition to capture the Russian post of Kinburn, situated on a strip of land called the Spit of Kinburn, forming the southern shore of the Liman, or Bay of the Dnieper, and commanding the entrance of the estuary into which the river and the bay empty themselves. On the opposite shore was the fortress of Otchakoff: the important town of Kherson is situated near the mouth of the Dnieper; and about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Bug, stands Nicholaieff, the great nursery of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. As the object of the war was to overthrow the preponderance of Russia in that sea, the expedition to Kinburn was a necessary sequence to the capture of Sebastopol, as its occupation would cut off all communication with Kherson and Nicholaieff, even if those places were not also captured. About 4,000 English troops, from the 17th, 20th, 21st, 57th, and 63rd regiments, under the command of Brigadier-general the Hon. A. Spencer, were embarked on board an English fleet, commanded by Rear-admiral Sir E. Lyons, and comprising six ships of the line, seventeen frigates, sixteen gun and mortar-boats, and about a dozen transports.—The French military force, nearly 5,000 men, under General Bazaine, was embarked on board the French fleet, commanded by Admiral Bruat; which was composed of several ships of the line, and steamers, and three large floating batteries. The two fleets sailed from Kamiesch and

Kazatch Bays on the 7th of October. They steered for Odessa, where their arrival, on the 8th, caused great commotion, as another bombardment was apprehended. It was only to mislead the enemy that the direction of Odessa was taken; and having remained before that port a few days, during which time the *Viper* and *Spitfire* proceeded to sound the Liman, the anchors were again weighed, and the fleets arrived off Kinburn on the 15th. On that day the gun-boats forced an entrance into the Dnieper, and the allied troops landed on the Spit of Kinburn, to the north of the three forts, which stood on the Spit, and which mounted seventy guns. Whilst the troops were landing, the mortar and gun-boats bombarded the forts, apparently producing little impression. On the 16th, the weather was so rough that the ships could not co-operate in the attack; and the troops entrenched themselves in their encampment. The next day the weather changed, and the forts—bombarded by the mortar-vessels, gun-vessels, and French floating batteries, as well as from the shore—were soon obliged to surrender. The casualties in the fleets were very few; but the enemy had forty-five killed, and 130 wounded.† Independent of the guns in the batteries, ninety dismounted guns were found in the forts, with 25,000 missiles, and 120,000 cartridges.

The morning after the surrender of Kinburn, the Russian garrison of Otchakoff blew up that fort, and retreated to Nicholaieff. The allies repaired the fort of Kinburn, in which a French garrison was placed: a *reconnaissance* of Nicholaieff was made on land by a portion of the troops under General Bazaine, in which a few deserted villages were burnt, and shots exchanged with the Cossacks, who hovered about the flanks of the allies; and another *reconnaissance* was made of the river Bug, and the mouths of the Dnieper, by several light vessels and gun-boats, under the English and French rear-admirals, Sir H. Stewart and Pellion, who were second in command. The military force was too weak to attack Nicholaieff, which was very strongly fortified and, as Marshal Pelissier would not comply with the earnest request of Sir E. Lyons, to send fifteen or twenty thousand additional troops, nothing more was attempted. The garrison was left at Kinburn, and several

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

† Sir E. Lyons' despatch.

ships remained to guard the estuary. The rest of the vessels, with the troops not required for that service, returned to the Crimea, and arrived in Kamiesch Bay on the 3rd of November. The Russians made no attempt to retake Kinburn, contenting themselves with adding to the fortifications of Nicholaieff, with a view to render that place impregnable to an assault.

Soon after the return of that expedition, on the 10th of November, Sir James Simpson resigned the command of the British army, and was succeeded by Sir William Codrington, K.C.B.—The first despatch Sir William wrote was, to announce the return of the Kinburn expedition; his second, on the 17th of November, gave the details of a terrific explosion of 100,000 pounds of powder in the French siege-train, which set light to all the stores there, and to the neighbouring English park. The men of both armies worked most energetically to get the conflagration under. It inflicted a distressingly heavy loss on the French; and the English, besides the destruction of property, had one officer, and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and four of the former, and 112 of the latter, wounded.

This explosion, and a fierce and destructive hurricane that swept across the plateau on the 30th of November, were the only unpleasant events which appear to have occurred after the allies established themselves in Sebastopol. They were occupied in strengthening their positions, in preparation for whatever might occur; and active steps were also taken to carry out a resolution previously come to—to destroy the remaining forts, docks, barracks, and public buildings in the city; which was a work of time. “The Great Docks, in the Karabelnaia suburb, were blown up by piecemeal—the first explosion taking place on the 23rd of December, 1855; and the last on the 1st of February,

1856. Fort Nicholas was blown up on the 4th of February; Fort Alexander on the 11th; the Aqueduct which conveyed the water-supply for the docks, from the Tchernaya river on the 12th; and the White Barracks on the 28th. The Great Barracks were destroyed during the same month.”*

During these months, and till the evacuation of the Crimea, the British army was not only in a high state of discipline, but enjoyed a degree of comfort, which formed the greatest contrast to the unfortunate condition of the troops in the winter of 1854-'55. They were blessed, generally, with good health; and their medical and commissariat establishments were admirably organised. Some correspondents reported that great drunkenness prevailed; an aspersion which Sir William Codrington indignantly contradicted in a despatch dated the 27th of December, 1855, and for which there appears to have been no foundation.—Unfortunately, the French were not in so good a state; but in one very nearly, if not quite, as bad as that of the British in the previous winter. They were in ill-health, ill-fed, and ill-clothed; and the spring of 1856 was far advanced before a favourable change was effected. During their season of privation, the English frequently held out a helping hand; and the friendly feeling between the two armies was greatly strengthened in consequence.

In February, 1856, it began to be rumoured that negotiations for peace were going on. Before the month closed, the plenipotentiaries of the powers met at Paris, and agreed to an armistice. From that time nothing more was heard of war, but the different armies engaged in the interchange of friendly and hospitable civilities and the allies commenced their preparations for leaving the Crimea, should peace follow the suspension of arms.

* Lieutenant-colonel Calthorpe.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BALTIC CAMPAIGN OF 1856; STRENGTH OF THE FLEETS; ANOTHER RUSSIAN OUTRAGE ON A FLAG OF TRUCE; DESTRUCTION OF FORTS, ETC., BY THE "ARROGANT," "MAGICIENNE," AND "RUBY;" BOMBARDMENT OF SWEABORG; CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN; CAMPAIGN IN THE BALTIC, THE WHITE SEA, AND THE PACIFIC; FALL OF KARS; NEGOTIATIONS; TREATY OF MARCH 30TH; REJOICINGS; THE VICTORIA CROSS; OTHER MEMORIALS TO THE ARMY; THE CEMETERIES AT SEBASTOPOL; PRESENT STATE OF THAT PORT.

THE Russian war of 1854-'56, furnishes few materials for a history of "England's Battles by Sea," although, both in 1854 and 1855, two of the most magnificent naval armaments ever fitted out, were sent to the Baltic. In a former chapter we have glanced at the events which occurred in that sea in the first-named year. In the latter—as Sir Charles Napier had satisfied neither the government nor the country, he was not reinstated in his command of the Baltic fleet, which was given to Rear-admiral Sir Richard Saunders Dundas, C.B., son of the second, and brother to the third Viscount Melville; who left the Downs on the 9th of April, his fleet consisting of eleven sail of the line, and five paddle-steamers. During the spring and early part of the summer, vessels were constantly arriving to join this fleet, which, in July, consisted of eighty-five vessels of war, mounting 2,098 guns. The French fleet, under Rear-admiral Penaud, comprised sixteen ships, mounting 408 guns. These 101 vessels were classed as follows:—

	No.	Guns.
Line-of-battle ships	23	1,853
Frigates and corvettes	31	554
Smaller steamers and gun-boats	29	78
Mortar-boats, and other craft	18	21
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	101	2,506

Not unnaturally, with such an armament, the public looked for some daring achievement, such as are so frequently met with in the annals of the British navy during former wars: they were again disappointed.

The first event this year, in the Baltic, was very discreditably to the Russians. The steamers *Cossack* and *Esk* had captured several small merchant vessels; and it being determined to liberate some of the prisoners, Lieutenant Geneste, of the *Cossack*, was sent, by Admiral Dundas, on an essentially pacific errand; on

the 5th of June, to Hango Head, to put them on shore. He went in the cutter, carrying a flag of truce; and, on arriving at the pier, and no person being visible on shore, except two or three women standing near the houses, the prisoners were landed: Lieutenant Geneste landed with them, Dr. Easton accompanying him, to communicate with the people, and with the authorities at the telegraph office. The stewards of the vessel went with the party, their object being, to purchase, if possible, some fresh provisions. The boat's crew were left in the boat, with strict orders not to land. One of the stewards carried a flag of truce on a boarding-pike, walking beside Lieutenant Geneste, in front of the rest. A white flag was also floating over the boat. The officers and men had not advanced fifty yards from the boat, when a party of Russian soldiers, who had been concealed by the rocks, suddenly rose up, and fired on the party on shore, and on the men in the boats. They could make no defence; six were killed, and four wounded, one of the prisoners the British had liberated was also killed, and two were wounded, by this outrageous act of their own countrymen. The survivors of the British party were all taken prisoners, and conveyed to Eckness. They were treated kindly there by the Russian general and officers; but the demand to give them up was refused—the Russians justifying their conduct by asserting that nobody saw the flag of truce which the British had with them; and that the entire proceedings of the latter were contrary to what ought to have been observed under the circumstances, and quite justified the soldiers in firing upon the unarmed men—as the party on shore were. There were muskets on board the cutter, but they lay at the bottom of the boat, unloaded; and the magazine was locked. Public opinion, not only in England, but throughout

Europe, was against the Russian authorities for their conduct in this affair: but they were not to be shamed into doing an act of justice; and the officers and men remained prisoners till the end of the war.

In 1855, as in 1854, the Russian fleet would not venture beyond the waters of Cronstadt; and the allied admirals, like their predecessors, were of opinion, that, protected as it was by the fortifications of the harbour, an attack could not result in anything but serious damage to the assailants; and, for upwards of three months, only a few isolated affairs of little consequence occurred; but, though of minor importance, they resulted in the destruction of a considerable amount of the enemy's public property. We will briefly notice the most important of these affairs.

On the 6th of June, Captain Vansittart, in the *Magicienne*, of sixteen guns, destroyed, in a small bay near Viborg, two vessels laden with materials for erecting a casemated battery at Cronstadt. A fire was also opened, from the vessel, upon a large encampment of infantry and artillery near the same bay, which was broken up, and the troops retreated to the northward.—On the 14th, the *Arrogant*, Captain Yelverton, and *Magicienne*, with the *Ruby* gun-boat, arrived off Rotchensalar, where sailors and marines were landed, who destroyed a circular casemated fort, with forty embrasures, and a large barrack establishment.—On the 20th, a landing was made at Kotka, at the mouth of the Kymene river, where barracks had been built to accommodate 5,000 men. These were destroyed, as was a fort which defended the town, on the 21st; and on the 30th, the *Magicienne* captured twenty-nine large galliots, laden with granite blocks, for the fortifications which the Russians were building and strengthening in the Gulf of Finland; and all found their way to the bottom of the ocean.—On the 4th of July, the *Arrogant* and some smaller vessels appeared off the port of Svartholm, which commanded the town and bay of Lovisa. A corps of marines, supported by a body of sailors, landed; but the garrison of the fort made for the interior, not waiting to receive the attack of the invaders. The fort, casemated barracks, and a large range of government buildings in Lovisa, were destroyed; and the British re-embarked, leaving the houses of the inhabitants untouched, and private property

perfectly intact. An accidental fire broke out, after they had left, in a quarter of the town which they had not visited; and, before morning, Lovisa—previously a prosperous place, with 3,000 inhabitants—was in ruins.—On the 21st of July there was a little sharp fighting. The *Arrogant*, *Cossack* Captain E. G. Fanshawe, and *Ruby* attacked a 6-gun fort which defended Fredericksham. The Russians returned the fire, and the interchange of shot and shell was kept up for an hour and a-half, when the fort was terribly battered, and all the guns disabled. The ships were also injured, and three men were wounded.—An attempt was next made on Viborg, which failed. The town was defended by a battery of heavy guns, and a strong barrier was thrown across the bay, which the vessels could not force; they therefore abandoned the attack.—A flying squadron was also sent into the Gulf of Bothnia, by which a considerable number of vessels, and a large amount of property, were destroyed.

All these operations were carried on by a few detached vessels. The main fleet, numbering forty ships, under Admirals Dundas and Penaud, in June, entered the Gulf of Finland, and, for upwards of three weeks, cruised off the north side of the island of Cronstadt, but made no attempt to bombard the works. On the 14th of July the two admirals sailed for Nargen, leaving Rear-admiral Baynes, with a strong squadron, off Cronstadt. That officer divided his squadron, and, with one division, he anchored to the north of the island, within five miles of the town and shipping, and where, from the ships' decks, the spires of St. Petersburg were visible. The second division anchored in mid-channel, between the Tolboukin lighthouse and the opposite shore. The ships on the north employed their boats in sweeping the channel, to find the "infernal machines," with which deserters had informed the admirals it was thickly studded. The boats' crews did find a great many, moored about nine or ten feet below the channel; and very dangerous contrivances they no doubt were, it is wonderful that none of our ships were injured. One of these machines exploded on board the *Exmouth*, and severely wounded Rear-admiral Seymour, the second in command of the British fleet.

The island of Nargen—which lies about

six miles to the north-west of Revel—a very convenient place for the rendezvous of the fleet. The gulf is there only eighteen miles across, and Helsingfors could be seen from the anchoring-place; its gilded domes sparkling brightly when struck by the rays of the sun.—That town, which stands in 60° 11' N. lat., and 24° 57' E. long., is built upon a promontory called Estnäs, and is the seaport capital of Finland. It has a fine capacious harbour, where sixty or seventy of the largest ships may safely ride; and is defended by the fortress of Sweaborg, built upon the islets of Wargö, Great and Little Osterswärtö, Westerswärtö, and Lännan. “The three largest of these islands, connected by bridges, form the fortress itself; and the others, strongly fortified, serve as the outworks.” The entrance to the harbour, the strait of Gustavs-Swärd, was also defended by a fort, built on the shore, whose guns enfiladed the passage. Sweaborg was called the “Gibraltar of the North.” The works were partly formed of granite, and partly blasted out of the rock. Casemates were constructed, mounting between 700 and 800 guns; and the embrasures were so arranged, that several thousand musketeers could fire upon an attacking force. These were the ordinary defences of Helsingfors; but, in 1855, they were strengthened by batteries erected on the neighbouring islets of Bak-Holmen, Rungs-Holmen, Sandham, Stora Rantan, and Drumsio: three new batteries were also erected on the west side of Helsingfors; “the fortifications on the south were considerably extended; a frigate was drawn up across the channel to the east of Rungs-Holmen; a three-decker was moored across the eastern channel of Sweaborg, between Gustavs-Swärd and Bak-Holmen; and two large ships were sunk in the western passage, between the islands of Lännan and Westerswärtö.”*

As the admirals felt, that, with their armaments, *something* must be attempted, and it was deemed that Cronstadt defied attack, it was resolved to bombard Sweaborg. “The operations,” it was arranged, “should be limited to such destruction of the fortress and arsenal as could be accomplished by means of mortars.” This was not an easy object to effect, as “the intri-

cate nature of the ground, from concealed rocks, and reefs under water, rendered it difficult to select positions for the mortar-vessels.” By the assistance of Captain Sullivan, of the *Merlin*, this difficulty was overcome; and the combined armament was, after some trouble and manœuvring, finally placed so as to command the fortress and the neighbouring coast.†

This armament comprised sixty vessels—English and French—four of which were line-of-battle ships: there were, also, screw-frigates, and paddle-wheel steamers; but the great majority were mortar-vessels and gun-boats, which were armed with additional guns of heavy calibre, removed from ships of the line. The ships and mortar-vessels with room for the gun-boats to drop in between the latter were moored in a curved line, on either side of the islet of Oterhall, which lies to the east of Great Osterswärtö; and they were supported by a battery of 10½-inch mortars, placed on the Abraham islet, in advance of Oterhall, by Admiral Penaud, and commanded by Captain Sapia.—The situation was taken up on the 8th, and the signal for the attack was given at twenty minutes past seven in the morning of the 9th of August. A few minutes after, the fire commenced along the entire line; and the Russian commanders—who had, singularly enough, allowed the allied squadrons to take up their position unmolested—ordered the guns of the forts to be opened upon them. The discharges were, for some time, kept up on both sides in rapid succession. “At nine o’clock, the gun-boats approached the mortar-vessels, and placed themselves in the spaces left between them;‡ and they—

“Moved hither and thither, circling and wheeling, passing and repassing—ever in motion, never giving a fixed point for aim; so that the shot [from the enemy’s batteries] plunged around and about them, without taking a life, or striking a splinter. Their fire was directed chiefly against Stora Rantan, Lännan, and Westerswärtö, and the vessels lying between [those islands]. It was throughout effective. The enemy returned the fire vigorously at first. The cannonade grew loud and heavy—gun answered gun, and ‘far flashed the red artillery.’ About nine o’clock, those who witnessed the conflict, saw a bright flame, and a thick cloud rise from the east of the church situated on the Isle of Westerswärtö. The spot from whence this arose was on the Isle of Wargö: presently the flame grew redder and redder; the cloud darker and thicker; and then the whole centre of the fort was wrapped in fire and smoke. Every moment the fire became fiercer, and spread wider,

* *History of the War, 1856.*

† Admiral Dundas’s despatch.

‡ Admiral Penaud’s despatch.

until a loud explosion told that it had reached the magazine.*—"At about half-past eleven, a second explosion, much more considerable than the first, took place. This was followed by a very violent conflagration, which soon spread in different directions. The flames made a rapid progress, in a space forming a sort of ravine, and their advance was eagerly watched. At half-past twelve, a third explosion on the island of Gustavs-Swård, enveloped the whole of the fortress in a thick smoke. During some seconds, successive detonations were heard, like the roll of thunder; and this last catastrophe must have caused enormous losses in *matériel* and men: it was the most terrible of the three; and, from that moment, the enemy replied less vigorously to the fire of the allies.†

It was the principal magazine in Sweaborg that exploded; and, for a short time, so awful was the effect, that the allies suspended their fire. After a brief interval, loud and joyous cheering rose from the British, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*!" from the French ships; and the seamen of both returned to the bombardment with increased vigour. The effect was, to multiply fires on different points of the magazines situated to the right of the church, on both sides of the ravine, and to completely dismantle several batteries, and silence their guns. A building, on which a large imperial flag was hoisted—which was understood to be the residence of the Grand Duke Constantine, come from St. Petersburg, expressly to witness the attack, and to give ardour and determination to the troops—was also destroyed.

The firing thus continued during the day, did not cease at night.

"The gun-boats were recalled, and replaced by rocket-boats. The mortars still threw their missiles, 'spreading death-shapes.' The rockets sped, hissing and writhing through the air like fiery serpents, streaking the darkness with meteoric flashes; and the fires of Sweaborg, with 'conflagration pale, lit the gloom.' In the morning the gun-boats came to their old posts, and the work began again earnestly as ever.‡

As the bombardment proceeded—

'Fires continued to burn, without intermission, within the fortress; and about noon, a column of smoke, heavier and darker than any which had yet been observed, and succeeded by bright flames, gave signs that the shells had reached combustible materials in the direction of the arsenal. The exact situation was, at first, concealed from view; but the flames continuing to spread, it was soon evident that they extended beyond the island of Wargö, and that buildings on the island of Westerswärtö were in progress of destruction.§—"Again the night came on: again the shells fell, the

rockets sped, and the fires burned. In the morning [of the 11th of August] the firing ceased—Sweaborg stood a charred, blackened, and smouldering ruin. All that was within the reach of destruction had been destroyed: but though there was so much desolation within, the walls without stood intact and strong as ever. However, all had been done which could, or was intended to be done. So the ships were withdrawn.¶

The loss inflicted on the enemy by this bombardment was very great. Five magazines, several storehouses, a pitch manufactory, seventeen private houses, and the house and chancery of the governor, were destroyed. Numerous ships in the basin were damaged; the three-decker moored across the eastern channel was sunk, and vast quantities of coal, and of dry timber, stored to repair and build ships. The pecuniary loss to the Russian government, was estimated at £2,000,000; and upwards of 2,000 men were killed. The number of wounded was so great, that they could not be all accommodated at the hospital, and the houses of the inhabitants of Helsingfors were opened for their reception. Very grateful were those inhabitants to the allies, that their city was not bombarded.—The British had none killed, and only twenty-eight wounded, during two days' and nights' engagement. No material injury was done to the vessels, though they were frequently struck; but the effect of the repeated discharges was, to render most of the mortars unfit for further service.—The French had not a single man killed or wounded on board their vessels.

The allied squadrons returned to Nar-gen after the bombardment; and, in September, some of the large ships of both fleets took their departure homewards. Squadrons of the smaller vessels remained, watching the enemy in different directions; and their light cruisers destroyed numerous coasters in various parts of the Baltic. In September, a small squadron, composed of the *Archer*, 14, Captain Heathcote; the *Gorgon*, 6, Commander Crawford; the *Conflict*, 8, Commander Chamberlain; and the *Desperate*, 8, Commander White, was stationed off Runo Island, under the orders of Captain Heathcote. He learned from Commander Crawford, who had been cruising in the *Gorgon*, that the Russians were constructing new batteries at Bullen Point, in the Duna, the

* "The Baltic, in 1855;" in *Blackwood's Magazine* for October of that year.

† Admiral Pенаud's despatch.

‡ "The Baltic, in 1855."

§ Admiral Dundas's despatch.

¶ "The Baltic, in 1855."

river on which Riga is situated; and he determined to destroy them. At 8 P.M., on the 26th, the squadron left Runo, and at daybreak, on the 27th, arrived off Riga—having, in passing, thrown shot and shell into Fort Comet, at Dünamünde, the mouth of the Duna. The immediate object of attack being the new batteries, the ships took their station in front of them, and within cannon-shot. A bombardment was instantly opened, and the batteries returned the fire with great spirit. In two hours they were silenced, all the guns mounted being displaced; the adjoining barracks and stables were also riddled with shot.*

No other event occurred in the Baltic, during the campaign of 1855, worth mentioning in an historical record—except the erecting, in the first week of October, in the field near Hango, in which the murdered sailors of the *Cossack* were interred,† a tablet to their memory, and to that of the master of the Finnish vessel, killed with them—which was done by Captain Hall, of the *Blenheim*. The remainder of the allied fleets, however, lingered till November, the weather being unusually fine and open; the *Duke of Wellington*, bearing the flag of Admiral Dundas, not leaving Nargen till the 11th of that month. The gallant ship arrived at Kiel on the 14th; and the *Tourville*, carrying the flag of Admiral Penaud, followed on the 15th. In the course of the month, all the vessels left after the departure of those which started in September, were also steering a western course; and they reached their destined ports in safety.—On arriving at Spithead, Admiral Dundas struck his flag, and proceeded to London, to lay before the admiralty a report of his proceedings.

Like the campaign of 1854, that of 1855, though by no means dishonourable to the allies, must be pronounced a failure, not a success; but great anticipations were formed for the next. The commanders had ascertained that the fleets were unnecessarily magnificent—comprising too many large, and having too few small vessels. They had ascertained, also, “the best points of attack, and the best means to be used.” They had learned, that “an overwhelming force of gun and mortar-boats would be necessary for future operations, and that ships of light draught, and guns of long

range, were their best weapons.”† All these means and appliances for another campaign the admiralty provided. Subsequent events rendered them unnecessary at that period.

Operations were resumed in the White Sea early in 1855. Only six vessels were sent there: three English—the *Meander*, the *Phoenix*, and the *Ariel*, under the command of Captain Thomas Baillie, of the *Meander*; and three French—the *Cleopatra*, the *Coccyte*, and the *Petrel*, under Captain Guilbert, of the first-named vessel. By this squadron, a blockade of all the ports and harbours in the White Sea was effected, and an entire stop was put to all foreign commerce with them. There was no fighting. About sixty vessels were captured that attempted to break the blockade; but no attack was made on any of the ports. Friendly intercourse was, at first, carried on with the inhabitants, in some directions; but that the government took care to interrupt, and officers and men rejoiced when the season exempted them from duty in that dull, cold climate.

In the Pacific, a squadron of eight British and four French vessels, under Rear-admiral Bruce and Captain Penanros, made a second descent on Petropaulovski, only to ascertain that the Russian ships of war in the bay of Avatscha had escaped, bearing with them the garrison and inhabitants of that town, which the allies found in the possession of two Americans and a French cook; who claimed, by gift from the Russian authorities, to be the possessors of the soil. All the fortifications, and public buildings of every description, were blown up, and effectually destroyed; and then a pursuit was commenced, and kept up for some time, after the escaped vessels. It failed; as, though frequently heard of, they were never encountered: the presence of the allied squadrons, however, was a great protection to the merchants; for, as the Russians had at least half-a-dozen vessels of war in the Pacific, they might, and we have no doubt they would, have inflicted great loss on commerce, if their attention had not been elsewhere directed by the movements of the allies.

During the time that hostilities were carried on by land and sea between the western powers and the Russians, in Asia, the latter carried the war into the Turkish

* Letter from Captain Heathcote.

† See *ante*, p. 175.

† “The Baltic, in 1855.” The writer was an officer in Admiral Dundas’s fleet.

territory, and besieged Kars, which was ably defended under the orders of Colonel Williams, who arrived in September, 1854, as commissioner from the British government to the Turkish army. A more gallant defence was never made than that of the little garrison at Kar. But it was greatly outnumbered by the enemy, under General Mouravieff; whilst an expedition sent to Asia under Omar Pasha, after the fall of Sebastopol, was too late to save the city; and Selim Pasha, who was at the head of a large Turkish force in another direction, and promised to march to the relief of the garrison, could not be induced to move. Kars—where disease and famine were aiding the Russians still further to enfeeble the few defenders—was, therefore, surrendered on the 25th of November; and the Russians boasted that it was a set-off and a counterpoise to their disasters in the Crimea. It was the last great event of the war.

Soon after the fall of Sebastopol, the emperor of Austria instructed his ambassadors in London and Paris, to urge upon the British and French governments the desirableness of peace, and to suggest a renewal of negotiations, upon the basis of the "four points" of August, 1854.* England was never better prepared for war than at that time; and both the government and the people would have preferred another campaign—first, because they thought the power of Russia was not sufficiently humbled; secondly, because they wished to retrieve the naval laurels, which they conceived were lost by the magnificent expeditions to the Baltic failing to effect anything more than the destruction of Bomarsund, and the bombardment of Sweaborg; leaving Cronstadt and the Russian fleet unscathed. The Austrian overtures were therefore received with courtesy, but not with indications of assent. It was different in France, where the war had never been invested with the popularity which attended the wars of the first empire; and the emperor felt that, to enable him to enter upon, and go through, another campaign, he should have to strain the resources of the country to their utmost extent. He therefore pressed the government at London to assent to the proposals of Austria. It is very likely that Lord Palmerston and his colleagues would have refused, and insisted upon terms still more

* See *ante*, p. 16.

stringent, had not Mr. Disraeli and his immediate friends—who had given the government to which they were opposed the most generous support during the war—maintained, that, by the fall of Sebastopol, all the objects contended for were obtained, and declared for peace. This induced the ministers to consent, after some interval, to join in renewed negotiations; Russia having, by a note to her diplomatic agents, of the 22nd of December, requested them to announce to the courts to which they were accredited, her desire for peace. It was arranged, on the proposal of England, that the congress should be held in Paris; at which city, on the 26th of February, 1856, the following plenipotentiaries assembled. The Earl of Clarendon and Earl Cowley, for England; Count Walewski and the Baron de Bourqueney, for France; Count Orloff and the Baron de Brunow, for Russia; Count de Cavour and the Marquis de Villamarina, for Sardinia; Ali Pasha and Mohammed Djemil Bey, for Turkey. These plenipotentiaries were joined by Count Buol Schaunstein and Baron de Hubner, for Austria; and by the Count de Hatzfeldt and Baron de Manteuffel, for Prussia. Their first act was to agree to an armistice, to extend to the 31st of March; and the subsequent negotiations extended through that month. They were based on the "four points," with the addition of a fifth, claiming from Russia the cession of a portion of Bessarabia, "to rectify the frontier between Moldavia and that province." It appeared that the Russian government, though it absolutely and peremptorily rejected the four points when first proposed, subsequently declared the czar's willingness to accept them; and, in Paris, his plenipotentiaries assented to the five as the bases of a treaty. That treaty was signed on the 30th of March, and ratified on the 27th of April. It consisted of thirty-four articles, and several annexes; of which we subjoin a *synopsis*.

It declared the re-establishment of peace between the contracting powers, and the mutual restoration of territories conquered or occupied by their troops respectively. [Arts. 1—4.]—A full and complete amnesty was granted to any subjects of the contracting parties, who might have been in the service of the enemy during the war [Art. 5]; and the immediate liberation of prisoners on either side. [Art. 6.]—The contracting powers guaranteed the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire. [Art. 7.]—In case of any misunderstanding between the sultan and any of the contracting powers, the mediation of the other

powers is to take place before force is resorted to. [Art. 8.]—The sultan engaged to grant a firman ameliorating the condition of his Christian subjects [Art. 9]; and to revise the convention of July 13th, 1841, respecting the closing of the Bosphorus. [Art. 10.]—The Black Sea, it was agreed, should be neutral, and thrown open to the commerce of all nations, but closed to flags of war, except such light vessels as are necessary for the services of the coast—the number to be settled in a convention between the czar and sultan, to be added to the treaty; and two light vessels, which each of the contracting powers may station at the mouth of the Danube, to enforce regulations, &c. The commerce of the Black Sea is to be free from any impediments, and only subjected to regulations of health, customs, and police; and consuls are to be admitted to the ports of Russia and Turkey situated on its coasts. Both those powers engage not to maintain on the coast any military maritime arsenal. [Arts. 11—14; and Art. 19.]—The principles of the act of the congress of Vienna, regulating the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states, to be applied to the Danube; the works necessary to remove the impediments to the free navigation of that river, to be settled by a commission, formed of one delegate from each of the contracting powers; the expenses to be defrayed by tolls, imposed on the vessels of all nations, on the footing of perfect equality. The navigation to be kept open and regulated by a commission of delegates from the powers whose territories border on the river; their powers to be transferred to the river commission, when they have formed necessary regulations, and removed existing impediments. [Arts. 15—18.]—Russia consents to give up a specified portion of Bessarabia, to be annexed to Moldavia. [Arts. 20, 21.]—The preservation to Wallachia and Moldavia, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and the guarantee of the other contracting powers, of their privileges and immunities, and independent national administration; the introduction of a more definite organisation of the provinces, and the keeping up a national armed force, are provided for by Arts. 22—27.—The same privileges are secured to Servia by Arts. 28 and 29.—The Russian and Turkish possessions in Asia were to be restored to the state in which they existed previous to the rupture; and, if necessary, the frontier to be verified by a mixed commission, composed of two Russian, two Turkish, one English, and one French delegate. [Art. 30.]—All territories held by alien troops to be evacuated as speedily as possible after the exchange of ratifications. [Art. 31.]—Commercial transactions between the powers to be restored to their former footing; and the subjects of each, respectively, to be treated by the others on the footing of the most favoured nation. [Art. 32.]—A convention annexed, respecting the Aland Islands, to have the same force and validity as if it formed a part of the treaty. [Art. 33.]—The ratifications to be exchanged within four weeks; sooner if possible.—[Art. 34.]

Three conventions were annexed to the treaty, all bearing the same date.

I. An agreement between the contracting powers relative to the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; excluding from those Straits ships of war of all nations, except those specified in the

treaty, and light vessels of war, employed on the mission of the powers.

II. A convention between the czar and the sultan, limiting their forces in the Black Sea to “six steam-vessels of fifty mètres in length at the line of flotation, and of a tonnage of 800 tons as a *maximum*; and four light steam or sailing vessels, of a tonnage which shall not exceed 200 tons each.”

III. A convention between Great Britain, France, and Russia; by which the czar bound himself, “that the Aland Isles shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or erected there.”

The signature of the treaty was announced by the firing of a salute of 101 guns from the *Hotel des Invalides*: in London, it was made known, on the 30th of March, by similar salutes from the guns in St. James’s Park, and at the Tower: and throughout Europe the intelligence produced the greatest rejoicings; almost every one appearing pleased that the horrors of war were at an end.—Before the ratifications were exchanged, on the 15th of April, a separate treaty, of two articles, was signed between Great Britain, France, and Austria, by which the three powers guaranteed, “jointly and severally, the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire;” and declared any infraction of the treaty so recently signed at Paris, a *casus belli*.—This treaty was ratified on the 29th of April. When it became known to the emperor of Russia, he was very indignant, as it implied doubts of his good faith; and he instructed Count Orloff to remonstrate against it. The remonstrance had no effect: it remains in force.

The plenipotentiaries continued their negotiations in Paris till near the end of April. The subjects before them were—the excesses of the press in Belgium, where some papers advocated assassination; the state of Italy, and that of the international maritime law. No conclusion was come to except on the latter subject: on which the plenipotentiaries adopted the following resolutions; and their governments agreed to make them known to other states not represented at the congress, and to invite their adherence to them.

“1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.—2. The neutral flag covers enemy’s goods, with the exception of contraband of war.—3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy’s flag.—4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient, really, to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.”

These resolutions were accepted by some powers, but rejected by others; and however they might tend to lessen the hardships of war to neutrals, if generally enforced, they are useless under present circumstances. In England, many persons looked upon them with an angry eye; condemning them as a tame surrender of what this country had always considered as her most essential maritime rights. We think, however, that, with her extensive commerce, England would, were she at war, be the greatest gainer by the proposed changes, if they were fairly and honourably carried out.

The formally ratified treaty was brought to London by the Hon. William Stuart, first *attaché* to the British embassy at Paris, on the 28th of April. Sunday, the 4th of May, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the preservation of peace; and on Monday, the 5th, it was formally proclaimed in London, with the usual solemnities.—Addresses to the crown, approving of the peace, were carried in both houses of parliament on the evening of that day; and on the 8th, both houses cordially voted “thanks to the army, navy, and marines employed in the operations of the late war.” A pension of £1,000 per annum was voted, the same evening, to William Williams, the heroic defender of Kars; who was promoted from the rank of colonel to that of major-general, and created a baronet of the United Kingdom.—The government also ordered, for the gratification of the people of the metropolis, a military *fête* in St. James’s Park, in the morning; and pyrotechnic displays in Victoria, the Green, and Hyde Parks, and on Primrose-hill, in the evening, of the 29th of May. On that occasion, one of the largest crowds was collected ever seen in the metropolis; and the day and evening passed off with the most perfect good-humour. Such a splendid exhibition of pyrotechnics was never before seen in England; and there were, also, illuminations in nearly all the streets of the metropolis—some of them very splendid.

“All the public offices displayed various devices; and a great many of the nobility, gentry, trading companies, and private individuals, had their establishments decorated with stars, the initials of the sovereign, the Prince Consort, and our allies, the Emperor and Empress of France; crosses, mottoes in accordance with the occasion of rejoicing, &c., formed by gas jets, or coloured lamps. Some half-dozen showed their disapprobation of the way

in which the war was concluded, by the style of their illuminations, and the mottoes they adopted: but the feeling generally displayed was that of rejoicing for the peace. A similar feeling was evinced at Edinburgh, Dublin, and in most of the cities and towns of the United Kingdom; in many of which *fêtes* were given to wounded soldiers, to the wives and relatives of the troops serving in the Crimea, to the poor, and to the children of the schools. The most remarkable celebration was at Exeter, where 10,000 persons were regaled with a good dinner of old English fare in the market-place; and 4,000 children were treated with buns and coffee later in the day. The tables on which the dinners were served, were 3,500 yards in length; and 10,000 pounds of beef, 5,000 pounds of plum pudding, 9,850 loaves, each weighing three-quarters of a pound, and 2,250 gallons of beer, constituted the material part of the feast.”*

In France the rejoicings were also very general; and in Turkey and Russia the people were glad to hail the return of peace, though the terms were somewhat galling to the Muscovite national feeling. The czar, in a public manifesto, characterised war as “an abnormal state of things;” and declared his preference for “the real prosperity of the arts of peace to the vain-glory of combat.”—The sultan also issued a manifesto; in which, in order that “the happy peace” might “be turned to the profit of the country,” he exhorted “all classes of his subjects to continue to be bound together by the ties of patriotism.” Of his allies the sultan spoke in the most cordial terms. Their “proofs of friendship and good-will,” he said, “would never be forgotten;” and “the names of their heroic soldiers, who had shed their blood” for the cause of Turkey, and “had covered themselves on the field of battle with immortal glory, would have the same place” in Ottoman history as in their own.

In the Crimea, the news of the conclusion of peace was received with mingled feelings: for where can you find armies without many men intermixed amongst them who regard war as the normal state of things, and look upon peace with disgust? However, there was no interruption to the general good feeling which had prevailed between English, French, and Russians since the signing of the armistice. The former busily employed themselves in the preliminary preparations for the evacuation of the Crimea; connected with which were the arrangements for the preservation of the tombs of the officers and others, most of the former being buried on Cathcart’s Hill. There are memorials to many

* *History of the War, 1856.*

of the graves; and the Russian officers promised that they should be scrupulously preserved.—It seems the French were the most eager to leave the peninsula: most of their army, and all the Sardinians, left in May. Some thousands of the English troops arrived at Malta before the close of that month, and proceeded to England. The evacuation was not completed, however, till the 12th of July. On that day the last of the soldiers embarked, and Sir William Codrington surrendered Sebastopol and Balaklava into the hands of the Russian authorities. Sir William and his staff arrived in London on the 1st of August, and were heartily received both by the people and the authorities. The soldiers, as they arrived in this country, were also warmly welcomed; and public entertainments were given to them. The two most memorable were, the dinner to the guards, in the large music-hall of the Surrey Gardens, in the vicinity of London; and to the Highland brigade, in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh.—Those who were present on the former occasion—and it was one of our own red-letter days—will never forget the sensation created when the gallant fellows entered the hall, and took their places at the table, the united bands playing the well-loved air of “Annie Laurie.”

Besides the hearty welcomes which the troops received on all hands, and the festivities to which they were invited, their gracious Queen devised a more enduring honour. We have already noticed the medal struck, after the battle of Inkermann, in commemoration of the Crimean victories. Her majesty, however, considered—

“That there existed no means of adequately rewarding the individual gallant services, either of officers in the lower grades of her military and naval service, or of warrant and petty officers, seamen and marines, in the navy, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the army; the third class of the most honourable order of the Bath being limited, except in very rare cases, to the higher ranks of both services; and the granting of medals, both in the navy and army, being awarded for long service and meritorious conduct, rather than for bravery in action, or distinguished conduct before an enemy; such cases alone excepted where a general medal is granted for a particular action or campaign, or a clasp added to the medal for some special engagement—in both of which cases all share equally in the boon; and those who by their valour have particularly signalled

themselves, remain undistinguished from their comrades.”†

To obviate this anomaly, her majesty created a new naval and military decoration, consisting of a Maltese cross of bronze, with the royal crest in the centre, and underneath an escroll, bearing the words—“For Valour.” It is to be suspended from the left breast, by a blue ribbon for the navy, and a red one for the army; to be called “THE VICTORIA CROSS;” and to be conferred on all ranks in the army and navy, from the highest to the lowest—the qualification being, “serving in the presence of the enemy, and performing some signal act of valour and devotion to their country.” Additional bars are given for subsequent meritorious acts. Every warrant-officer, petty officer, seaman, marine, non-commissioned officer or private, who receives this cross, is also to receive a pension of £10 per annum from the date of the action which entitles him to the decoration; and an additional £5 for every subsequent act.—The order of the Victoria Cross was instituted on the 29th of January, 1856. Nearly one hundred were awarded during the Crimean campaign; and, on the 26th of June, 1857, her majesty distributed these crosses and Crimean medals to all the soldiers in London who were entitled to them. A dais and gallery were erected in Hyde Park, and the Queen of England was surrounded by hundreds of lovely faces, thousands of gallant men, and many thousands of the public. The spectacle was highly impressive, and the sight such a one as can be seen only in England.

Besides the institution of the Victoria Cross, the Crimean war, and the gallantry of the troops engaged in it, have been further commemorated by numerous statues and other memorials in England; and by the erection of a Memorial Church at Constantinople, in pursuance of a resolution, proposed at a public meeting held in London on the 28th of April, 1856, by the Duke of Newcastle, and seconded by the Earl of Elgin. In this church the names of many of the noble dead are commemorated on the walls; and it will serve as a lasting memento to remind the subjects of the sultan of the aid they have received from their Christian allies, and of the duties they owe, in return, to their Christian fellow-countrymen.—The feelings entertained towards the men who fought and bled in the Crimea, by the Queen, the

† Preamble to the rules and statutes of “the Order of the Victoria Cross.”

government, and the people of England, are also placed on record in an excellent despatch of Lord Panmure's, which will be perpetuated as long as the English language exists.

"Since the period," said the noble secretary of war, "when the army first quitted the shores of England, there has been no vicissitude of war which it has not been called upon to encounter. It was assailed by cholera shortly after it arrived in Turkey. Then was proved that moral as well as physical courage pervaded its ranks. Led to the field, it triumphed in engagements in which heavy odds were on the enemy's side. It carried on, under difficulties almost incredible, a siege of unprecedented duration; in the course of which, the trying duties of the trenches, privations from straitened supplies, and the fearful diminution of its numbers from disease, neither shook its courage nor impaired its discipline. Notwithstanding that many a gallant comrade fell in their ranks, and they were called to mourn the gallant commander who led them from England, and who closed, in the field, his noble career as a soldier, her majesty's troops never flinched from their duties, nor disappointed the sanguine expectations of their country." * * * "The feeling was universal, that the army had worthily maintained its own high character, and the honour of the British arms;" and "when it returned home, it would be welcomed with the fullest approbation of its sovereign, and with every demonstration of gratitude by the country at large." * * * "The services of the various departments attached to the army, were of a character to entitle them to the fullest credit: the zeal and energy of the medical, commissariat, and clerical departments, had contributed to bring the army into its present most effective condition."

There was a lady, also, to whom one

portion of the army, the sick and wounded—owed more than they did even to the medical and commissariat department; and who had the merit of being a devoted volunteer, and in no way bound to undertake the task so nobly performed—Florence Nightingale. The ladies who supported and assisted her, the devoted nurses whom she trained, had also great and rare merits; but it was the active genius, the strong-minded heroism, and the admirable management of Miss Nightingale, that were the animating causes of that change which she produced in the hospitals, where a regular organisation "arose out of chaos; confusion gave place to order, filth to cleanliness, and the aggravation or neglect of human suffering, to the mitigation of all the horrors of war."* She was, indeed, "the soldier's friend:" and with her testimony to the character of her *protégés*, we close the account † of the late Russian war.

"They have their faults; and those who, in their several positions in life, may feel that they have a little neglected the education of the lower orders, will be the last to blame those brave men for the faults they do possess. But they respond to kindness, and they recognise discipline; and, for ourselves, we have never heard from them one word, or seen one gesture, that might not have been fitted for the drawing-room. They have been to us, and to all the ladies, gentlemen and Christians."

* From an address, delivered by the late Augustus Stafford, Esq., M.P., at Stamford, March 17th, 1856.

† Read at Stamford, by Mr. Stafford.





HEI-N-FOU, EMPEROR OF CHINA AT THE TIME OF THE WAR.

THE WAR WITH CHINA IN 1858-1859; AND ITS RESULTS TO ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHINESE WAR OF 1858-59; AFFAIRS AT CANTON; RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS; THEIR FAILURE; CAPTURE OF THE TAKU FORTS; TREATY OF TIEN-TSIN; AFFAIRS OF THE SOUTH; APPOINTMENT OF MR. BRUCE AS AMBASSADOR TO CHINA; OPPOSITION OF THE CHINESE TO SOME PORTIONS OF THE TREATY; SIR JAMES HOPE GOES TO CHINA AS NAVAL COMMANDER; THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AT SHANGHAI; THE "FIGHT ON THE PEIHO;" ITS RESULTS.

IN England's Battles we brought the narrative of the Chinese War, which arose out of the seizure of the pirates on board the *Arrow*, down to the month of January, 1858, when Yeh, the cruel governor of Canton, had been embarked on board the *Inflexible*, on his way to Culeutta as a prisoner; the Tartar, Peh Kwei, having been installed as his successor, with Colonel Holloway, Captain Martineau, and Mr. Parkes as a council to assist him.—He was to act under the authority of the allies, who announced that they should retain Canton as a "material guarantee," till the conclusion of a treaty conceding their demands, after much evasion by the

enemy. On the 12th of January, Lieutenant-general Ashburnham issued a general order, in which he conveyed to the troops his "warm admiration of their gallantry and good conduct;" and on the 10th of February, the blockade of Canton was raised. A custom-house, under Chinese officials, was established at Whampoa, Canton itself being placed under martial law.

The English and French plenipotentiaries soon after proceeded to Hong-Kong. There they met Count Punitin and Mr. Reed, the ambassadors from Russia and the United States; and the four agreed to forward communications to Peking;

addressed to Yu, the senior secretary of state, demanding that a plenipotentiary should be sent to Shanghai, with full powers to treat on the several points specified. Lord Elgin, in his despatch, after describing the real state of affairs at Canton, reiterated the claims made on former occasions for the residence of a minister at or near the imperial court, and a freer intercourse with other parts of the country. There was some difficulty in delivering these despatches, which were ultimately forwarded to the second city in China—Soochow. No results followed, Chinese evasion and insincerity being resorted to; and an attempt made to induce the plenipotentiaries to negotiate with an inferior minister, whose acts would, as on former occasions, have been disavowed by those above him. Lord Elgin, however, insisted upon the right conceded by the treaty of Nankin—one article of which provides, “that her Britannic majesty’s chief high officer in China, shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, both in the capital and the provinces, under the term ‘communication.’” His lordship also added, that, if no competent minister were deputed to conduct the negotiations, he should proceed at once to the north, and “put himself in more direct communication with the high officers of the government at the capital.” As no envoy arrived, the four plenipotentiaries resolved to proceed to the north; Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros, accompanied by a small squadron of English and French vessels, and Count Puniatin and Mr. Reed in the Russian frigate *Amerika*, the American frigate *Minnesota*, and Admiral Seymour, with the remainder of the English fleet, were to follow. It was hoped and expected, by this display of force, to induce the emperor and his ministers to agree to fair and equitable terms, without any further bloodshed.

The first destination of the plenipotentiaries was the gulf of Pecheli, where Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros arrived on the 14th of April, accompanied by one English ship of the line, one frigate, and four gun-boats; two French corvettes, and three gun-boats. They then advanced towards the Peiho, and anchored eleven miles from the mouth of that river, and 140 miles from Peking; where they were joined by the Russian and American plenipotentiaries. On the 24th of April, messengers were despatched from the four ministers, to

inform the Chinese government of their arrival, and to request that an envoy might be appointed to negotiate with them. An imperial commissioner was sent, but with powers quite inadequate to the occasion; and it was resolved to proceed up the Peiho, and take the allied force still nearer the capital. Previous to this movement, it was necessary to capture the Taku forts, which defended the mouth of the river.

“There were five of these forts—two on the north, and three on the south bank. They were formidable defences, having been greatly strengthened after the arrival of the allies in the gulf; earth-works, sand-bag batteries, and parapets, having been erected on both sides, for nearly a mile—upon which eighty-seven guns in position were visible. The whole shore had also been piled to oppose a landing; two strong batteries, mounting, respectively, thirty-three and sixteen guns, were constructed about 1,000 yards up the river; and, in the rear, several entrenched camps were visible, defended by flanking batteries.”*

On the 20th of May, in the morning, the allies arrived before these forts. They were covered with the colours of the Chinese army; and when summoned to surrender, the commanders made no response. Several hours’ grace were allowed, with no result; then the signal for attack was given, and promptly obeyed. The forts on the north were attacked by the English *Cormorant*, six guns; the *Fusée* and *Mitraille*, French: those on the south by the *Nimrod* (6), English; the *Avalanche* and *Dragon*, French. These vessels were supported by several gun-boats, and by English and French landing parties; the former under Captains Sir F. Nicholson, Sherard Osborne, and Hall, and Commanders Cresswell and Leckie; the latter led by Captains Leveque and Reynaud. The *Slaney* ship of the line, with Rear-admiral Simpson and Admiral Genouille on board, led the gun-boats; but the *Cormorant* was the first vessel which got near the forts.

“She had to break through a formidable barrier, which was not observed at first, and was fired on from both sides of the stream as she advanced. Not a shot was returned till the vessel had taken up a good position; then, giving one discharge to the forts on the south, she poured in such a destructive fire upon those on the north, that their guns—which were well served—were nearly silenced before the French came up. As the other vessels approached, took up their positions, and opened their fire, the Chinese returned it with great rapidity; but they

* *History of China*, accompanying *China Illustrated*.

would not engage the landing parties, who, as soon as they set foot on shore, rushed to the attack. An officer writing to the *Overland Mail*, says, 'The Chinese stuck to their guns bravely. I doubt if Europeans, under such unequal odds in *matériel*, would have done better. But the fire of the allies was first-rate; the shells burst in the enclosures, wounding men, and damaging guns, carriages, and works.' When the landing parties got near, the enemy ran, and 'precious fast, too,' says the officer just quoted. The batteries and the camps were deserted as well as the forts, and the staunch *Opossum*, *Bustard*, and *Slaney*, sailed a little further up the river, drove the enemy away from some other defences, and spiked the guns. All was over by 2 P.M., the enemy having become invisible; and 150 brass guns, some of them of excellent workmanship, were left in our possession.—The rejoicing at the successful termination of this affair, was damped by a melancholy catastrophe that occurred in the afternoon. A fort, which, by mutual consent, had been set apart for the quarters of some of the French, blew up with a tremendous explosion, when the soldiers, seamen, and marines were taking their ease, in the way of lying down, chatting, and smoking, or enjoying the contents of haversacks. There is no certainty as to the cause; but it is supposed to have arisen from the ashes of a pipe, or a spark from a fire, igniting some of the loose powder which the Chinese always leave carelessly about, or igniting one of their wretched magazines. The consequences were fatal to forty of the French troops, including four officers. In the capture of the forts, they had six killed and sixty-one wounded; the British had five killed and sixteen wounded.*

More gun-boats arrived; and the *Opossum*, *Bustard*, and *Staunch* proceeded still further up the river, clearing away all junks on their way, that the Chinese might not sink them to impede their return. The people, however, were found to be friendly disposed. They saluted the strangers with shouts of "Hail, oh King!" and "Welcome, great King! Be thou our Emperor—come thou and reign over us!" They were asked to procure supplies, which they did, pleading difficulty at first, but adding—"However, since you, the great king, command, we must obey!" And they furnished beef and other provisions, at a cheap rate. The vessels had proceeded till they came within sight of the gates and suburbs of Peking. Then the Chinese magnates took the alarm; and an imperial rescript was transmitted to the commander, signed by the chief mandarins, Tan, Tsung, and Wu, to the following effect:—

"We command Kweiliang, chief secretary of state, and Hwashana, president of the board of civil office, to go by post-route to the port of Tien-

tsin, for the investigation and despatch of business. Respect this."

The *Opossum* returned with this intelligence to Lord Elgin, who, with the Baron le Gros, proceeded to Tien-tsin (which is about eighty miles from Peking), in the *Slaney*, followed by the Russian and American plenipotentiaries. They found the squadron at the port, peaceably at anchor, and surrounded by junks, filled with admiring spectators. Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros were lodged in one of the Chinese religious buildings, called "The Temple of Supreme Felicity." As the Russians and Americans had not shown their power and strength, not having taken any part in the war, they were placed in a building of much humbler pretensions.—On the 4th of June, the plenipotentiaries had their first interview with the imperial commissioners; and, ultimately, four treaties were signed—that with the United States of America, on the 25th; with England, on the 26th; and with France and Russia, on the 27th of June. The following is a synopsis of the English treaty, with which, alone, we have to do. The terms of the other three were very similar: the greatest point of difference was, that the English document alone contained stipulations for the residence of a minister and his family at Peking, and for the allowance of the free transit to British subjects through China, for the purposes of business or pleasure.

"The treaty of Tien-tsin confirms the treaty of Nankin, of 1842, and abrogates the supplementary one of October, 1843. Provides for the residence of a British and a Chinese minister at the courts of Peking and London respectively; who are to transact business with a secretary of state, or some high officer nominated by the sovereigns, on the footing of equality. Guarantees the toleration of Christianity throughout the Chinese empire, and the protection of its professors. Allows British subjects, with a consul's passport, to visit any part of the interior of China, and purchase landed property. Removes all restrictions on the employment, in any lawful capacity, of the Chinese by British subjects. Permits British ships of war to enter any Chinese port. Engages both powers to take measures for the suppression of piracy; and provides for the proper regulation of the tariff and of trade; opening five new ports—New-chwang, Tang-chow, Chow-chow (Swatow), Tai-wan, in Formosa, and Kiung-chow, in Hainan—to foreign trade. It also stipulates, that the Chinese " / " (barbarian) shall not be applied, in future, in official documents, to British subjects.—By a separate article, an indemnity of 4,000,000 taels [about £1,333,000] was agreed to be paid for the expenses of the war, and the losses of the British merchants by the events at Canton."

The treaties concluded and signed, and

* *History of China.*

the Chinese copies despatched to Peking for ratification, the plenipotentiaries left Tientsin. Lord Elgin went to Japan, where he had a courteous reception, and succeeded in obtaining from the Tycoon a treaty, opening the Japanese empire to British commerce, as it had, not long previously, been opened to that of the United States of America. This document was signed on the 26th of August. Great benefits to both countries were expected as the result: but for some time none were derived, as the Daimios continued to be decidedly opposed to intercourse with foreigners. They long encouraged all kinds of outrages; murders of the consuls' servants; firing on unarmed vessels; and other atrocities. Hostilities instead of peace were, for a certain period, the result.

Whilst the plenipotentiaries were sailing to the north, and concluding the treaty of Tientsin, Major-general Straubenzee, who had been left in command at Canton, had a difficult task to preserve the peace, as the Chinese "braves" were in the habit of collecting in great numbers, and attacking and murdering the English and French, who went by twos and threes into Canton and its vicinity. The establishment and enforcement of stringent police regulations were at last successful in restoring something like order; but peace was again temporarily disturbed from another cause. Early in August, Sir John Bowring issued a proclamation, containing the new instructions to the officials, commercial men, soldiers, &c., rendered necessary by the conclusion of peace. A boat, under a flag of truce, proceeding from Hong-Kong to distribute this document, was fired upon by the imperial troops at Nam-tow. It was not deemed wise to pass over this outrage, and an expedition was immediately sent to punish the offenders. It consisted of detachments of the 59th regiment of the 12th Madras native infantry, the royal artillery, the engineers, and marines; comprising, in all, forty officers, and 489 non-commissioned officers and privates. This small force landed at Nam-tow on the 11th of August, under a heavy fire of jingals. The guns were soon got in position, and opened a fire of artillery on the fort; and the troops and marines advancing, drove the garrison out, who fled into the interior,

leaving a few killed and wounded. The works were destroyed, and the expedition returned to Canton, taking with them two large brass guns.*

When Lord Elgin returned from Japan, he had several interviews with the Chinese officials at Shanghai; and, with them, succeeded in putting the tariff upon a basis which was deemed satisfactory by all parties. By one of the regulations, the opium trade was legalised. It was arranged, that the drug might, in future, be imported into China on payment of a fixed duty of thirty taels (£10) per 100 catties (about 113 lbs.); and thus one source of dispute was obviated. At home, the treaty, and all the regulations, afforded the greatest satisfaction generally; though there were some persons who expressed their doubts as to whether any real settlement of our differences with the celestial empire had been effected. The government at London, however, relying on the good faith of that of Peking, resolved to carry out the treaty regulations faithfully on their part; and in the *London Gazette* of January 14th, 1859, the appointment of the Hon. Frederick William Adolphus Bruce—the brother of Lord Elgin—as ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the emperor of China, was announced. Consuls were, also, appointed to reside at Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Tang-chow, New-chwang, Foo-chow-foo, Chin-kiang, Ningpo, and Swatow. Thus it was expected that our relations with China were fully re-established; but it was soon found that the celestials did not intend to submit to the treaties which had been, in truth, forced upon them; and that the war was not yet at an end.

On the 26th of June, 1859, the ratifications of the treaties were to be interchanged at Peking. Soon after they were signed, the Chinese authorities showed their dissatisfaction with the two clauses in the English treaty, which the other plenipotentiaries had been induced to omit from theirs. This dissatisfaction became known to Lord Elgin after his return from Japan, and his arrangement of the tariff. He learned, also, that orders had been given to reconstruct the Taku forts, and to fortify the approaches to Peking; and on the 5th of November, 1858, he wrote home, to

* In general, the facts of this chapter have been founded upon the *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years*

1857, '58, and '59; written by Laurence Oliphant, Esq., who was his lordship's private secretary during that mission.

warn the ministers that the Chinese were especially averse to the residence of an English ambassador at Peking; and that the enforcement of the clause providing for such residence, would "oblige the emperor to choose between a desperate attempt at resistance, and passive acquiescence in what he and his advisers believed to be the greatest calamity which could befall the empire."* No especial precautions, however, appear to have been taken by the British government.

In March, 1859, Admiral Sir James Hope went to the East to succeed Sir Michael Seymour, whose term of office had expired. On the 16th of April, he joined his squadron at Singapore, and assumed the command; Sir Michael Seymour, after a short interview with him, leaving Singapore in one of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers for England. Had the latter remained at Shanghai till after the arrival of Mr. Bruce—or had he given himself more time to explain to Sir James Hope the nature of the position, the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and the character of the people with whom he had to deal—in all probability the subsequent disaster at the mouth of the Peiho would have been avoided.

Mr. Bruce—who set out for China soon after his appointment to his embassy—found, on arriving at Hong-Kong, that a reduction of the squadron in China had been ordered; whilst the proceedings of the court of Peking convinced him that he ought to be escorted to the Peiho by a force at least equal to that which accompanied Lord Elgin. As soon as his French colleague, Monsieur Bourbollon, was ready to accompany him, he went to Shanghai, where the imperial commissioners were waiting to receive the ambassadors. Soon after his arrival, on the 11th of June, Admiral Hope and his squadron sailed from Shanghai to the gulf of Pecheli; the Sha-lin-tien, or Wide-spreading Land Islands, fifteen miles from the entrance to the Peiho, being named as a general rendezvous. The two commissioners, Kweiliang and Hwashana, who had concluded the treaty with Lord Elgin, were those appointed to receive the two ambassadors; and Mr. Bruce and Monsieur

Bourbollon found these officials "armed with pretexts to detain them, and prevent their visit to the Peiho." They soon ascertained, also, that every impediment would be placed in the way of their advancing to Peking, where they were to receive the ratifications of the treaty. Nevertheless, the two ambassadors followed the squadron four days after it had sailed.

Admiral Hope, in his flag-ship the *Chesapeake*, arrived at the Sha-lin-tien Islands on the 17th of June; and on the 18th he was joined by his squadron. As soon as his vessel had anchored, he embarked on board the gun-boat *Plover*; and, escorted by the *Starling*, proceeded to cross the bar of the Peiho, for the purpose of informing the authorities of his arrival, and ascertaining if any, and what, obstructions existed to his progress up the river. He found they were numerous and formidable, though he did not discover their full extent. Where the old Taku forts stood, new earthworks had been thrown up, which appeared to be well constructed, were singularly neat, and more carefully finished in outline than is usual in Chinese earthworks; and it was remarked that there was a total absence of all display, no tents or flags being seen to denote the presence of a garrison; nor did it appear that any guns were mounted, all were so closely masked. Besides these earthworks, it was discovered that a triple series of stakes and chains were thrown across the river, and rendered it impassable.—Admiral Hope sent an officer on shore to communicate with the authorities. He was met by some men, who refused him permission to proceed further than the beach. To his questions, they said they were militia-men, stationed there in charge of the earthworks:

"That the booms and stakes were placed as a precaution against rebels or pirates; that the ambassadors ought to go to another river, ten miles further north, which was the true Peiho; and that they acted on their own responsibility in all they said and did, as no high officers were at hand. Some expostulations which were offered against the existence of the barrier in the river, as obstacles to the ambassadors' friendly visit to Tien-tsin, were received in good part; and they promised, within forty-eight hours, to set about removing them."†

On the 18th and 19th of June, the

of that fight is, in the main, an abridgment of that paper; and the quotations, where not otherwise stated, are taken from it. It is the best account of the battle which has been published.

* Blue-Book on China; despatch No. 216.

† From "The Fight on the Peiho," in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1859. This paper was written by an officer of the fleet: our account

squadron moved from the Sha-lin-tien Islands, to the anchorage at the mouth of the Peiho, where the waters discharge themselves into the gulf of Pecheli, over a great bank of hard tenacious clay, extending seaward in a wide-sweeping curve, the arc of which is fully six miles. This bank is known as "the Bar;" and the smaller vessels anchored within it for security against the winds and seas of the gulf. On the 19th, Mr. Bruce and Monsieur Bourbonlon arrived; the former in the *Magicienne*, the latter in the French corvette *Duchayla*. This was seven days before the expiration of the time allowed for the ratification of the treaty at Pekin; and Mr. Bruce, knowing the extreme importance of punctuality with a court and people that stand so much upon ceremony and etiquette, immediately announced his arrival to the parties who appeared to be on guard at Taku, requesting permission to pass through the barriers, on his way to Tien-tsin. The reply was, he must go elsewhere: the barriers were kept closed; and the guards added, that they acted on their own responsibility.*

Mr. Bruce was, therefore, placed in a position in which one of two alternatives presented themselves. He must either order the admiral to remove the barrier, for the placing of which the people at Taku said *they*, and not the imperial government, were responsible; or he must take the course which those persons pointed out to him. The ambassador resolved to adopt the first of these alternatives; and the humiliations to which the American ambassador, who adopted the second, was subjected to, prove he was right. M. Bourbonlon agreed with him; and, on the 21st of June, they had an interview with Admiral Hope, to whom they explained the situation, and in whose hands they placed the matter; requesting him to take such measures as he deemed expedient for clearing away obstructions placed in the river, so as to allow them at once to proceed to Tien-tsin.—The admiral immediately apprised the authorities that the obstructions in the river must be removed by the evening of the 24th of June, or he should clear them away himself, to allow the ambassadors to proceed to Tien-tsin, as they were entitled to do under the sign-manual of the emperor.—The sun set on the 24th; and no answer was received to this com-

Mr. Bruce's despatch, July 13th, 1859.

munication, to the delight of the English seamen, who were quite unaware of what they had to encounter.

At that time Admiral Hope had only one French corvette, the *Duchayla*, and the tender, *Nosogary*, with him: a numerous fleet, under Admiral Rigault de Genouille, which was in the eastern seas, being engaged elsewhere. His English vessels consisted of eight, which could not cross the bar—viz., the *Chesapeake*, the *Magicienne*, the *Highflyer*, the *Cruiser*, the *Fury*, the *Assistance*, the *Coromandel*, and the *Hesper* store-ship. The vessels that had crossed the bar, and could engage the forts, were the following:—

Ships.	Guns.	Howitzers.	Commanders.
1. Nimrod . . .	6	0	R. S. Wynniatt.
2. Cormorant . . .	6	0	A. Wodehouse.
3. Lee	2	2	Lt. W. H. Jones.
4. Opossum . . .	2	2	C. J. Balfour.
5. Haughty . . .	2	2	G. D. Broad.
6. Forester . . .	2	2	A. F. Innes.
7. Banterer . . .	2	2	J. Jenkins.
8. Starling . . .	2	2	J. Whitshed.
9. Plover	2	2	Hector Rason.
10. Janus	2	2	H. P. Knevit.
11. Kestrel . . .	2	2	J. D. Bevan.
Totals	30	18	

The admiral had also a combined rocket battery, of twenty-two 12 and 24-pounders. The total crews of these gun-vessels amounted to about 500 officers and seamen. During the 24th of June, 700 marines, from Canton and the larger vessels, were taken on board junks placed on the bar to receive them. They were intended, under Colonel Lemon, R.M., and Commanders Commerell of the *Fury*, and Heath of the *Assistance*, to act as an assaulting party. The *Coromandel* and the *Nosogary* were selected as hospitals; and the admiral placed them as far out of range as possible, so as to retain them within the anchorage.

The resistance which the eleven vessels had to overcome was of such a nature, that if the admiral had been fully aware of its imposing strength, as well as of the means of annoyance possessed by the enemy, he would not have undertaken to force the passage—success being next to impossible with the armament at his command.

"Within the bar, the channel of the Peiho winds upwards, for a mile, between precipitous banks of mud, which are treacherously covered at high tide,

and render the navigation, at that time, very hazardous. The seaman then finds himself between two reed-covered banks, which constitute the real sides of the Peiho river; and, at the same time, he is surrounded by earthworks, which, from the peculiar configuration of this last reach of the Peiho, face and flank him on every side. These fortifications stand either upon natural or artificial elevations, of some ten or twelve feet general altitude, and, even at high water, look down upon a vessel in the channel—an advantage which becomes all the more serious when the tide has fallen, as it does fall, some ten or twelve feet. The actual channel of the river is never more than 200 feet wide, until the forts are entirely passed, and the current runs from two to three miles per hour.”

Between May, 1858, and June, 1859, the fortifications on the Peiho had been greatly enlarged and strengthened. On the left bank there were three mounds of earth, each thirty feet high, well faced with solid masonry. “A double flight of stone steps in the rear led to their summits; and within them was a hollow chamber, admirably adapted for magazines of powder. The summit was a level space 200 yards square, capable of fighting three guns on each face, except in the rear, which was perfectly open.” Round these works, enormous mud batteries, of twenty-two feet vertical height, were constructed. These batteries were connected with a series of curtains, thus giving them the character of bastions; curtains and bastions were pierced for casemated guns; and every embrasure was fitted with a mantlet

“Of stout wood, covered, externally, with a wattling of ratans, so as to be rifle-proof. It worked on hinges or rollers, fitted to the outer and lower edge of the embrasures, and was triced up, and lowered down, by means of lines leading through the parapet on each side of the gun. When closed up, the casemated embrasures were not easily detected in the smoke of action, and the gun was loaded and laid point-blank before being run out. Directly all was ready, down went the mantlet, out ran the gun, a shot was fired, and, as it recoiled, the mantlet went up again with such expedition, that sharp eyes were required to detect which of the enemy's embrasures was firing, and ought next to be silenced.”

The works just described are called, in the plans of the scene of action on the Peiho, the Grand Fort. They were flanked, above and below, with two waspish-looking forts, with the appearance, towards the river, of a three-tier earthen battery. On the right bank stood another series of works, terminated by the north fort, which were formidable to opponents, though inferior in strength and importance to those on the left, and were capable of causing

great annoyance to vessels attempting to force the passage of the river.—Besides these works on shore, we have observed that three barriers had been constructed across the channel. The first was a single row of iron stakes, nine inches in girth, with sharp points, and a sharp spur, projecting from the sides, and a tripod base to render them firmer. The second, 450 yards above the first, consisted of an eight-inch hemp, and two heavy chain cables, carried from side to side, and supported by large spars, placed thirty feet apart. The third was formed of two massive rafts of rough timber, fastened together by rope and chain, and “admirably moored a few feet above one another, so as to leave a letter S opening; above which were more iron stakes, so placed as to impede any gun-boats dashing through it, supposing all other obstacles overcome.” Such were the defences of the Peiho, most of them constructed within a few months. That the Chinese did not design and complete them, is well known; and there is little doubt that they were not only assisted by Russian engineers in raising the fortifications, but by Russians of some class or other—escaped convicts, deserters, and renegades, some think—in working the guns.

The 24th of June having passed without any notice being taken of Admiral Hope's application, when it became quite dark, three boats' crews of the *Chesapeake*—under Lieutenant Wilson, Mr. Egerton mate, and Mr. Hartland boatswain, Captain Willes taking the chief command—were despatched to see whether the barriers could be destroyed in the night by boats. Captain Willes reached the first, and passed through the iron stakes, to the second obstruction. Leaving the boats commanded by Mr. Egerton and Mr. Hartland, to fasten explosive cylinders under the cables, that officer and Lieutenant Wilson pushed on to the third barrier. “They crawled over it; and although they could see the sentries walking up and down at either end, and they must have been seen by the garrison of the forts, neither party molested the other.” The officers satisfied themselves that this barrier could not be removed by the mere pressure of gun-boats against it, and returned to the second. There Captain Willes exploded the cylinders, and made a breach wide enough, apparently, for a vessel to pass. One or two

guns from the fort were then directed upon him; and as they had the complete range, he returned to the fleet, bringing to the admiral, "full information of the stubborn nature of the obstacles opposed to the flotilla;" and stating his opinion, that it was impossible to make a dash up the stream to take the works in reverse.

The next morning, "with cock-crow, all was activity in the squadron. At half-past three, a chorus of boatswains' mates' whistles had sent all hands to their breakfasts; and, by four o'clock, the vessels began to drop up into their assigned positions." Of the eleven gun-boats, nine were ordered to anchor close to the first barrier, as nearly abreast as possible. Captain Willes, in the *Opossum*, "was to secure tackles to one of the iron piles, ready to pull it up when ordered:" that order given, the admiral in the *Plover*, and the *Opossum*, "were to pass on to the second and third barriers." The admiral commenced the movement while the flood-tide was running, in the hope that, before it ceased, the vessels would have reached their positions. But the channel was narrow, and the current and the breeze strong. First the *Starling*, and then the *Banterer*, were driven ashore on the mud banks—the first to the right, the second to the left. Then "the great length of the *Nimrod* and *Cormorant*, caused them, when swinging or canting across the channel, almost to block it up. The consequence was, that the squadron was not ready for action at 11.30 A.M., or high water." The *Opossum* had, however, taken up her position, and fastened a tackle to one of the iron spikes. At 2 P.M. the admiral gave the signal that it was to be removed. This done—and it required half-an-hour, the men using tackles and steam-power—the *Plover* and *Opossum* dashed through to the second barrier. Till then, the enemy appears to have been perfectly quiet; and the question, "I wonder whether the rascals will fight?" was often repeated. It was now answered. Two black flags were displayed from the Grand Fort; and—

"As the stem of the *Plover* touched the barrier, a single gun served as a signal for all the works, and, in a minute, a concentrated fire of forty heavy pieces opened upon the little craft. In the words of the seamen, 'It seemed as if the vessels had struck an infernal machine.' The *Plover* and the *Opossum* were wreathed in fire and smoke, above which the red flag of the gallant leader waved defiantly. A rush and stamp of men to their quarters

sounded through the flotilla; and as the admiral threw out the signal, '*Engage the Enemy!*' with the red pennant under, indicating '*as close as possible*,' the cheers of the united ships' companies mingled with the roar of that first hearty broad-side."

The sailors of the two little vessels worked their guns well, and with a will; but the fire concentrated upon them was tremendous. In twenty minutes they had lost so many men, and were so shattered, that they were almost silenced; and the *Lee* and *Haughty* were signalled to go to their support. At that time the admiral was seriously wounded; Lieutenant Commander Rason, of the *Plover*, and Captain M'Kenna, of the 1st royals, on the admiral's staff, were killed: the *Plover* had only nine men left efficient out of her original crew of forty; and she and the *Opossum* dropped outside the first barrier, where they received fresh crews from the reserve, and again joined in the fight. The admiral had removed from the *Plover* when she dropped down, to his barge; and, though faint with loss of blood, he was pulled alongside the *Lee* and *Haughty*, "to show the crew how cheerfully he shared the dangers of their position." Amidst the *mêlée* the admiral fainted; and Mr. Ashley, his secretary, had him taken to the rear for medical assistance. When he returned, the *Lee* and *Haughty* were disabled, and the *Cormorant* was the most advanced vessel in the line. The admiral had his pennant removed on board her—and still the battle raged—"fresh guns' crews being brought up from the rear, to replace the killed and wounded on board the vessels. First excitement had been succeeded by cool determination; and the men fought deliberately, with set teeth and compressed lips." But it was in vain; the odds were too great. The shot from the vessels had not half the effect on the forts that the enemy's fire had upon them, owing to the difference of position. As the tide fell, that difference became more in favour of the enemy; and "their fire was more plunging and destructive; whilst our gunners, though quite close, had to aim upwards at them." Soon after four o'clock, the admiral, who had remained on board the *Cormorant* against the advice of his officers, was obliged to give up his command to Captain Shadwell, of the *High-flyer*, the oldest officer next to himself; who, supported by Captain Willes, and

Captain N. Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*, carried on the battle. As time progressed—

“Explosions occurred now and then in the works, but nothing to indicate a destruction of any of the garrisons. The two black flags in the upper battery still waved gently in the light air; and no sign of surrender or distress appeared on the Chinese side, except that all the embrasures showed a severe punishment must have been inflicted upon the men working the guns within them, and there seemed to be an inclination to cease firing on the part of the enemy, or only to fire in a deliberate and desultory manner. Exhaustion was beginning to tell upon our men, just at the time that the shattered condition of their vessels called for more exertion. By six o'clock all probability of forcing the barriers with the flotilla was at end. The *Kestrel* was sunk; the *Lee* obliged to be run on the mud, to prevent her going down in deep water; other vessels were filled, owing to shot-holes; the *Starling* and *Banterer* were aground; the *Plover* disabled; and if the *Nimrod* or *Cormorant*, by any accident to their anchors or cables, fell across the stream, the channel would be blocked up, and all the squadron lost.”

Though great injury had been done to the vessels, and the *Plover's* crew had suffered severely, yet the aggregate loss of men had been small, only twenty-five being killed, and ninety-three wounded, at twenty minutes after 6 P.M. The reserve of 700 marines had not been engaged, except those who had been transferred to the gun-boats to replace the killed and wounded; and Captain Vansittart urged that one bold stroke should be made, to retrieve, if possible, the honours of the day, and to save the squadron from destruction. As he was supported by Captain Shadwell and Captain Willes, an escalade and assault were determined upon; and there appeared to be some ground for thinking that it was not altogether “a forlorn hope;” as “the ingenious tactics of the enemy—Chinamen we will not call them”—were just then displayed by an assumption of “the appearance of being silenced in many quarters, only a gun working here and there.” The men were eager to be led face to face with the enemy; and very soon, the boats, filled with the marines, were brought up to the front. In this movement, an American flag-officer, Tatnall, in his steamer the *Toeywan*, rendered material assistance.

At seven o'clock, this force, about 600 in number, landed, led by Captains Shadwell and Vansittart; Major Fisher, R.E.; Colonel Lemon, R.M.; Commanders John Commerell and H. A. J. Heath; and Commandant Tricault, of the French navy.

They directed their attack upon the outer bastion of the Grand Fort, which appeared to have suffered most from the fire of the vessels; and advanced under the cheers of the excited crews of the gun-boats, and the revived fire of the flotilla. They were received, to their great astonishment, by a destructive fire, which, “from every work, every gun, and every loophole, fell upon the devoted men, as they waded through the deep and tenacious mud.” Numbers fell; and amongst the officers, Colonel Lemon, Captains Shadwell and Vansittart, were badly wounded. The gallant fellows pressed on, and, headed by Commerell, Heath, and Fisher, entered the first ditch. Having scrambled through its deep mud and quagmire, they had to encounter, at a short distance, a second—a deep wet ditch—into which about 200 officers and men recklessly dashed. “Only fifty of them, headed by Commanders Commerell, Heath, and Tricault, reached the base of the works; the remainder were left behind.” Attempts to bring up scaling-ladders resulted in the destruction of the parties bearing them; and at length, out of 600 officers and privates, sixty-four being killed, and 252 wounded, it was resolved to retreat. The retiring movement was conducted by Captain Willes: all the wounded that could be recovered were taken; and the two gallant commanders, Commerell and Heath, were the last to leave. It was half-past one in the morning of the 26th before all were embarked; and whilst the embarkation was going on, “the enemy opened a perfect *feu-de-joie* from all sides, upon vessels and boats, and for awhile threatened total destruction to the whole force.” This made the dropping-out of the boats bearing the men to the anchorage from which they had started on the previous morning, a slow and a dangerous task; but at last it was performed, amidst “the moans of the wounded, the shouts of the officers, and the frequent strokes of boats' oars,” which “alternated with the roar of cannon, and the exultant shouts of the victorious garrison.” And there was a still more thrilling sight than even the passage of these boats to their position of safety afforded. On the deck of the *Coromandel* lay the gallant admiral, Captains Shadwell and Vansittart, and Colonel Lemon, surrounded by their wounded and dying followers; and “a pile of dead, covered with the flag for which they had fought so well, awaited

decent interment on the morrow." Besides the officers already named, Lieutenant Commander Clutterbuck, Lieutenants Graves, Wolridge, and Inglis, and Mr. Herbert, midshipman, were killed in action; Captain Vansittart died of his wounds; and Commander Armine Wodehouse succumbed to a fever brought on by the exposure and anxiety of the day.—Amongst the wounded were Captain Masters, R.M.; Lieutenants Buckle, R.N., Longly, R.E., and Crawford, R.M.A.; Mr. Burniston, master; Messrs. Smith, Powlett, and Armytage, midshipmen; and Mr. Ryan, gunner. The total killed was eighty-nine; wounded, 345. The crew of the French corvette, *Duchayla*, had taken a share in the events of the day. They had four

killed and ten wounded: amongst the former was the gallant commander Tricault, "who had been foremost in the fight."

In the anxiety to save the men, the gun-boats had been abandoned in the night of the 25th. The next morning, as soon as it was light, measures were taken, under the direction of Captain Willes, to save as many of them as possible, and to blow up or destroy the rest. All were got off but three—the *Cormorant*, *Lee*, and *Plover*: those were destroyed, and rendered utterly useless, so that the enemy could not boast of them as the trophies of a victory, which they won by entrapping the English into a well-devised snare, and for which ample atonement was exacted ere many months had elapsed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FEELING CAUSED IN THE FLEET AND IN ENGLAND BY THE EVENTS IN THE PEIHO; A FRESH ALLIED FORCE ORDERED TO CHINA; TERMS DEMANDED OF THE EMPEROR; THEY ARE REFUSED; DESCENT ON CHUSAN; PREPARATIONS FOR A CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH; THE ENGLISH FORCE; THE EXPEDITION IN THE GULF OF PEHEL; LANDING AT PEH-TANG; CAPTURE OF TANG-KOO, AND OF THE TAKU FORTS; OCCUPATION OF TIEN-TSIN; MORE INSINCERITY OF THE CHINESE; THE ADVANCE TO TUNG-CHOW; TREACHEROUS CAPTURE OF MR. PARKES AND HIS PARTY; BATTLE OF CHANG-KIA-WAN; BATTLE OF PA-LI-CHOW; ADVANCE ON PEKIN; SPOILIATION OF THE SUMMER PALACE; SURRENDER OF THE PRISONERS; PEKIN GIVEN UP TO THE ALLIES; DESTRUCTION OF THE PALACE OF YUEN-MING-YUEN; CONCLUSION OF PEACE; TERMS OF THE TREATY; DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS; THE DIPLOMATISTS AT PEKIN; ALTERED RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND CHINA.

THE events of the 25th of June caused a feeling of gloom to pervade the British fleet, but not one of despondency; for the tars never supposed, for a moment, that there would not be a day of reckoning with the Chinese. Nothing could be effected, however, with the force then in the gulf of Pecheli: the ships and the ambassadors, therefore, returned to Hong-Kong; and the latter forwarded despatches to Europe, conveying to the governments of England and France a report of the unexpected interruption to their mission. Admiral Hope also transmitted, by the same steamer, his account of "the fight of the Peiho." The intelligence, as no French force was engaged, did not excite much interest in France: in England it was received, by different parties, with different emotions. The general feeling was one of indignation at the perfidy of the "Celestials;" but there was

a small section which maintained, that the ambassadors of peace had no right to have proceeded to the Peiho with vessels of war; that the admiral ought not to have attempted to force the barriers; and that the result was only a deserved chastisement of an attempted wrong upon the Chinese. This party had few sympathisers among the people; and the members of the government soon made it known, that they were not disposed to pass tamely over acts which they regarded as fresh proofs of the treachery and insincerity of the authorities at Pekin.

As the English and French governments agreed in the view they took of the conduct of the Chinese, the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of the French entered into an alliance, for the purpose of enforcing an observance of the treaty of Tien-tsin; and, "at once to avenge the

treacherous reception which their ministers encountered at Taku, and to place the relations with China upon a permanently peaceful and satisfactory footing," they resolved to send large armaments to that country.* The English contingent was to consist of 10,000 men, under Sir Hope Grant; the French, of 7,000, under General Montauban. The latter went direct from France to Shanghai. The English force was composed of some regiments on home service, of others at the Cape of Good Hope, and of more from India. Hong-Kong was to have been their destination: but that island is not well calculated for the encampment of troops; and as, under any circumstances, the men would have to remain several weeks in cantonments, they were disembarked on Kowloon, a rocky promontory, running out into the harbour of Canton from the mainland of China, towards Victoria, the capital of Hong-Kong, which stretches four miles along its north shore. But the British took no unfair advantage of the Chinese in thus encamping troops on their territory. Sir Hugh Grant leased the promontory of the Canton authorities, who agreed to let it to him at a yearly rent of £160, with a full knowledge of the purpose to which it was to be applied.

Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros were again appointed commissioners from England and France, to conduct the negotiations; for which purpose they were directed to proceed to Peking. Mr. Bruce still retained his appointment as ambassador, and, early in 1860, he went to Shanghai. From that city, on the 8th of March, he addressed a despatch to the imperial government at Peking, recapitulating the events of June, 1859; respecting which, he said, "the emperor had been singularly misled," and demanding, "in the name of her majesty's government, the immediate and unconditional acceptance of the following terms:"—

1st. An ample and satisfactory apology for the act of the troops, who fired on the ships of her Britannic majesty, from the forts of Taku, in June, 1859.—2nd. An exchange, without delay, at Peking, of the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin; the English minister proceeding to Peking for that purpose; to pass up the river, by Taku, in an English vessel, and himself and suite to be conveyed from Tien-tsin to Peking, with due honour, by the Chinese authorities.—3rd. That full effect be given to the provisions of the treaty of Tien-tsin, including a

satisfactory arrangement for the prompt payment of the indemnity of 4,000,000 taels.

It was further intimated, that—

In consequence of the obstruction offered to the passage of Mr. Bruce up the Peiho, the understanding with respect to the residence of a British minister in China was at an end; and that it rested "exclusively with her Britannic majesty to decide whether or not she should instruct her minister to take up his abode, permanently, at Peking."—Also, that the indemnity for the expenses occasioned to her majesty by the outrage at the Peiho, would be greater or less, according to the promptitude with which the foregoing demands were satisfied.—And further, that, unless an unqualified assent to those demands was given within thirty days, "the British naval and military authorities would proceed to adopt such measures as they might deem advisable, to compel the emperor of China to observe the engagements contracted for him by his plenipotentiaries at Tien-tsin, and approved by his imperial edict of July, 1858."

At the expiration of twenty-eight days, the reply of the imperial commissioner was received. It was an ingenious attempt to put the English government and its minister in the wrong, on every point; and, in substance, a positive refusal of every demand made in Mr. Bruce's despatch. Between the date of that despatch and the receipt of the answer, the English contingent had arrived at Kowloon, and the French at Shanghai. Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban were also both at Shanghai when the Chinese reply was received; and, after consulting with the ambassadors, they determined immediately to commence operations by a descent upon Chusan. Accordingly, the 67th and 99th regiments, four companies of royal marines, Major Rotton's battery of royal artillery, a company of royal engineers, and 300 of the Chinese coolie corps, were organised as an expedition to proceed to Chusan. The French force was to be 200 marines from Canton. Sir Hope Grant took the command-in-chief; Admiral Jones commanding the English, and Admiral Page the French fleet. General Montauban remained at Shanghai.†

The men were all embarked at Kowloon for Shanghai: they left the latter place by daybreak on the 1st of April; and the vessels bearing them anchored off Ting-hai, the capital of Chusan, in the afternoon of the same day. A flag of truce was sent on shore; Mr. Parkes, the English consul at Hong-Kong, being the bearer: and the

* Lord Elgin's address to the merchants of Shanghai.

† Lieutenant-colonel G. J. Wolsley's *Narratives of the War with China, in 1860.*

boat soon returned with that gentleman and two mandarins, who declared their readiness at once to give up the island. Arrangements were made with them for its occupation by the allied troops; and a guard of fifty men of each nation was sent on shore to take possession of Ting-hai; the English and French ensigns being hoisted on "Joss-house Hill, a small commanding knoll, whose masonry batteries, crowded with embrasures, without guns, overlooked the roadstead."* The 99th regiment remained at Chusan, with 300 marines; and the occupation having been satisfactorily arranged, Sir Hope Grant returned to Hong-Kong.

By the end of May, all the preparations for the campaign in the north were completed. The English troops (considerably exceeding the number stipulated in the agreement with France, about 14,000 men of all ranks being collected at Kowloon) were admirably equipped; and all had reached their destination, with scarcely an accident. Amongst them, "were regiments of the old 'Pandies' of Bengal, of the miserable-looking Madrasses, of Bombay Sepoys, and of Punjaubees, in which were men of every warlike tribe in Northern India—the wild Pathan, and the milder, but not less brave, Sikh."† They were organised with the Europeans as follows:—

1st Division.—Major-general Sir John Michel, K.C.B.—The 1st (Royals), 2nd (Queen's), 31st, 60th (Rifles), 15th Punjaub infantry; Loodianah regiment; Lieutenant-colonel Barry's and Captain Desborough's batteries of Royal Artillery; Lieutenant-colonel Fisher's company of Royal Engineers.

2nd Division.—Major-general Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B.—The 3rd (Buffs), 44th, 67th, 99th, 8th, and 19th Punjaub infantry; Captains Mowbray and Govan's Royal Artillery; and Major Graham's company of Royal Engineers.

Cavalry Brigade.—Brigadier Pattle, C.B.—The 1st (King's Dragoon Guards); Probyn's Horse (1st Sikh cavalry); Fane's Horse; and Captain Millward's battery of Royal Artillery.

Reserve.—A battery of mountain guns, manned by Madrasses, about 250 Madras sappers and miners; Major Pennyquick's company of Royal Artillery, and a small siege-train. There was also a corps of 3,000 Canton and Hong-Kong coolies, drilled to carry the baggage and the wounded; and known as the "Bamboo Rifles," from their use of the bamboo to bear their burdens.

To transfer this force to its destination, 120 transports were collected in Canton harbour; and there were seventy vessels of all sizes in the naval armament.

* Several fine steamers had been fitted up as

• Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

+ *Ibid.*

hospitals, under the inspection of Dr. Muir, C.B., the principal medical officer to the expedition. Ample stores of tents, camp equipage, &c., together with all requisites for an army in the field, were sent north along with the troops. England never before opened a campaign with such a well-organised or a more efficient force. Nothing that could add to the health or comfort of the men was neglected; and all that talent or ability could do to render an army perfect was provided for.‡

The infantry who were to make the voyage to the gulf of Pecheli in sailing vessels, embarked in the middle of May; those who went in steamers, in the second week of June. They all met at Shanghai; from whence three days' easy steaming, in calm weather, took them into the gulf. There the French rendezvoused at Che-foo; and the English in Tah-lien-wan Bay, on the eastern shore of the gulf, where the two armies landed and encamped. The town of Che-foo is of considerable size, and the inhabitants supplied the French with an abundance of necessaries; and there were several neat and clean villages on the shores of Tah-lien-wan Bay, with the population of which the English were soon on good terms. The commissioners arrived soon after the troops, having had a disastrous voyage. They embarked in the *Malabar*, which put into Porte de Galle, in the island of Ceylon; and, on leaving that place on the 22nd of May, the vessel was wrecked, the bullion on board, the baggage, and the commissioners' credentials and papers, being lost. The crew, passengers, and a part of the mails were saved; but many letters and packages perished in the wreck. The commissioners proceeded to Hong-Kong, arriving at that island on the 21st of June. There they learned what steps had been taken by Mr. Bruce and the commanders of the sea and land forces; and Baron le Gros ascertained that the French contingent was much inferior to the English in number, and that a vessel containing accoutrements, &c., had been lost at Amoy. In consequence of this information, the baron made a protest against the landing of the men in China; but, as the proceedings were so far advanced, he was induced by Lord Elgin to withdraw it. The commissioners then proceeded to Shanghai in separate vessels, Baron le Gros arriving on the 28th, and Lord Elgin on the 29th, of June.

Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban had joined their armies a few days

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

previous, and the plan of the campaign was arranged; but it had to be departed from, at the outset, in an important particular. Leaving behind them their depôts of stores at Che-foo and Tah-lien-wan, the French were to have landed at Che-kiang-ho, twenty-five miles south of the embouchure of the Peiho; and the English at Peh-tang, ten miles to the north of that place. From those points the two armies were to have advanced round the mouth of the river, upon the Taku forts; the French assaulting those on the south, and the English those on the north, banks. However, when the French made a *reconnaissance* of the coast near Che-kiang-ho, they found that there was not sufficient depth of water to allow the vessels to approach; and it was arranged that both the armies should land at Peh-tang, which is a town built on both sides of the river Peh-tang-ho, five miles above a bar that runs across its mouth.—The English were ready first, and began to embark on the 21st of July. It was the 26th when all were on board, and started, with a fair wind, for the general rendezvous, where the squadrons arrived on the 1st of August. The town of Peh-tang “appeared packed with well-built houses; and, according to the best information which could be obtained on the subject, contained about 30,000 inhabitants.”* The principal portion of the town is built on the right or south side of the Peh-tang-ho; and there a fort bristled with thirteen embrasures. Before the houses on the north side was another fort, with fifteen embrasures. Both these forts “exactly resembled those at the Peiho, in construction and general outline, being high-raised cavaliers of mud, connected by low castelated walls of the same substance, with ditches in front of them.”† These forts—

“And the town adjoining that on the right bank, are built on two molecules of solid ground, which have turned up, one does not know how, at a distance of five miles inland from the bar, which closes the entrance of the river to even the smallest gun-boats, save at high water. The town is surrounded by a sea of mud, impassable to horse or man, inundated at high tide. It is connected with the comparatively higher country bordering the Peiho, by a narrow causeway, which a determined and skillful enemy could hold against any force

whatever, until driven successively from positions which might be established on it at every hundred yards.”‡

No wonder that the invaders expected to meet here a determined opposition; and that they were both surprised and delighted when they were permitted to land unmolested. Behind the town, a wooden gate and bridge led to the causeway already mentioned. The inhabitants were seen driving their cattle, and carrying their goods away, by that route; and about 200 cavalry were assembled at the bridge: no other troops were seen.

“At half-past 4 P.M., 200 English, and an equal number of French, put off in boats; but it was discovered that they could only get within about a hundred yards of the bank; so the English returned, and waited for half-an-hour, when they landed, or rather got out of the boats into the water, then up to their knees, which continued so for the first half mile. The land then began to show itself; and after struggling through deep sticky mud for four or five hundred yards, they came to a fine hard surface of mud, covered here and there with patches of rank weeds.”§

A determined resistance at this landing might have occasioned great loss to the allies; but none was made: and the infantry, with a part of the artillery, disembarked that evening. They bivouacked on the open ground for the night: the next day they occupied the town and the forts, when they found that the guns had all been removed from the latter, and their places were supplied by wooden ones, bound round with iron and cowhide—“Quakers,” as they are called. The guns had been removed, the year before, to the Taku forts. It was also ascertained, that Prince Sangko-lin-sin, who had directed the defence of the Taku forts the previous year, was still in command in that district. From papers of this general, subsequently seized, it appears that he thought it useless to oppose the landing of the allies, but felt certain that they would be cut off when they advanced into the interior. “Should the barbarians persist in their avowed intention of landing”—the prince wrote in a report intended for his government, and which was, probably, forwarded, a copy being retained—

“They will, most likely, land at Peh-tang. To do so is very difficult; but, as we cannot defend that place, they may succeed in doing so. There is only one egress from thence, to the east of which are large impassable salt-works; and should they present themselves in the open country, my numerous Tartar cavalry is so disposed that they must be

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley. † *Ibid.*

‡ *The Chinese War of 1860*; written by an officer engaged in it; and published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, for March, 1861.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

annihilated. Should they, however, pass them, there is still the Taku position, opposite the forts of which they were before so signally defeated, and which are now stronger than ever."

These obstacles did exist. They were formidable ones, no doubt; but courage and perseverance overcame them all.

The inhabitants of Peh-tang, who remained, were found very civil and obliging; and they gave the English and French every information in their power. They estimated the number of Tartar troops between the coast and Tien-tsin, at 25,000, and said that the prince had great difficulty in paying even that number. Some of these troops, bodies of cavalry, showed themselves near Peh-tang on the 3rd of August. A *reconnaissance* was consequently made by a detachment of infantry, flanked by two French 8-pounder guns. It was ascertained that the causeway leading to the interior was left unoccupied and undefended; and that there was no position, of any kind, held by the enemy within eight miles of Peh-tang.

The next four or five days were spent in disembarking the cavalry and the guns; and in these operations the services of the coolie corps were invaluable. They worked both assiduously and willingly, "carrying heavy loads through deep mud, and yet laughing and chaffing with each other all the way. A single coolie was actually of more general value than any three baggage animals;" and, "when properly treated, they were most manageable."*—On the 9th of August another *reconnaissance* was made; a body of cavalry and infantry advancing to within a mile of the forts on the Peiho, without encountering an enemy; and, on the 12th, the movement in advance was commenced. The first place to be attacked and occupied, was Tang-koo, on the road to the Taku forts. It was arranged, that Major-general Michel, with the 1st division and the French contingent, should advance by the causeway; and that the 2nd division, under Major-general Napier, should take the route by which the cavalry had advanced in the *reconnaissance* of the 9th, and turn the enemy's left. This march was one, the difficulties of which even those used to a soldier's life in the field will not easily realise. The gun-waggons sank in the mud, up to the axletrees. The firm adhesion of the glutinous substance caused some of them to separate,

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

and portions of several had to be left behind; the heavy cavalry horses sunk knee-deep; the infantry were almost as badly off; and six hours were occupied in crossing something less than four miles. Then a large body of the enemy's cavalry was seen coming down upon them; and it was discovered that a fortified position of the Tartars occupied the road. By this time—

"Napier's division, having reached moderately firm ground, advanced upon the open Tartar flank and rear, while the allied left cannonaded his front, which was covered by a formidable intrenchment. The Tartar cavalry had come out in great numbers to meet their enemy, and a fire from the Armstrong guns was opened upon them. At first the Tartars seemed puzzled, but not disturbed. Presently, seeing that they were losing men, they rapidly extended, and, in a few minutes, the 2nd division stood enveloped in a grand circle of horsemen, advancing from all points, towards the centre. Napier's infantry was speedily deployed, his cavalry let loose, and artillery kept going; and though the heavy ground was rendered more difficult for our cavalry by ditches broad and deep, whose passages were known to the enemy alone, yet, within a quarter of an hour of their advance, the Tartar force was everywhere in retreat;—not, however, till a body of their horsemen, which had charged Stirling's battery, had been gallantly met, and beaten by a party of Fane's Horse, inferior in number, under Lieutenant Macgregor, who was severely wounded."†

The enemy occupied another position on the right, near the village of Sinho, in front of which were two intrenched camps, and two small cavalry camps in the rear. When the 1st division and the French had advanced within about 1,000 yards of the first camps, a smart fire was opened upon them from the allied artillery. The enemy appeared to stand firm for a few minutes, behind their mud walls; but they soon broke, dispersed, and fled. The allies halted at Sinho, their right resting on the Peiho river. They were then six miles from the Taku forts, and midway between Sinho and Tang-koo—a town surrounded by a strong intrenchment, consisting of a rampart and parapet, 10 ft. high, and 3½ ft. wide at the top; with a double wet ditch in front. A narrow causeway, with ditches on either side, led from Sinho to Tang-koo—the country to the north appearing swampy and impassable; but that to the south, though in some parts having the appearance of a marsh, was, in others, sufficiently firm to afford a passage for artillery.

Sir Hope Grant saw at once, that to

† Blackwood.

afford the most certain means of attacking Tang-koo with success, would be to bridge over the ditch which divided the causeway from the southern tract; he therefore opposed the proposal of General Montauban, to make the attack that evening. As Sir Hope was firm, Montauban ordered the French infantry and artillery to attack the place alone. They filed along the causeway till they came within gun-range. Then the artillery unlimbered and opened fire. The enemy replied, and so briskly, that though their guns did little mischief in the distance, the French general thought it advisable not to approach any nearer; and after some time had been spent in a useless cannonade, he ordered a return to the camp. The next day, bridges were thrown across the ditches, and roadways made over the marshy parts of the plain on the south, according to the plan of Sir Hope Grant, preliminary to the attack on Tang-koo. That attack was made on the morning of the 14th of August, by the 1st English division, and the French contingent; the 2nd division being left as a reserve.

"It was exclusively an affair of artillery. The enemy's guns in position on the rampart were silenced by our Armstrongs and 9-pounders; and the rifled 24-pounders of the French gradually advanced, covered by infantry, to successive positions, as the enemy's fire became weaker. The allies had forty-two guns in the field. They found about fifty of all sorts in the ramparts, which the enemy abandoned as the English and French infantry advanced, under cover of their cannon. The British, headed by the 60th Rifles, turned the right of the ditch, and entered the works a quarter of an hour before the French, who made their entry at the gate.*"

After Tang-koo was taken, it was occupied by the 2nd division. The 1st division returned to the camp between Sinho and the Peiho; and the French encamped in Sinho, and round the south side of the village. Preparations were then commenced for the march to the Taku forts; it being contemplated to attack those on the north and south simultaneously, and a bridge of boats was ordered to be carried across the river at Sinho. While it was constructing, the French commandant of engineers went over with a small party to reconnoitre. They were seen by the enemy, and attacked. General Montauban moved down most of his forces to the banks of the river, and sent 2,000 men across, who rescued the engineers, broke

* *Blackwood.*† *Ibid.*

up a Tartar encampment, and established themselves on the right bank, on the road to the south forts. But Sir Hope Grant, as the preparations for the attack proceeded, became convinced that a fort on the north side—that nearest Tang-koo—was the key to the entire position. Major-general Napier was of the same opinion; and by most laborious and careful *reconnaissances*, that officer discovered an open ground near that fort, which "could be reached by artillery, on the completion of a line of caueway he had commenced over the inundated ground within Tang-koo, and by establishing crossing-places at certain points over five or six canals."† In the night of the 19th of August he threw out pickets, and, under their protection, carried on his works so expeditiously, that he had the passages over the canals completed by the morning, when he conducted Sir Hope Grant to within 500 yards of the nearest fort, which was about two miles distant from Tang-koo. The commander-in-chief at once saw the great importance of capturing this work. He consented to its immediate attack; entrusted the direction of the operations to Napier; and went to communicate his plans to General Montauban, by whom they were seriously disapproved. When the French general found Sir Hope Grant determined to carry them out, he made a formal protest; but he did not withhold his co-operation.

By the night of the 20th of August, all the necessary approaches were completed. During that night batteries were constructed; and, at daylight on the 21st, the attack on the nearest north fort was commenced. The British had sixteen guns and three mortars; the French, four guns in position; and their fire was met by as many, or more, from the fort. The enemy's guns in the elevated cavaliers which pointed seaward, had been reversed, so as to bear upon the allies; and amongst them were two English 32-pounders, taken from the gun-boats which had been sunk in the affair of the 25th of June, in the previous year. From these guns a heavy discharge on the assailants was kept up; and, by six o'clock, the fire waxed hotter and hotter on both sides. Just at that time, "a tall black pillar, as if by magic, shot up from the midst of the fort upon which all our fire was concentrated, and then, bursting like a rocket, was soon lost in the vast

shower of wood and earth into which it had resolved itself."* A magazine had exploded. Soon another

"Was exploded by a shell from one of the gun-boats, which were rendering such assistance as they could give at a range of 2,000 yards, the distance imposed by the stakes and the booms which were laid across the river. On the advance of the infantry the French crossed the ditches, upon scaling-ladders laid flat. Our engineers, who trusted to pontoons, were less successful; and the French had reared their ladders against the ramparts for a quarter of an hour before our infantry—some by swimming and scrambling, others by following the French—had struggled across the ditches and reached the berm. But so active was the defence, that no French soldier got into the place by the ladders, though several brave men mounted them. An entrance was eventually made by both forces at the same time, through embrasures, which were reached by steps, hewn out of the earthen rampart with axes, bayonets, and swords."†

Though no one succeeded in entering the fort by the ladders, one gallant Frenchman, with a bound, jumped from the rung unto the parapet, and exultantly waved the tricolour. Amidst a wild cheer from all who saw him, he was shot, and fell dead. Almost simultaneously, Ensign Chapman, of the 67th regiment, partly climbed, and was partly pushed, unto the parapet, waving the colours of his regiment. Some men had then got within-side the gate—more followed, and soon the enemy succumbed, after a most gallant defence, in which about 2,000 Tartars, including two generals, were killed.‡ The British had 203 killed and wounded; the French loss was somewhat less.

Preparations were immediately made to attack the other forts on the north side; the guns in the captured fort being turned upon them. The Chinese kept up a heavy fire for a time; but soon a white flag was shown from one of the southern forts; and very speedily similar flags floated over all the others. It was some time, although messages passed and repassed, before the intentions of the Chinese could be discovered. At last Mr. Parkes went over to Taku, where he obtained an interview with governor-general Hung, who was "induced to sign a capitulation, in which he surrendered all the country, and the strong positions up the river, as far as Tien-tsin, including that city itself."§ The next morning, the engineers and sailors, in the

gun-boats, commenced clearing away the barriers which obstructed the passage: on the 23rd, Admiral Hope, with some English and French gun-boats, went up the river to Tien-tsin: on the 25th, Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant followed; the 1st and 67th regiments, and a battery of artillery, were also conveyed there by gun-boats; whilst the cavalry, and the rest of the English and French troops, proceeded to the same spot by land, except the 3rd British regiment, which was left at the Taku forts; and the rifles, which remained at the Sinho bridge, for their protection.¶ The last British regiment reached Tien-tsin on the 5th of September.—While *en route*, the men had fared well.

"From the first landing at Peh-tang, until after the capture of the forts, the army had been entirely dependent on sea-borne provisions, brought from the fleet in gun-boats, and carried across from Peh-tang; fresh-meat rations were, therefore, rare. No sooner were the forts surrendered, than the Chinese peasantry hastened to establish markets; and fruit, poultry, eggs, and sheep were offered for sale in profusion, at such moderate prices, that, on the march from Tang-koo to Tien-tsin, spatch-cock fowls, savoury omelettes, and stewed peaches, became the staple food of the British soldier."¶¶

Lord Elgin, Sir Hope Grant, and Baron le Gros, took up their residence at Tien-tsin, in a somewhat splendid house, belonging to the salt commissioner, Tsung-han. General Montauban established his head-quarters in the Joss-house, where Lord Elgin resided in 1858. They had not been long there before it was intimated to the allied commissioners, that the emperor had deputed three first-class mandarins, Kweiliang, Hang-ki, and Hang-fu, to treat with them, and arrange all matters in dispute. They arrived on the 31st of August, and negotiations immediately commenced. Much time was lost by the dilatory proceedings of the Chinese; but it was at last arranged, that a convention for the cessation of hostilities should be signed on the 7th of September; "and ground was actually taken up for a review of all the troops, which was to be held for the edification of the commissioners, after they should have signed the treaty."** Before that day, it was ascertained that the Chinese commissioners were not armed with the necessary powers; and it was subsequently discovered,†† that the only

* Lieut.-colonel Wolseley.

† Blackwood.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

¶¶ Blackwood.

** *Ibid.*

†† From official papers, captured in the emperor's palace.

object of their mission was to gain time, and to carry the operations into the cold season; before which, it was supposed, our troops must succumb.—When it was found that the powers of the Chinese commissioners were inadequate, the negotiations were at once broken off, and orders were given for the advance of the troops to Tung-chow, on the road to Peking.

This was not a very easy task. The means of land-transport were limited; and it was arranged that the two armies should advance by detachments, leaving Sir Robert Napier, with the 2nd division, at Tien-tsin, to act as a reserve, but to be in readiness to advance at any moment when called upon. Draught cattle, and Chinese drivers, were engaged to aid the commissariat; and Brigadier Reeves, with the 90th regiment, 200 marines, two batteries of artillery, the Queen's dragoon guards, and Fane's Horse, left their cantonments on the 8th of September. On the 9th, Lord Elgin and General Sir Hope Grant departed from Tien-tsin, and joined Brigadier Reeves at Yang-tsun on the 10th. In the night between the 9th and 10th there was a violent thunder-storm, and the rain fell in very heavy showers. While it continued, the Chinese drivers left, taking with them all the draught cattle, and throwing the commissariat and baggage departments back upon their own resources.

“In this emergency, the commissariat would have had the greatest difficulty in feeding the troops in the front, but for the measures taken by Sir R. Napier. By inducing persistent efforts to push boats up the river Peiho—which runs parallel with the road nearly up to Peking, but which had been pronounced un navigable by even the smallest craft—and by laying an embargo on the traffic of Tien-tsin, General Napier procured, and, with the aid of the navy, organised, large means of water-transport, which afforded invaluable assistance.”

When the Chinese authorities found that the European commissioners would not treat with persons with inadequate powers, nor with inferior officials, and that they were advancing on Peking, supported by the troops, messengers were sent to apprise them, that Tsai, the Prince of I (or Ee), a captain-general of the imperial guard, and Muh, a member of the great council, and president of the board of war, were appointed to conduct the negotiations; that they were on their way to Tien-tsin; and that they wished the commissioners to return there, and await their arrival. On the 11th of September, the messengers had

an interview with Lord Elgin, who returned for answer, that he would sign no treaty till he reached Tung-chow, which is the port of Peking on the Peiho, and lies about eighteen miles from that city, to the right of the direct road from Tien-tsin. Messrs. Parkes and Wade were sent forward, however, to hold a conference with the imperial commissioners, whom they met at Tung-chow. They appeared desirous of peace; and, after “some shilly-shallying, and childish endeavours to protract arrangements,”* finding that the Europeans were firm, the Prince of I and his colleague gave an assent to the proposed terms. It was arranged with Messrs. Parkes and Wade, that the troops should advance to Chang-kia-wan, an old walled town to the south of Tung-chow, and three or four miles from the Peiho, where a site was assigned for their encampment; that suitable quarters should be provided for Lord Elgin at Tung-chow, where he was to proceed with an escort of 1,000 men; and that there the imperial commissioners were to meet him, and sign the convention; after which he was to proceed to Peking, and exchange the ratifications of the treaty of 1858.†

Whilst the Chinese commissioners were making these arrangements with Messrs. Parkes and Wade, the Prince Sang-ko-lin-sin was drawing his troops to the spot to intercept the allied army; and he wrote to the emperor from Ho-se-woo (a town between Tien-tsin and Chang-kia-wan), telling his imperial majesty, that the numbers of the “barbarians” were so inconsiderable, that he might be perfectly at ease, as he had chosen a strong position in front of Chang-kia-wan, and his troops were so placed, that they would annihilate the enemy, should he advance so far.‡ The allies continued to advance, and reached Ho-se-woo on the 13th of September. For some miles on their route from Tien-tsin, they found the inhabitants of the villages they passed—which consisted of well-built houses, generally standing in the midst of neatly-kept gardens and orchards—very friendly and obliging. On approaching Ho-se-woo, this friendly disposition was no longer evinced: the people fled from the villages, and that town was almost entirely deserted. A halt was made there;

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley. † *Ibid.*

‡ Letter of Prince Sang-ko-lin-sin, found in captured correspondence.

a *dépôt* was established; constant intercourse was kept up with the imperial commissioners; and they appeared to be so anxiously bent on peace, that Sir Robert Napier was informed he might make arrangements for remaining at Tien-tsin, as his troops would not be required.

The next advance of the army was to Matow. While on the road to that place, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's private secretary, were sent forward to Tung-chow, to provide accommodation for his lordship; and Lieutenant-colonel Walker, assistant quartermaster-general to the cavalry, with the assistant commissary-general Thompson, accompanied them, to arrange finally with the Chinese authorities respecting the encampment of the allies at Chang-kia-wan. They were escorted by a small party of Fane's Horse, under Lieutenant Anderson; and rather a large party accompanied them; the principal members being M. de Norman, an *attaché* of the mission at Shanghai; Mr. Bowlby, then the *Times'* correspondent in China; the Abbé de Luc, and M. l'Escayrac de Lature, who were engaged, the one on a religious, the other on a scientific mission; Colonel Grandchamps, intendant Debut; and M. Aden: Phipps, a private of the 1st dragoon guards; several French soldiers, and eight Sikhs, were also attached to the party. On their first arrival, Messrs. Parkes and Loch found some objections taken, and difficulties thrown in their way, by the imperial commissioners. These were removed; all the details were arranged; and the party slept that night—the 17th of September—at Tung-chow, Messrs. Parkes, Loch, and Norman being the guests of the imperial commissioners.

The next morning, Messrs. Parkes and Loch, Lieutenant-colonel Walker, and the commissary Thompson, attended by a Chinese officer, and part of the escort of Fane's Horse, proceeded to examine the site of the intended British camp. They found a Tartar force hurrying in the same direction; and, on reaching the ground, saw that it was completely commanded by a position which that force—chiefly cavalry, supported by a numerous artillery—was taking up. Parkes immediately rode back to Tung-chow to remonstrate against these arrangements; Loch returned to the British camp, to report the state of affairs; whilst Lieutenant-colonel Walker and Mr. Thompson remained at the Tartar position

till the return of Mr. Parkes. The latter was rudely received by the Prince of I; who, revoking all that had been arranged on the previous day, told him, that, unless the objections then made were satisfactorily removed, there could be no peace. Mr. Parkes, and all the parties whose names we have given, with the escort, immediately left Tung-chow to return to the British army. Soon after they emerged from the town, they encountered Mr. Loch and Captain L. B. Brabazon, deputy-assistant quartermaster-general to the royal artillery, preceded by two flags of truce. The former having met the allies advancing, and informed Sir Hope Grant of the presence of the Tartar force, had been, with Captain Brabazon, sent back to urge Mr. Parkes and his companions immediately to leave Tung-chow. The united party continued their route to meet the army, still preceded by the flags of truce. They had not advanced much further on their retrograde journey, when they encountered some Tartar cavalry, by whom they were stopped, and whose commanding officer told them that firing had commenced, and he could not suffer them to proceed without orders from his general, to whose presence he offered to conduct Mr. Parkes. Almost immediately, however, the party—

“Suddenly turning the angle of a field of maize, found themselves in the midst of a mob of infantry, whose uplifted weapons their guide with difficulty put aside. Further on stood Sang-ko-lin-sin, the Tartar general, of whom Parkes demanded a free passage. He was answered with derision; and, after a brief parley, in which Sang-ko-lin-sin upbraided Parkes as the cause of all the disasters which had befallen the empire, at a sign from the general, our men were torn from their horses, their faces rubbed in the dust, and their hands tied behind them, and so, painfully bound, they were placed upon carts, and taken to Peking. Orders were, at the same time, sent to capture the escort, which had been already surrounded by even increasing numbers. Some of the troopers suggested the propriety of cutting their way through; but Anderson replied, it would compromise the others, and refused to do what his gallant heart desired. Soon the whole party was disarmed, and taken to Peking, on their horses, without dishonour.”*

The Tartar officer alleged the commencement of firing as the cause of the detention of Mr. Parkes and his companions. That firing arose from an outrage committed by the troops of Prince Sang-ko-lin-sin. Lieutenant-colonel Walker and Mr. Thompson, whilst waiting for the

* *Blackwood.*

return of Mr. Parkes, found the civility of the Chinese officers turn to rudeness. A restraint was put upon their movements; and the colonel's sword was snatched from his scabbard by a private, but an officer returned it to him. Whilst he found himself thus unpleasantly situated, and was warning that part of the escort which had remained with him to be as guarded as possible, Lieutenant-colonel Walker heard a cry. It proceeded from a French officer, who had accompanied the party to Tung-chow, and was returning to the army, but found his progress arrested by some Chinese soldiers, who had pulled him off his horse. Walker immediately rode up, and endeavoured to rescue the Frenchman, who was struck down by a mortal wound; and the British officer was then deprived of his sword, cutting his hand severely in an attempt to retain it. Swords were drawn on all sides, and Walker called upon his men to put spurs to their horses, and ride for their lives. Immediately the Chinese batteries opened, and a long line of fire proceeded from their infantry. The allied army, which was on its march to the place allotted for its encampment, was near enough to see the flight of their comrades, who, notwithstanding the enemy's fire, reached the lines in a few minutes, having only two men slightly, and one horse severely, wounded.

The enemy continued their fire upon the advancing troops, who soon returned it. The French were on the right, and General Montauban ordered them to advance upon a village and works, which were seen in the front. A squadron of Fane's Horse was sent, by Sir Hope Grant, to act with this division; and the French general directed them, with a few Spahis, who formed his own personal guard, to take the village in flank and rear, whilst the infantry attacked it in front, under Colonel Foley, the English commissioner at the French head-quarters, to whom General Montauban entrusted this service. It was effectively performed: all the works were carried; the Spahis and Fane's Horse vying with each other in the pursuit of the flying enemy. There were similar obstructions to the advance of the British, who were equally successful in clearing them away; and the enemy, routed on all points, was pursued two miles beyond Chang-kia-wan.* Then the allies were halted—

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

† *Ibid.*

“And destroyed the numerous camps which were dotted about over the country. Those camps were neatly arranged, and were composed of clean, well-made cotton tents, pitched in squares, the centre space being uncovered, and evidently devoted to cooking and parade purposes. In front of each tent stood an arm-rack, made roughly with boughs of trees. Each camp contained large cauldrons for cooking; and, altogether, their interior economy was highly creditable. There were considerable quantities of powder in almost every tent; so that, when the tents were set on fire, the numerous explosions filled the air with volumes of smoke, which shot up in tall graceful columns every moment, whilst the work of destruction was going on.”†

The enemy must have had many killed and wounded in this engagement, and they left eighty guns in the hands of the victors. The loss of the latter—who drove before them nearly double their number—was very trivial; the British casualties being only twenty, the French fifteen. That night the latter encamped without the town of Chang-kia-wan, which was occupied by the British infantry; the cavalry and artillery encamping in the neighbourhood. Though they had gained a brilliant victory, a gloom spread over the army that night, occasioned by the doubtful fate of those in the hands of the Chinese, who were known to be as cruel as they were treacherous; and it was feared that, if they escaped with life, they would be tortured so as to render existence valueless.

Chang-kia-wan was, about 200 years back, a place of considerable importance; but it has since fallen into decay, and the walls, defences, and public buildings, were, when the allies took possession of it, in a ruinous condition. As the enemy had been so treacherous, it was given up to plunder, as a punishment. The Chinese themselves, however, derived more benefit from this than the allies. There was little of value, except in the pawnbrokers' shops; and their contents, of no use to the soldiers, were carried off with great glee by the poor people from the surrounding villages; who, on the 19th and 20th of September, from daybreak till dark, continued to pour into the place, and eagerly shared in the spoil. In one warehouse there were found about 1,000,000 lbs. of tea, which was compressed in blocks, and called “brick tea.” Want of the means of carriage compelled the allies to leave this part of the plunder, as well as the captured guns, behind.

On the 19th, Lord Elgin arrived at head-quarters. On that day, Mr. Wade

was sent to Tung-chow, to endeavour to obtain some intelligence of the fate of Mr. Parkes and his companions. He was not permitted to enter the town; but an officer, from the walls, told him that our countrymen had not returned to Tung-chow after they left it with the escort. Mr. Wade then taking a westerly direction, fell-in with the outposts of a Chinese army, which he was not permitted to pass. As he attempted to approach he was several times fired upon, and returned without any information. The next day, a Chinese soldier, who was made prisoner, told his captors, that, on the 18th, several foreigners had been taken into Peking in carts; and any hope of learning more of them till that city was occupied, was abandoned.

It was ascertained, from a *reconnaissance* made on the 20th, that Prince Sang-kolin-sin had still a numerous force encamped between Tung-chow and Peking, near the Pà-li-chow (or eight-li) bridge. It was resolved to attack and disperse it on the 21st; and, on that morning, the English and French formed in advance of Chang-kia-wan, and marched in the direction of the Chinese camp. They had not proceeded more than a mile, when they found the enemy prepared to receive them. They saw a large army in front, their cavalry posted on the right, as far as the eye extended; and the infantry to the left, partially concealed by enclosures of trees, which sheltered them, and also impeded the movements of the allies. As soon as the latter were within range, a fire was opened upon them from hundreds of jingals and small field-pieces; to which the French replied with their rifled cannon. At the commencement of the action, Sir Hope Grant narrowly escaped capture. He

“Rode forward towards the French, who were on our right, for the purpose of examining the position; and having advanced beyond our line of skirmishers, rode almost in amongst the Tartars, mistaking them, for the moment, for the French. Upon turning back to rejoin our troops, the Tartar cavalry seeing him and his numerous staff cantering away from them, evidently thought it was some of our cavalry running away, and at once gave pursuit with loud yells. Stirling’s 6-pounders, however, opened heavily upon them when they were about 250 yards from our line, saluting them well with canister, which sent them to the rightabout as quickly as they had advanced.”*

When they got out of range, the Tartars re-formed, took up their old position, and

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolsley.

again moved towards the allies. The dragoon guards and Fane’s Horse advanced to meet them, Probyn’s regiment remaining in support in the rear. The Tartars halted behind a deep wide ditch, which did not prevent the dragoons and Fane’s Horse from darting at them. The horses of the former cleared the ditch; and the stalwart dragoons are described as knocking the Tartars and ponies over like ninepins. Most of the irregulars floundered in the ditch, and had to scramble out; but, as soon as they got on dry ground, they were found to be nearly as rough customers as the guards. The Tartars, having lost many men, turned their backs, and rode off; taking care not to come again sufficiently near our cavalry to allow them to make a second charge.—The infantry were attacked by the infantry of the allies, and the British Armstrong guns; and the shells from the latter bursting amongst them, brought down great numbers. After a short contest, this army, of at least 30,000, was entirely broken and dispersed by the allies, whose force was about one-fifth of the number; the English contingent not exceeding 3,200 men, and fifteen guns; the French 3,000 men, and twelve guns. Again the British loss was trivial—two killed, and twenty-nine wounded. That of the French was also very slight.

The battle of Pà-li-chow ought to have been followed by an immediate advance on Peking; but the allies were not strong enough to make that movement till they received reinforcements.—After the battle of Chang-kia-wan, Sir Hope Grant sent an express to Major-general Napier, ordering him to join immediately, with as many men of the 2nd division as could be spared from Tien-tsin. That general set out as soon as the messenger reached him, and arrived at head-quarters on the 24th of September; bringing with him a supply of ammunition, which was much wanted. On the 29th the siege guns arrived; and by the 2nd of October, all the available troops had come up from the rear, except the 1st Royals, which joined on the evening of the 3rd.—Whilst waiting for these reinforcements, reconnoitring parties went out every day; and the staff was thus enabled to obtain a knowledge of the country, and of the enemy’s movements. During the time, the troops wanted for nothing. The people of the country “were civil and obliging; so that, in a few days, good

markets were established, where fowls, vegetables, and fruit were obtainable at a cheap rate.* The authorities at Tung-chow also aided in the supply of provisions and other necessaries: the allies, in return, did not occupy that city, which laid about three miles to their right; and a British battalion was placed at its gates, to prevent any of the soldiers or camp-followers from entering.

Almost daily communications again took place between the imperial government and the allied commissioners. In the first that was received, on the 22nd of September, from Prince Kung, brother to the emperor, the ambassadors were informed, that he was commissioned, with full powers, to conclude a peace, the Prince of I and Muh having failed. To this, and to other communications, the same answer was returned—that “no arrangements could be entered upon, nor any suspension of hostilities allowed, until the English and French subjects, then prisoners with the Chinese, were sent back; and, further, that if any hindrances were made to their return, the consequences would be most serious to the imperial government.”† The Chinese attributed the capture of the prisoners to their own want of temper; and asserted, that they were in good health, but they could not be delivered up till the country was evacuated. Lord Elgin, supported by Baron le Gros, stated to Prince Kung the circumstances under which the capture of Mr. Parkes and his companions was made, and which rendered that capture quite unjustifiable; and, after several letters had been interchanged, sent in the following terms as an *ultimatum* :—

1. The British and French subjects, detained at Pekin, to be sent back within three days.—2. The Prince of Kung to sign the convention handed to Kweiliang at Tien-tsin; in which case the allied army would not advance beyond Pà-li-chow.—3. If these conditions were rejected, that army would march upon Pekin—a movement which would, probably, cause the destruction of the Mantchoo dynasty.

These terms were not complied with: but during the correspondence, a letter written by Mr. Parkes, in Chinese, was received, intimating the wish of the “Celestials” to open negotiations. It was accompanied by a note from Mr. Loch, merely asking for clothes. A private memorandum on these missives, which escaped the notice of the Chinese, intimated that

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolsley.

† *Ibid.*

they were “written by order;” but they conveyed the welcome information that those gentlemen were alive, and together; and, by another letter received, it was ascertained that they were lodged in the Kaoumeaou Temple, near the Teh-shun gate.

As no satisfactory answer to their demands was received, the British, on the 3rd of October, broke up their camp at Pà-li-chow, crossed, by a bridge of boats, the canal that ran between their position and Pekin, and encamped on a paved road leading to the capital, their head-quarters being at a Mohammedan village. This movement, made known at Pekin, led the emperor to leave his palace, and go to Jeho, a town on the north of the capital.—As a convoy the French expected had not arrived, the army did not advance any further till the 5th; on which day, in a line of contiguous columns, it again marched, and halted at a strong position to the north-east of Pekin. On the 6th, another forward move was made; and when the troops halted for breakfast, the towers and minarets of the imperial palace, and several of the gates of Pekin, could be seen. Sir Hope Grant had expected to find Sang-ko-lin-sin encamped, with his vast army, on the Tartar parade-ground, to the north-east of the capital: but the country-people stated that he had retreated with all his men; and the only sign of an enemy's force seen, up to that time, was a rather numerous body of cavalry, which, at first, evinced a disposition to fight, but soon fell back, after exchanging a few shots with the skirmishers. As the Tartar army had disappeared, it was arranged, when the allies started again, after breakfast, on the 6th, that the English should move on the right—

“So as to attack the line of ruined earthen ramparts on their northern face, whilst the French, moving direct to the left, entered them at the salient angle. Our cavalry, at the same time, moved away to the extreme right, with orders to make a wide sweep in that direction, and take up a position on the main road, which led out from the Teh-shun gate, northwards towards Jeho, and along which the enemy would naturally endeavour to retreat, when driven from their position upon the parade-ground.”‡

The English advanced three miles, seeing no enemy, except small bodies of cavalry, which kept out of reach. Sir Hope Grant was then informed that the Tartar army had pushed on for Yuen-ming-yuen, where

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Wolsley.

the summer palace of the emperor was situated; and he determined to follow them, sending a message to that effect to General Montauban. As the troops advanced, the commander-in-chief found that they were on the main north road, leading from the An-ting gate to Tartary. A considerable cavalry force was seen; and there was some skirmishing in and out of the small villages that skirted the road. The country here was found very difficult to penetrate; and, as the cavalry and the French had disappeared altogether, Sir Hope Grant resolved to halt for the night. The next morning, at daybreak, he ordered twenty-one guns to be fired, to intimate his position to the French, and to his own cavalry; and, soon after daybreak, it was ascertained that the former were at the summer palace of the emperor, six miles to the north of Peking; and the English horse two miles to their right. It appeared that General Montauban received Sir Hope Grant's message, of his intention to march on Yuen-ming-yuen, and immediately proceeded with his men in the same direction. On his march he fell-in with the English cavalry, and they advanced together till they came to the village of Hai-teen. Of this locality they knew nothing; and the cavalry were directed to reconnoitre the village to the eastward, whilst the French marched direct through it to the north. On gaining the other side of Hai-teen, the palace gates were seen; and the troops immediately made towards it.

"About twenty badly-armed eunuchs made some pretence at resistance, but were quickly disposed of, and the doors burst open, disclosing the sacred precincts of his majesty's residence, to what a Chinaman would call the sacrilegious gaze of the barbarians. A mine of wealth, and of everything curious in the empire, lay as a prey before our French allies. Rooms, filled with articles of *vertu*, both native and European; halls, containing vases and jars of immense value; and houses stored with silks, satins, and embroidery, were open to them. Indiscriminate plunder, and wanton destruction of all articles too heavy for removal, commenced at once:—"

And the beautiful and splendid appearance of the palace was soon changed for one of ruin and desolation. A paved road or causeway runs from the north-west gate of Peking to Hai-teen. At the further end stood a fine joss-house; and there General Baron Jamin fixed his headquarters. The main body of the French army was encamped on the opposite side

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolseley.

of the road, in the midst of a grove of trees; and there General Montauban's tent was pitched. In the morning of October 7th, the general was visited by Sir Hope Grant and Lord Elgin, at his new position—the object, to arrange operations for the occupation of Peking. What was decided on that point is not known; but so intent were the French upon the plunder of Yuen-ming-yuen, that they could not be induced to move till the 9th of October.—One thing was arranged on the 7th—a fair division, between the two armies, of the treasures which the summer palace contained. That arrangement could not be carried out. The French got the lion's share; and out of a fair spoil worth at least £1,000,000, only some articles of *vertu*, selected by a few officers, and a portion of gold and silver bullion, which realised altogether about £25,000, when sold by auction, came to the share of the British. All the general officers gave up their claims to the privates, who received about £4 each.

While the French were engaged in the plunder of Yuen-ming-yuen, the English were rejoicing over the liberation of some of the prisoners. Alarmed by the approach to Peking, the Prince of Kung, on the 6th of October, wrote to Lord Elgin (having got Mr. Parkes to sign the letter), informing his lordship that *all* the state prisoners should be liberated on the 8th of October. This letter was not delivered till the 7th, the messenger having fallen-in with the allied army, taken fright, and turned back. A verbal answer was returned, to the effect, that, at 4 p.m. that day, Mr. Wade would be without the city walls, to meet a deputy from the government. The English messenger was true to his appointment; and, soon after, Hang-ki was lowered from the wall, in a basket, all the gates being closed. He stated that Prince Kung had accompanied Prince Sang-ko-lin-sin in his retreat, and that most of the prisoners were with him; but a positive assurance was given, that those still in Peking should be released at the time promised in the note.—viz., on the 8th.—Mr. Wade then delivered to Hang-ki a paper, stating the conditions on which Peking would be spared. They were similar to those previously sent to Prince Kung, with the addition, that the allies should be put in possession of a gate, to insure the safety of our ambassador, who, otherwise, might be subjected to the same

treatment as that which Messrs. Parkes, Loch, and their companions, had received.—The Chinese commissioner strenuously resisted this demand: Mr. Wade was firm; but Hang-ki would not then yield that important point.

On the 8th of October, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, a sowar of Probyn's Horse, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, and four French soldiers, were delivered up at the English head-quarters; and great was the joy at seeing even a few of the men who had been so treacherously captured, once more at liberty. On the 12th, one French soldier and eight sowars, and, on the 13th, two more sowars, were sent to the camp; and these were all the survivors of twenty-six English and French subjects, whose seizure and imprisonment had not only been an act of treachery, but a gross violation of international law. If they had been kindly treated, less might have been thought of the circumstances under which they were made prisoners; though, under any circumstances, that act must have been severely condemned. But cruelty was added to injustice. The day after they were taken to Peking, the prisoners—with the exception of Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and a Sikh, or sowar, who acted as their orderly—were removed to the summer palace of Yuen-ming-yuen. There their hands and feet were tied together, the former being drawn behind their backs; they were thrown upon their chests, and kept, for three days and nights, without food or water, in the open air, where the still vivid heat of the day was contrasted by the cold of the night. Lieutenant Anderson died the third day, in a state of perfect unconsciousness. Bowlby survived till the fifth day; and De Norman expired about the same time. All the prisoners who died were deprived of existence by the torture and hardships they had to undergo, except Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc: they were beheaded, on the 21st of September, by order of a Chinese general, in revenge for a wound he received on that day. Their bodies were thrown into the canal, and never recovered. All the other bodies were given up; and, on the 17th of October, those of the Englishmen and the sowars were interred, with due solemnity, in the Russian cemetery, outside Peking, near the An-ting gate; the use of which was kindly offered by General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador in China. All the officers of the British

army, many of the French officers, and the *attachés* of the Russian embassy, attended the ceremony. A few days after, the dead Frenchmen were interred in the Jesuits' burial-ground, to the west of the city; Sir Hope Grant, and a large number of English officers, being present. Messrs. Parkes and Loch, who were not removed from Peking, were not quite so cruelly treated as their more unfortunate companions. Their hands and feet had been bound; but, at the end of eight hours, the cords were taken off; then they were heavily ironed, and imprisoned in the company of murderers and felons, with whom they had to take their meals, living with them by day, and sleeping amongst them at night. The only kindness they received, for more than a fortnight, was from these outcasts of society, who shared with them any little comforts they possessed, and supported their chains for them when they moved. The mode of treatment changed after the 29th of September. They were then transferred from prison to the temple of Kaou-meaou. There they were well treated; and it was during their residence there that the attempt was made to render Mr. Parkes an agent in producing such a termination to the diplomatic intercourse as the Chinese officials were instructed to obtain. From the time of their removal they had nothing to complain of, except their deprivation of liberty.*

To return to the operations before Peking.—The British were encamped opposite the city; and, on the 9th of October, the French marched from Yuen-ming-yuen, and encamped on their left.—On the 10th, the demand made by Mr. Wade of Hang-ki, that one of the gates should be surrendered, was sent in to Prince Kung; and he was informed, that, unless the An-ting gate was given into our possession by noon on the 13th, the city would be bombarded. In the interim the preparations for that operation were actively carried on; and, on the 12th, Sir Hope Grant ordered a proclamation to be posted up in the suburbs, and on the walls of Peking, warning the inhabitants of the approaching bombardment, if their rulers would not yield, and advising them to leave the city, while they could do it with safety. That day, Prince Kung wrote to Lord Elgin, conceding all that was demanded, except the gate. That

* Mr. Parkes published a most interesting account of his captivity.

night everything was ready for the bombardment; but still the Chinese officials made no sign of submission. At ten o'clock, on the 13th, M. Parkes and Hang-ki met under the walls, and renewed the discussion which the latter had held with Mr. Wade on the 8th. Hang-ki was still unyielding; and the preparations went on—"the guns were sponged-out, and run back ready for loading, with the gunners standing, waiting for the orders to commence." Only a few minutes more had to expire; and when every heart was beating high with expectation, the gate was thrown open, "and its defences surrendered to Major-general Sir Robert Napier, whose division was on duty close by." Instantly a cheer was set up, and the British marched into the capital of China, the French following. "In a few minutes after the union-jack was floating from the walls of Peking."*

But something more was necessary. When the terms were first offered to Prince Kung, the English negotiators were told that all the prisoners were alive and safe. To this Prince Kung had pledged himself, and promised that they should all be delivered. It was only after the surrender of the An-ting gate, that it was ascertained that more than half of those unfortunate men were dead; the circumstances under which they lost their lives fully justifying the charge of murder against those by whom they had been so barbarously treated.—On the 17th of October, therefore, Lord Elgin wrote to Prince Kung, reminding his highness of these facts; and demanding, in addition to the signing of the convention, and the ratification of the treaty of Tien-tsin, already demanded, the payment of 300,000 taels (£100,000), to be handed over by her majesty's government to the families of the deceased. The prince was also informed, that, as several British captives had been "subjected to the greatest indignities" at Yuen-ming-yuen, all that remained of that palace would be destroyed.

Till the 20th of October was allowed the prince to consider of these terms; and, in the meantime, on the 18th, the 1st division, under Major-general Michel, marched from the camp to Yuen-ming-yuen, and destroyed all that remained of the palace; setting fire to the ruined buildings, "whose smoke, driven by the northerly wind,

hung over the streets of Peking, whilst their ashes were wafted into the streets of the capital."† The French left this work of destruction entirely to the British: they refused to take part in it; anticipating, as one of its results, that the Chinese would decline to conclude any treaty at all; and, whether they did or not, General Montauban had announced, that his men should not remain before Peking after the 1st of November. The result proved, that on this, as on every other occasion, when the British and French commanders-in-chief and commissioners had differed, the former were right. The destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen, instead of rendering the Chinese authorities too indignant to accede to any terms, alarmed them for the fate of Peking; and as proclamations were freely distributed, in Chinese, setting forth the true reasons for that act of retaliatory justice, they were unable to rouse a hostile feeling amongst the people, by attributing it to any unworthy motives. They, therefore, resolved to yield; and, in the evening of the 19th of October, their determination was made known to Lord Elgin. The necessary formal documents were immediately drawn up: on the 22nd, the 300,000 taels demanded for the families of the deceased, were handed over to the British; and on the 24th, Lord Elgin—in a large sedan, painted red, adorned with streaming tassels of many colours, and carried by eight Chinese coolies, in superb scarlet dresses—entered Peking by the An-ting gate, accompanied by a large military escort, which formed a splendid and imposing procession. His lordship proceeded to the Hall of Audience, where he met Prince Kung: there the new convention, rendered necessary by the events of 1859 and 1860, was signed; and the treaty of June 26th, 1858, ratified. After this formal ceremony was concluded, Lord Elgin expressed a hope that friendly relations between the two powers would now be inaugurated. Prince Kung replied, that his lordship had anticipated a wish he was about to utter; and it was one which, as the administration of foreign affairs was now exclusively in his hands, he had no doubt would be realised.—The long-pending dispute thus satisfactorily arranged, the English returned to the camp, where the evening was spent in rejoicing at the successful termination of the campaign.

* Lieutenant-colonel Wolsley.

† Blackwood.

The convention of Peking contained nine articles.

The Chinese emperor expressed his great regret at the breach of friendly relations, occasioned by the act of the garrison of Taku [Art. 1]; and agreed to cancel the arrangement entered into at Shanghai, in October, 1858, regarding the residence of her Britannic majesty's representative in China, such representative to reside occasionally or permanently at Peking, as her majesty shall decide; [Art. 2.]—In lieu of the indemnity stipulated by the treaty of Tien-tsin, the emperor of China agreed to pay one of 8,000,000 taels; 2,000,000 to be appropriated to the indemnification of the British mercantile community at Canton, for losses sustained by them; and the remaining 6,000,000 to the liquidation of war expenses. [Art. 3.]—The port of Tien-tsin is declared open to trade, and it is competent for British subjects to reside there, under the same conditions as at any other port in China, open to trade. [Art. 4.]—Liberty is granted to Chinese subjects to take service in British colonies, under such regulations for their protection as shall be framed by the high Chinese authorities in concert with her Britannic majesty's representative in China. [Art. 5.]—A portion of Kowloon, in the province of Kwang-tung, leased to Mr. Parkes by the governor-general of the Two Kwangs, is ceded to the Queen of Great Britain. [Art. 6.]—The provisions of the treaty of 1858, except so far as they are modified by this convention, to come into immediate operation. [Art. 7.]—The treaty of 1858, and the present convention, to be published by the emperor of China, for general information, as soon as ratified. [Art. 8.]—The treaty and convention ratified and published, the island of Chusan to be evacuated by the British troops; and those troops now before Peking to commence their march to Tien-tsin, the forts of Taku, the north coast of Shang-tung, and the city of Canton; at each or all of which places the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland may retain a force until the indemnity of 8,000,000 taels is paid. [Art. 9.]

The convention with France, similar to that with England, but with a smaller sum as an indemnity, was signed on the 25th of October; and the two European commissioners then took up their residence at Peking. On the 1st of November, General Montauban withdrew the French troops, except one battalion of infantry, left for the protection of Baron le Gros. The British did not begin to depart till the 7th of November, when the 2nd division, under Major-general Napier, commenced its march for Tien-tsin; the 1st division, Major-general Michel, departed the next day. Both reached their destination in the second week in November; and, on the 15th, the infantry and artillery began to embark for Europe: the cavalry marched to Taku, and embarked there; and no accident appears to have occurred to either force. The 31st regiment remained in

China, one-half being stationed at Tien-tsin the other at the Taku forts. The 2nd battalion of the 60th rifles, the 67th regiment, the 10th company of the royal engineers, Desborough's and Govan's batteries of royal artillery, also remained at Tien-tsin; the whole under the command of Brigadier Staveley, C.B. Sir Hope Grant, who accompanied the troops to Tien-tsin, left that post for Shanghai, as soon as the troops destined for England had embarked.

After Lord Elgin took up his residence at Peking, on the 25th of October—where the palace of the Prince of I was fitted up for his reception—there were frequent visits, both of ceremony and friendship, between his lordship and Prince Kung, who evinced then a disposition, which appears to have prevailed to the present time, to promote and preserve a good understanding between China and England.—On the 2nd of November, it was announced, that the convention, which had been forwarded to the emperor at Jehu, had received the imperial sanction; and that document, and the treaty of Tien-tsin, were immediately published in the *Peking Gazette*. Mr. Bruce, who had been directed to proceed from Shanghai to Peking, arrived on the 7th of November, and was introduced to Prince Kung by Lord Elgin. Mr. Bruce did not remain long at Peking on that occasion, as there was no suitable residence for the ambassador. Till one was prepared, it was arranged that his excellency should reside at Tien-tsin, where Baron le Gros directed M. de Bourbollon to remain during the winter. As it was considered necessary that some authorised English agent should be stationed at Peking, Mr. Adkins, of the consular service, was left there, with authority to superintend the requisite arrangements for the establishment of the British embassy in the Chinese capital, which took place the following summer.

Lord Elgin remained in China till the 22nd of January, 1861, when he embarked at Hong-Kong for England. After that period, the able Sir Frederick Bruce for a while conducted the diplomatic intercourse between the two nations; he proceeded in the summer of 1861 to Peking. The old emperor died at the close of the following year; and the next sovereign being a minor, in his name Prince Kung carried on the Government.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TAIPING RISING IN CHINA; HUNG-TSUE-TSEUN AND HIS FOLLOWERS; CAPTURE OF TAI-TSIN, KANG-CHOW, AND NANKING; OPINIONS CONCERNING THE TAIPINGS; CHUNG WANG, THE "FAITHFUL KING"; MARCH AGAINST SHANGHAI; GORDON APPOINTED COMMANDER; ADVANCE ON FUSHAN; ATTACK ON QUINSAN; THE STEAMER HYSON: SOOCHOW; DOINGS OF BURGEVINE; SERVICES OF GORDON; MOH WANG; SUCCESS OF THE OPERATIONS; CAPITULATION OF YESING; FALL OF CHAN-CHU-FU.

THE peace of 1860 with China had scarcely been signed, when England interfered in a great rebellion in that country, a rebellion which had been going on for years against the ruling dynasty.—As the rebels, the Taipings, advanced very near to Shanghai, and it was, moreover, important for English interests to endeavour to strengthen the government of the Chinese Empire, with whom the British nation had such close connections of trade and commerce, an Anglo-Chinese force was organised to act against the rebels, and placed under the command of Major Gordon, an officer whose subsequent noble deeds and heroic death at Khartoum have rendered his name a household word among his countrymen. Of Gordon's achievements in China in connection with the Taiping rebellion, we purpose to give a short account, which is the more desirable, as his proceedings have been in many quarters misrepresented, chiefly through the agency of the late Dr. Worthington, who appears himself to have been greatly deceived as to the facts of the case.

In England the religious public were for a while led to believe that the Taiping rising was a great Christian movement, a kind of crusade against the false doctrines, immoral practices, and practical heathenism prevalent in the empire. That the leaders made a profession of a certain sort of Christianity is certain; that they troubled themselves about Christian practices is by no means satisfactorily established. The truth seems to be that the rebellion had a national and political origin, the object at first being to subvert the Mantchoo Tartar dynasty, which for more than two hundred years had been supreme, and replace it by the representatives of the native Chinese sovereigns, known as the

dynasty of Ming, who had been driven from the throne by the Mantchoos.

The Taiping rebellion originated in Kwang-tun, the south-eastern province of the empire, including the great commercial port Canton. Great discontent had existed in this province since the Opium War of 1842, and pirates, bandits, and members of secret societies kept the district in a perpetual turmoil, and fomented the popular dissatisfaction. In 1850 a man named Hung-tsue-tseun, of the peasant class, who had been occupied as a village schoolmaster in the Canton district, announced that he held a Divine mission to drive out the Mantchoos and re-establish the Ming dynasty. He speedily surrounded himself with a numerous body of followers, a great number believing in his claim to be an inspired prophet, but thousands more accepting him as leader of an insurrection against the Imperial Government. Hung, it is said, had, as far back as 1847, applied to a missionary to baptize him, but the rite was refused on the ground of his imperfect acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity.

The more eagerly followers crowded to the standard of the new prophet, the more extravagant grew his pretensions. He saw visions, announced that he was the Divinely appointed champion of the poor and oppressed, and so gained the adherence of vast numbers, for the poor and distressed rose eagerly enough, grasped at every opportunity which promised to bring them relief, and were ready to believe anybody who, like Hung-tsue-tseun, offered to lead them on the road to independence, and perhaps to wealth. A few shrewd observers thought he was mad, but they were in the minority, and prudently did not obtrude their opinions on the subject.

Like the early Mohammedans, Hung announced that this new religion was to be propagated by the sword; and in China the sword falls very indiscriminately, and is a very favourite remedy against discontent or opposition. Hung made no concealment of his pursuit of a political object as well as of a religious mission; announcing that the restoration of the Mings must be effected before the religious reform could be accomplished. He was in possession of tracts given him by a missionary, and to these he was probably indebted for the command of a certain amount of religious phraseology, which he freely used. As a step towards increasing his influence, he had some time before the outbreak attempted to pass some of the literary examinations essential to the assumption of a position in the official world. But, either from ignorance or incapacity, he had failed, and that fact increased his hatred of the mandarins, who, in return, endeavoured, when he had become prominent as a leader, to oppress his followers and destroy his influence.

In the province of Quang-tun were a large number of Hakkas, or "strangers," who had come from other provinces of the empire. A majority of the coolies who are shipped from Canton are of this race. Dissension arose between them and the Puntis, another tribe, and, getting the worst of the quarrel, the Hakkas joined the followers of Hung. The mandarins representing the Imperial Government in the province now thought it time to interfere actively. The followers of Hung were accused of interfering with the worship of others, with breaking idols, and other great offences against the peace of the state and established practices generally. Troops were sent to seize the leader, but the prophet, sufficiently inspired to predict what would be his fate if caught, escaped to the mountains, where he could not easily be followed by the Imperialists. His danger increased the zeal of his followers, who collected in great force, defeated the soldiers, and brought him back in triumph. Now at the head of a considerable army—if an undisciplined rabble deserves the name—Hung traversed the province, ravaging as he went, and encountering with

varied success parties of the Imperialist soldiery. Sometimes he was hard pressed, and had recourse to many stratagems to avoid capture.

The large town of Tai-tsin was captured and occupied, and there the Taipings received a large increase of adherents. In the early months of 1851, it was estimated that Hung had under his leadership an army numbering about three hundred thousand. In August, 1851, the rebels possessed themselves of the city of Yung-nan, in Quang-si, the province lying to the north of Quang-tun, and there he issued a proclamation in which he announced himself as the Heavenly King, and appointed five other subordinate kings, or Wangs, at first his own relatives (in this respect unconsciously imitating the example of the great Napoleon); but, as he punished the least disobedience on their part by decapitation, vacancies occasionally occurred, and they were filled by the appointment of the ablest fighting generals of his army. Some of them, intoxicated with their sudden elevation to kingly rank, exhibited considerably more ambition than was agreeable to the supreme Wang, and one even had the temerity to claim Divine honour, and asserted that he was the Holy Ghost.

In the course of 1852 and 1853, several important cities were captured, the most important success being the possession of Hang-chow, the capital of the eastern province of Che-Keang, on the great river, Tien-tsang. In the time when the Mongols ruled in China it was the capital of the empire; and in later days its magnificence was proverbial. The population numbers about three-quarters of a million. The possession of this rich and splendid city was a great acquisition to the Taipings.

An even greater achievement was projected and successfully performed—the capture of Nanking (or Nankin, as the name is commonly spelt by Europeans), the old capital of the Ming dynasty, and now known as the "southern capital"; ranking next to Peking, as the second city in the empire. It is situate on the Yang-tse-Kiang, that magnificent river—the Mississippi of Eastern Asia—which traverses the centre of the Chinese dominions from east to west, and brings

down the products of some of the wealthiest districts. On the 19th of March, 1853, this renowned city was taken by assault, and the Taipings removed thither the treasure they had seized in Hang-chow. Nanking itself was ravaged, and one of the architectural glories of China—the famous Porcelain Tower—erected in the fifteenth century by the Emperor Yang-Loh, and 322 feet high, was destroyed, apparently out of sheer wanton mischief.

The Heavenly King selected Nanking as the royal residence, and formed a Court on the model of the Imperial Court at Peking. The Chinese Government attempted, but unsuccessfully, to drive out the rebels, who repelled them, and sent a considerable force northward, which plundered every town on its way, and even threatened the province of Pe-tche-li, in which Peking is situated.

The Taiping leader was now at the height of his power, master of the larger part of the south-eastern provinces of the empire, including the wealthy silk districts and some of the largest and most important cities. His forces had subjugated and devastated an extent of territory about equal in dimensions to the united area of England and France, and containing a population of at least 80,000,000. Wealth, which in its amount appears almost fabulous, was at his command, and he wielded despotic power. Notwithstanding his pretensions as a specially-inspired religious teacher, he was a gross sensualist, tyrannous, and atrociously cruel. The so-called Christian reformer and inspired prophet was a hypocritical miscreant; the main object of him and of his Wangs and generals (who laboured under no delusions) was self-aggrandizement by plunder; and his patriotic pretensions at last grew to be as shadowy as his religious professions.

Mr. Meadows, Consul at Shanghai, in a dispatch to Lord John Russell dated February 19th, 1861, made a partial defence of the Taipings. He said that they had openly proclaimed themselves the opponents of the reigning dynasty; they had long before thrown off the character of local insurgents, and there was no longer any doubt of their object. "It has always been the great one of making

themselves the heads of the first State in Asia, and the governors of the largest people in the world." Many of the accusations brought against them by the Imperialist Chinese are described by Mr. Meadows as "gross exaggerations."

A Mr. Michie, an Englishman employed in a British mercantile house, who visited Nanking in March, 1861, describes the Taipings in that city as being extremely well dressed and well fed. A great part of the population of the city were captives and slaves from all parts of the country. The Tien Wang, or Heavenly King, had 68 wives and 300 female attendants, a fact which might reasonably have caused some doubts as to the Christian orthodoxy he pretended to. Mr. Michie was not chary of expressing his opinion of the Taipings;—"I have no hope of any good ever coming of the movement. No decent Chinamen will have anything to do with it. They do nothing but burn, murder and destroy; they hardly profess anything beyond that. They are detested by all the country people; and even those in the city who are not of the 'brethren' hate them. Trade and industry are prohibited; their land taxes are three times heavier than those of the Imperialists; they adopt no measures to soothe and conciliate the people, nor do they act in any way as if they had a permanent interest in the soil. They don't care about the ordinary slow and sure sources of revenue; they look to plunder, and plunder alone, for subsistence, and I must say I cannot see any elements of stability about them, nor anything which can claim our sympathy."

In a dispatch from Consul Harvey, of Ningpo, dated March 20th, 1864, the writer says:—"Not one single step in the direction of a 'good government' has been taken by the Taipings; not any attempt made to organize a political body or commercial institution; not a vestige, not a trace, of anything approaching to order, or regularity of action, or consistency of purpose, can be found in any one of their public acts; the words 'governmental machinery,' as applied to Taiping rule, have no possible meaning here; and, in short, desolation is the only end obtained, as it always has been, wherever the sway of the marauders had

had its full scope, and their power the liberty of unchecked excess.

When, in 1858, the Earl of Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, went up the Yang-tse River, he found the Taipings in possession of most of the important towns on the banks. The steamer in which he made the excursion was fired on from one of the fortified places. The fire was returned, and the town bombarded and entered. It was then discovered that the Taipings had evacuated it, having slaughtered most of the inhabitants, and the town was in ruins. The Taiping leaders afterwards asserted that the firing on the vessel with Lord Elgin on board was a mistake on the part of the commandant of the forts.

In May, 1869, the rebels gained a great victory over a hundred thousand of the Imperialists outside Nanking, and then advanced to Soochow, or Sou-tcheou, the former being the orthography most familiar to Englishmen. It is a very large and important city in the maritime province of Kiang-su, with a population estimated at about a million, and a great trade emporium, with access by the Imperial Canal, a waterway about seven hundred miles, constructed to unite the Yang-tse and the rivers of the south, and give a comparatively easy access by water to Peking. The rebels, as usual, looted the town, and so great was the amount of treasure captured, that three weeks were occupied in removing it to Nanking.

The English authorities had hitherto held aloof from the contest between the Imperialists and the rebels; but circumstances occurred which rendered it impossible the attitude of neutrality could be maintained. We and our allies, the French, were in open hostility with the Chinese; and, from a military point of view, the action of the Taipings, as a great embarrassment to the government, was favourable to us. But the great mercantile city, Shanghai, the most important seaport of China, was now threatened, and in Shanghai were large establishments and factories occupied by English, French, and American merchants. English merchants possessed shipyards, docks, and engineering establishments. The wealthy Chinese merchants of Shanghai, alarmed at the near

approach of the Taipings, had undertaken to provide the necessary funds if the governor of the province would enlist a force of foreigners to defend the city.

The Chinese authorities permitted the organisation and equipment of a small force of foreigners, under the leadership of an American named Ward, a sailor filibuster, who had taken part in Walker's ill-starred expedition to Nicaragua. He was a brave man, and his experience of irregular fighting, gained in America, promised to be of service. With him was united, as second in command, another adventurer named Burgevine, who had seen a good deal of fighting in his time; but whose antecedents, like those of Ward, it was as well to allow to "rest in the shade."

By the middle of 1860, the Taipings had advanced within twenty miles of Shanghai, and occupied a small town named Sung-Kiang. A reward was offered to Ward if he could retake this place, and with a little force of about a hundred sailors, he attempted the feat. He had, however, greatly miscalculated the strength of the enemy, and was repulsed with considerable loss. Aided, however, by a body of Chinese soldiers, he made another attempt, and was successful in driving out the Taipings. Being joined by more adventurers, he made various raids on the rebel position. His success, however, was of brief duration. The energetic Chung Wang, the Faithful King, advanced with a large army, drove back Ward and his rabble following into Sung-Kiang; and leaving outside that town a sufficient force to watch the place and keep Ward a prisoner there, advanced towards Shanghai, ravaging the country they passed through.

Affairs were now in a critical condition. The great mercantile city could not be permitted to be endangered, and the British and French troops in the port joined the Imperialists, and on the 18th August, 1860, drove back the advancing Taipings with great loss. Great Britain, as a nation, had no wish to interfere with the Taipings, except so far as the defence of the great commercial ports against their attacks was concerned; and Admiral Sir James Hope, our naval

commander-in-chief on the Chinese station, sailed up the river for the purpose of visiting those ports on its banks which had been opened up to foreign trade by the Convention of Peking. In February, 1861, the admiral reached Nanking, and entered into communication with the rebel leaders. An understanding was arrived at that there should be no interference with the river trade, and that for the space of one year Shanghai was to be unmolested by the Taiping army.

This convention was faithfully observed. The rebels passed the year in various endeavours to effect the occupation of the valley of the Yang-tse, but met with many reverses; and by the time when the year's truce had expired, were again in the neighbourhood of Shanghai. Hung, the rebel leader, then formally announced to Admiral Hope that he intended to make another attack on the port, receiving a reply to the effect that he would do so at his peril, for the force would certainly be resisted.

Chung Wang was ordered to march against Shanghai in January, 1862, and that act was the cause of the open cooperation of the allies with the force under Ward, who was at Sung-Kiang, with about a thousand Chinese, fairly well drilled, and led by European officers, under his command. Chung Wang appears to have had some confidence of success. At any rate, he desired to make his followers confident. He issued a proclamation, in which he said: "Shanghai is a little place. We have nothing to fear from it; we must take it to complete our dominion." The reply to this announcement, on the part of the allies, was very practical. The English and French commanders, with Ward's force, and in conjunction with an army of Imperialists, resolved to clear the country from the Taipings for thirty miles round the town. Heavy fighting followed, and in it Gordon took part. The French admiral was killed, and Admiral Hope was wounded. In September, Ward was killed, and Burgevine was appointed to succeed him as leader of the little army which he had commanded. This worthy soon showed the metal he was made of. His notions of military service were tainted with a strong in-

fusion of the filibustering, piratical ideas he had acquired in America. He went to Shanghai with a hundred picked men, well armed with rifles, entered the house of the mandarin, who was the local treasurer, and demanded money for the payment of arrears to his men. The mandarin, who refused to comply with this demand, was struck by Burgevine, who sent his men into the treasury, with orders to take away forty thousand dollars. This act immediately led to his dismissal from the command of the contingent, by the governor of the province, Li-Hung-Chang, one of the most distinguished statesmen and soldiers of China, who had been specially selected for the command of the Imperialists at Shanghai. This eminent man is also known by the title Futai, and that designation frequently appears in the contemporary histories of the war. As a result of the dismissal of Burgevine, a new appointment to the command of the foreign legion became necessary.

In January, 1863, General (afterwards Sir Charles) Staveley, chief of the British forces in China, being applied to for advice and assistance, recommended Captain Gordon to the permanent command, if his Government should approve of its being taken by a British officer. Captain Holland, chief of Staveley's staff, took temporary charge of the "Ch'ang Sheng Chi'un," or "Ever-Victorious Army," the name with which the Chinese had glorified the foreign contingent, destined shortly afterwards to deserve the title. Holland and another British officer, Major Brennan, had been defeated in their expeditions; but on the very day of the repulse of the former (in February, 1863), in an attempt to storm the strongly-fortified town, Tait-san, a dispatch arrived sanctioning the placing a British officer in command of the force, and Brevet Major Gordon was at once appointed, and immediately set to work to complete the organisation of the army under his control. The commissioned officers were all foreigners, the majority American, and including English, French, Germans, and Spaniards. Their sensitiveness and national jealousies gave some trouble, overcome by Gordon's resolution and tact. The non-commissioned officers were all Chinese

selected from the ranks. The drill of the force was on the British model, and words of command were given in English.

The British Government also permitted the organisation of a naval force, in the employ of the Chinese, under the command of Captain Sherard Osborne, an officer who had highly distinguished himself in the operations of the Crimean War, and who subsequently gained great reputation in connection with Arctic exploration. On his arrival in China, Osborne found that he was to be subordinated to one of the provincial governors, and, declining to be placed in such a position, returned to England.

On the 25th of March, 1863, Major Gordon assumed active command of the foreign contingent at Sung-Kiang. With quiet, but unflinching firmness, he succeeded in moulding others to his will, and set about preparing for a larger field of operations. Small attacks and skirmishes might vindicate the reputation of the soldiers under his command, but would inevitably be accompanied by considerable loss of life, and no effectual blow could be struck at the Taiping power. Only to drive them from the district extending thirty miles around Shanghai would be but a defensive act; and he had resolved on achieving more than that. He was now an officer of the Chinese Government; and, loyal to his new masters, he conceived that it was his duty to endeavour to suppress the rebellion, which might otherwise be indefinitely prolonged, which was devastating some of the finest districts of the empire, and appeared to be rapidly attaining dimensions which even threatened the Imperial dynasty.

With the instinct of military genius, he saw that the tactics by which that consummate general Napoleon effected so much—rapidity of movement, and striking blows at points where they were least expected—were best adapted to the position of affairs. He would keep the rebels in continual alarm, prevent them concentrating their armies, and force them to preserve an attitude of defence at all their positions. If he could carry out this plan, he would effectually hinder them from attacking Shanghai or any other of the ports.

Two steam-vessels were placed at his

disposal, and on board of them he embarked about a thousand infantry and two hundred of his artillery. Many British officers applied to General Brown, who had succeeded General Staveley as commander of the forces at Shanghai, for permission to join Gordon. Permission was given, subject to Gordon's approval, and he selected some of those whose qualifications appeared to be most suitable to the work to be done. One of these was Surgeon Moffat, of the 67th Regiment. He remained with his leader throughout the campaign—the only one who did so—and was of great value to the expeditionary force. Aided by this reinforcement of trained and competent officers, he was able to get rid of some of the old officers who had served under Ward and Burgevine, and whose notions of warfare were rather in accordance with the practices of those leaders than with the military discipline Gordon was determined to enforce.

A force of Imperialists was entrenched not far from Fushan, a small town, with a bad reputation as a haunt of pirates, on the southern side of the estuary of the Yang-tse. Protected by the Chinese force, which had not apparently the courage to advance from its secure position, but the presence of which presented an obstacle to any attack by the Taipings on Gordon's troops while disembarking, the Major effected a landing, and made a rapid advance on Fushan, which was strongly garrisoned by the rebels. It was an important position, about twelve miles to the north of Chanzu, a city occupied by an Imperial garrison, but in great danger from the proximity of the rebels at Fushan.

To relieve this garrison and to carry the war into the enemy's country were the immediate objects Gordon had in view; but it was necessary first to drive the Taipings from Fushan, in front of which they displayed a considerable force. On each bank of a creek which gave access to Chanzu the rebels had erected a stockade. These were bombarded by a 32-pounder and five 12-pounder howitzers, and the creek was bridged with boats with a celerity rather astonishing, probably, to the Taipings, who did not understand the facility with which a trained officer of the Royal

Engineers could accomplish such a work. The bombardment of the town lasted for about three hours, and then a storming party, led by Captain Belcher, carried the position by assault. Large reinforcements of the rebels arrived from the force before Chanzu, and Gordon thought it advisable to withdraw his men into the stockade he had thrown up. On the following morning he found that the enemy was in full retreat towards Soochow.

Successful so far, the relief of Chanzu was next to be achieved. Gordon strengthened his little army by the addition of a strong force of the Imperialists, who were, as we have said, entrenched in the locality. The country was open, and without encountering any opposition he reached the city, where he was most warmly welcomed. Three hundred of Gordon's men were left to garrison a stockade, in case the Taipings should return; and then the leader, with the remainder of his men, returned to his head-quarters at Sung-Kiang. In a very few days he had captured an important position, relieved a besieged garrison, and achieved a good deal towards clearing the country around Shanghai and the southern side of the mouth of the Yangtse of the formidable foe.

To make his army efficient was his first care. He reorganised it after the European model. It was nearly four thousand strong, and consisted of infantry regiments, with four siege batteries and two field batteries. Most of the men were armed with smooth-bore muskets of the old type, but Enfield rifles were given out to a few in whom the Major felt he could place most confidence. The uniform was of dark serge, with green turbans. At first the men disliked the uniform, the nickname, "Imitation foreign devils," being given by their countrymen, but afterwards they were proud of it. One of Gordon's great cares was to provide a strong force of artillery and abundance of ammunition, means of transport, pontoon equipment, bamboo ladders, planks for short tramways, and a variety of materials which his engineering experience had taught him might be useful in making rapid movements and attacking strong positions. The drill of the men was most carefully con-

ducted by the European and American officers, and the well-instructed non-commissioned officers. The artillery was practised in siege operations, and soon exhibited remarkable promptness and efficiency. Gordon himself was a master of the military art, studied in theory at Woolwich and in practice before Sebastopol; and he imparted to others the instruction he had himself received.

He received cordial support from the Chinese governor of the province, the intelligent and able Li-Hung-Chang, a mandarin of the Yellow Button, and as we have already said, one of the most distinguished and influential of the Imperial officials. There had been intriguing at Peking, whither Burgevine had repaired after his dismissal, with the intention of appealing to Prince Hung, the chief administrator of the empire. Prince Hung evaded the responsibility of a positive denial of the request, by referring the matter to Li, who, he politely said, was better qualified than himself to decide the matter. Li had long before made up his mind as to the qualifications and conduct of Burgevine, and firmly refused to reinstate him.

Gordon's plan of action was first to attack Quinsan, a most important position, commanding the roads to Soochow, which met there, and in direct communication also with Taitsan, which was almost entirely dependent on it for supplies. The rebel arsenal and shot manufactory were at Quinsan; and its capture, therefore, would be a great blow to the Taiping army. Before Gordon had time to reach Quinsan, he received intelligence of an act of gross treachery which compelled him to alter his plans. The rebel commander of Taitsan had sent a message to the Chinese governor, Li, offering to surrender the town. Li immediately sent a small force of Imperialists to occupy it; but on arriving there, the soldiers were made prisoners, and two hundred beheaded.

Gordon at once resolved on attacking Taitsan, and inflicting severe punishment on the cowardly murderers—no other term could be fairly applicable to men who could be guilty of so treacherous an act. To do so, however, demanded all the resolution, skill and courage which Gordon possessed. The Taiping garrison

was at least ten thousand strong; the guns were served by English, French, and Americans, skilled artillerists, and the town was strongly fortified with stockades beyond the walls. His own force was not more than three thousand, all told. Nothing daunted, he made a bold advance, captured some of the outlying stockades, and took up a position in the western suburbs, about three-quarters of a mile from the gate. Two bridges which spanned a canal were then seized, and some small forts which protected the road to Quinsan were taken possession of, thus preventing communication between the two important rebel positions. Gordon then opened a fierce fire from his guns. The defenders exhibited great courage and determination to fight fiercely in repelling the attack. They appeared in great numbers on the walls, poured down a hail of fire on the advancing column, hurled fire-balls at the bridge, and even succeeded—how is not clearly known—in capturing one of the gunboats. Captain Bannen and his party, with undaunted courage, succeeded in mounting the breach, and engaged in hand-to-hand conflict with the garrison. Suffering from the fierce cannonade to which they had been exposed, the rebels made a less determined resistance than before; and the stormers, after some desperate fighting, carried the breach, and over the dead bodies of friend and foe entered the town. Then, resistance being hopeless, the garrison fled in terror and confusion before the onslaught of the "Ever-Victorious," trampling one another to death in their disordered flight.—Of the Imperialists who had been so treacherously inveigled into the town, two mandarins and three hundred men were found alive. It was a brilliant victory, but cost the assailants dear, Gordon's loss being between four and five hundred, a large deduction from the strength of his little army. The Taipings had, in proportion to their numbers, suffered slighter loss.

Some of the Taipings were made prisoners by the Imperialists after the siege, and handed over to Governor Li. Seven of them were recognised as having been principally engaged in the treacherous act by which so many lives had been sacrificed, and it was resolved to make

terrible examples of them by the infliction of death, accompanied by horrible tortures. When Gordon heard of this determination he protested vigorously; but the prisoners were in the hands of the mandarins over whom he had no control whatever, and he was powerless to prevent the execution. The wretched prisoners were, previous to decapitation, tied up and exposed to public view for about five hours, with arrows pierced through various parts of the body, and pieces of skin flayed from the arms. Of all people claiming any degree of civilization—and they make considerable claims in that respect—the Chinese are the most cruel in inflicting punishment, and the most ready to inflict it for the most trifling offences. In the case of these Taipings, it was argued by the mandarins that they had not been taken as prisoners of war, but subsequently, and had, therefore, no right to be treated as those captured in actual conflict were treated by civilized nations; and, indeed, that the punishment inflicted on them was exceptionally mild.

Notwithstanding the strict discipline he had endeavoured to establish in his force, the old Adam prevailed, and his Chinese soldiers looted considerably after the capture of Taitan. Gordon resolved not to inflict immediate severe punishment, but further to develop his plans of military organization. The order to march to Quinsan was given before the men had time to dispose of their plunder; and, accompanied by an Imperialist force, that city was reached. Stockades were constructed before the walls; and then, leaving the mandarins and their soldiers to occupy them, he and his own immediate followers retired to head-quarters at Sung-Kiang. Having issued a general order thanking the officers and men for their gallantry at Taitan—certainly a well-deserved testimony, for a more brilliant feat of arms has rarely been recorded, even in the history of storming parties and forlorn hopes—he added that some of the officers were to blame for their laxity of discipline.

The march on Quinsan began not a day too soon. The Imperial force, under the command of General Ching, an able soldier, who played a prominent part in the ensuing campaign, was in some peril.

The Taipings, greatly outnumbering the Chinese, were gradually surrounding the stockade. Gordon, by a rapid march, arrived in time, with two thousand three hundred infantry and six hundred artillery. The rebels outside the walls numbered about twelve thousand, and within the city, five miles in circumference, was a much larger force. Several strong forts in the neighbourhood were also occupied by rebel troops. Gordon at once attacked, and, notwithstanding the discrepancy of numbers, drove the enemy towards the west gate. But the task of attacking the city was attended with no ordinary difficulties. The stronghold was situated on a hill within the walls, and in front was an open plain. From this elevated position every manœuvre of the attacking force could be seen, and men were stationed to give information to Moh Wang, the Taiping commander. Strong as was the position, it was made still more difficult of access by a ditch more than a hundred and twenty feet wide, which entirely surrounded the city.

The whole district is traversed by creeks and watercourses. That peculiarity afforded material advantage to Gordon in carrying out his hostile operations. The road between Quinsan and Soochow was skirted on one side by a lake, Yangsing, and on the other by various channels widening out here and there into broad sheets of water. Gordon determined to employ his little steamer, the *Hyson*, which was well armed, with its guns protected by iron mantlets, to command the line of road, and so render communication with Soochow, and the arrival of Taiping reinforcements from that city, impracticable.

On May 30th, a small fleet appeared, prepared to co-operate with the land force. On board the *Hyson* were three hundred picked riflemen; field artillery were in boats accompanying the steamer, and about fifty small gunboats followed—in all, a flotilla of about eighty small vessels, with large white sails and variously coloured flags. About eight miles from Quinsan, on the road to Soochow, is Chunye, a village, in a commanding position, well fortified, and held by Taiping soldiers. Gordon decided that this was the most convenient

place for cutting communication; but it was not very easily reached, the windings of the streams compelling a passage of twenty miles through a district held by the enemy. A little to the surprise, perhaps, of Gordon, who was on board the *Hyson*, no opposition was encountered, and Chunye, with its garrison, was captured without the loss of a single life. The position thus gained was left in charge of three hundred riflemen from the *Hyson*; and then Gordon undertook a reconnoitring expedition towards Soochow. The steamer was commanded by an American of great experience and ability, and in whom Gordon placed the utmost confidence.

The *Hyson* had not proceeded far on its way, skirting the road, when a large rebel force, marching hastily to the relief of Quinsan, was seen. The Taipings were surprised to find that they had opponents on the water as well as on the land; and as the steamer opened a vigorous fire upon them, killing many, they retreated in confusion. The road was narrow, and the rebels became a confused mob, crowding together in inextricable confusion, and incapable of escaping the murderous fire which poured into them from the steamer. They had indeed fallen into a cleverly-contrived trap. Before them the road was blocked; and to add to their disaster, in their disordered efforts to retreat, they encountered fresh bodies of reinforcements from Soochow. Both detachments became involved in hopeless confusion, and were exposed, without a chance of escape or resistance, to the fatal fire from the steamer.

On the banks of the canal stockades and strong stone forts had been erected; but the rebels occupying them speedily evacuated the positions after a few shots from the *Hyson*. All the fortified positions were soon silenced; and Gordon steamed up to the very walls of Soochow, and was able to make observations as to the position and strength of that important place of the greatest value to him. In the course of the night, he returned along the canal, and early in the morning reached Chunye. The riflemen left at that post were in great peril. The Taiping garrison of Quinsan, not having the courage to meet the threatened

assault, determined to retreat, and made their way along the road, hoping to reach Soochow. Against such a force, at least seven thousand strong, and made desperate by their position, the three hundred riflemen at Chunye would have fought at fearful odds. But the *Hyson* arrived in time to save them, and steaming along the canal encountered the Quinsan garrison, and drove them in a state of panic back to the town they had deserted.

The Imperialist army, under General Ching, surrounded by the field force of the enemy, were disheartened; but plucked up courage when they heard of the arrival of the *Hyson*, with Gordon on board. The steamer at once opened fire on the town, the garrison fled in terror; and after a few hours of active bombardment the Chinese force entered unopposed by the east gate. In this brilliant affair Gordon lost only seven men, and of those five were accidentally drowned. The Taipings, who had proved such an easy conquest, were about fifteen thousand in number. About five thousand of these were shot or drowned, or murdered by the people of the surrounding villages in revenge for the barbarous treatment they had suffered. Gordon firmly forbade the slaughter of prisoners by his Chinese allies, and insisted that they should be considered as having surrendered to a British officer. Many of the prisoners taken, fine, tall men, had been impressed by the Taipings, and it is therefore no wonder that they fought unwillingly, and that many were willing to take service under Gordon. About seven hundred were accepted as an addition to his army.

In allied military forces there are commonly intrigues and jealousies. General Ching, a brave soldier, the commander of the Imperial army associated with Gordon, envied his successes and the high reputation he was so rapidly gaining. He wished the Imperial Government to believe that he was really the man of the situation, and that Gordon was a man of inferior abilities, who had contrived to push himself undeservedly into the first place. Gordon had no authority over Ching, who on more than one occasion contemptuously disregarded his advice, and at other times disparaged

his achievements in letters addressed to Governor Li. If, he said, he had been furnished with artillery at Quinsan, he could have blown in the east gate, and taken the place by storm; but he omitted to say that Gordon had the foresight to provide guns for himself, a necessary preparation which Ching had overlooked. He had the control of some gunboats, and, by mistake, as he asserted, but of *malice prepense*, as Gordon had very good reason to believe, these vessels fired on a party of a hundred and fifty men of his army, under the command of Majors Kirkham and Lowden. When sharply remonstrated with on the subject, he at first treated the matter lightly; but finding that Gordon was desperately in earnest, he had the audacity to declare that his men on board the gunboats did not recognise the flag displayed by the troops on which they fired. Gordon at once forwarded to Governor Li a statement of the real facts of the case, and hurried to the scene of action, resolved to punish Ching for his breach of faith by attacking him as he would attack the rebels. Governor Li sent Mr. McCartney to endeavour to arrange matters; and Ching, awaking to the serious nature of the position in which he had placed himself, and well aware that Gordon was not a man to spend his anger in words, if he thought that blows were necessary, consented to make a humble apology, which Gordon accepted, not wishing, if he could honourably avoid doing so, to add internal quarrels in the face of a powerful enemy to the inevitable difficulties attending the great work he had undertaken.

The Imperial Government attached great importance to the capture of Soochow. It is a magnificent place, the "City of Pagodas," and, from a strategical point of view, was the strongest part in the rebel lines. To obtain possession of it would be almost equivalent to breaking the back of the rebellion. Nanking itself would be nearly isolated, and surrounded by resolute and victorious foes. Soochow occupies the centre of a system of canals and natural waterways; and, while Ching and other Chinese leaders were discussing the best means, according to their notions of military tactics, of successfully assaulting the

city, Gordon quietly formed his plan, which was to take advantage of the water surroundings, and so employ his steamers and little fleet of gunboats which had already performed such good service. The first step was to obtain possession of two strong forts at Kahpoo, about ten miles to the south of Soochow. Three miles farther south, at Wokong, was another fortified position; and Kahpoo and Wokong secured a junction between the Imperial Canal and Lake Taiho, besides protecting the line of communication with the Taiping cities of the southern provinces.

Gordon employed two armed steamers, the *Firefly* and the *Cricket*, and boats, on board of which were nearly two thousand infantry and artillery. Kahpoo made a stubborn, but ineffectual, resistance; and the next day the force advanced towards Wokong. On the way was an unoccupied fort; and a body of the Taipings who had been watching with some apprehension the swift march of the "ever-victorious," and the rapid movements of the steamers, rushed towards it to secure the position. Gordon despatched two of his regiments to cut them off. A smart race ensued. The rebels first reached the fort, but, in racing language, only won by a neck; their opponents followed so close that they were able to dash into the fort and, after a sharp tussle, drive out the Taipings. There was severe loss on both sides in this desperate hand-to-hand encounter.

Leaving the victors to occupy the fort so gallantly captured, Gordon made a rapid march to Wokong, destroying some stockades which had been thrown up, and before night the place was surrounded by his troops. The garrison made some feeble attempts to force their way through Gordon's lines, but were driven back, and, being thoroughly disheartened, surrendered, encouraged to do so, perhaps, by the cowardice of their leader, Yang Wang, who had fled when he heard that the invincible Gordon was coming. Four thousand men, including the second in command, laid down their arms, and among these prisoners were many officers of high position in the rebel ranks.

After this success, which ensured an unimpeded march to Soochow, Gordon

resolved to remain at Kahpoo, with a hundred men to strengthen the small force he had left there, and to guard against a recapture by the rebels. General Ching now arrived, and, desirous of obtaining some advantage from successes in which he had had no share, requested that a large number of the prisoners should be transferred to him as a preliminary to making them serve as soldiers on the Imperial side. He promised that they should be well treated, and, on that understanding, Gordon allowed him to take fifteen hundred men. Soon afterwards he heard that, in violation of his promise, Ching had ordered five of the prisoners to be beheaded.

Gordon was powerless to prevent these cruelties, but they pained him greatly.

Disappointed and wearied, the resolute, hopeful spirit of Gordon for once gave way, and he left the army for Shanghai, resolved to resign his command. When he arrived there, he found reason to reconsider his determination. Burgevine, whose alliance with the Taipings has been already mentioned, had, with the assistance of a man named Jones, who had been employed as master of a small Chinese war-steamer, the *Kiao-Chiao*, seized that vessel, and having collected a band of foreigners, of that loose and worthless class who commonly infest sea-ports, had succeeded in reaching Soochow. His followers, about three hundred in number, were well provided with arms, and ready for any work which afforded a promise of plunder. Gordon saw at once the importance of this addition to the rebel forces, and determined not to carry out his intention of resigning his command, but returned to Quinsan, the headquarters of his force.

So critical appeared to be the state of affairs, that Colonel Hough, commanding the British troops at Shanghai, wrote to General Brown, the commander-in-chief of the force, expressing his anxiety. Gordon, having resolved to retain his position, lost not a moment in preparing to encounter the new complications presented. If a shade of despondency had for a brief time affected him, it quickly disappeared when the time for action arrived. Hastening to Quinsan, on the

1st of August, he immediately sent reinforcements to Kahpoo, which was in danger from the advance of a large force of the Taipings, estimated to number forty thousand, led by Europeans. On the following day he went thither on board the *Cricket*. Knowing the great strength of the Taipings, Gordon was unwilling to risk his small force in an attack on so strong a possession as Soochow. "I feel," he wrote, "I have so many lives entrusted to me, that they are, as it were, at my disposal, and I will not risk them in an enterprise I consider rash." Although the successes achieved by his little army had been so considerable, not more than forty men had been killed, and only about seventy wounded. He had hopes, indeed, that the capture of Soochow might be effected without any actual assault on that strong position, an assault which must be attended with great loss, even if successful.

Gordon had, by means of deserters, especially Burgevine's servant and interpreter, obtained some information respecting the doings of that redoubtable personage. He described him as "in good health and very indolent; he has a nice lot with him, all the scum of Shanghai, which may be said to be celebrated for its produce in that way. He is not allowed to send money out of Soochow." And then he adds, showing that he thought Burgevine had met with his match in the Taiping leader: "I expect the rebels intend eventually to take it all back again. This would not be the first time they had done a similar thing."

On the 29th of September, he attacked and captured some stockades at Patachow on the canal, just below Soochow. The defence was feeble, and no loss was sustained in taking the position, but the rebels having mustered courage, made an unsuccessful attempt to regain it, and five of Gordon's force were wounded. At Patachow the canal was crossed by an old and remarkable bridge, three hundred yards long, and having fifty-three arches. On the day of the attack on the stockades twenty-six of these arches fell in "like a pack of cards." Two men were killed, and ten others escaped by running away as fast as they possibly could when they saw the fabric

toppling over. This catastrophe was probably caused by Gordon's own act, he having begun to remove an archway to permit the passage of a steamer into the lake, and that caused the fall, as each arch rested on the other. In describing this accident he omitted to mention his own narrow escape at the same place. In fact his own safety always appeared to have been the last subject which occupied his thoughts.

Burgevine and some of the Europeans in the service of the Taipings soon wearied of their new masters, and the latter sent to Gordon at Patachow, asking him to have an interview with Burgevine, the conference to take place on a bridge between the lines of the opposing forces. Gordon acceded to this request, well knowing, from the treacherous character of the man, that he incurred a danger in doing so. Burgevine told him that he and his men had resolved to quit the rebel service; but they had reason to fear the action of the Imperial authorities, whose reputation for dealing in a peculiarly decisive manner with those who had taken arms against them amply justified any apprehensions the renegades might entertain. Gordon undertook that the authorities at Shanghai should overlook the offences of the renegades, and even offered to receive some of the men into his own force, and assist the others to leave the country.

No definite understanding was arrived at; and it soon became evident that the artful and ambitious American had another card to play. Another interview was arranged, and at it Burgevine cautiously revealed his plans. He cared nothing for Imperialists or Taipings; but, with the vivid imagination and the scorn of probabilities which appear to be natural to the filibustering mind, he had indulged in a vision of an independent kingdom in China, of which he would be the monarch. It is almost unnecessary to say that the proposition was contemptuously rejected by the English leader.

Failing in this attempt to seduce Gordon from his allegiance to the cause he had espoused, Burgevine, trusting to his promise—for he had now learned to confide in his sincerity—sent him information that he and his party proposed to

desert from Soochow, and place themselves under his protection. The mode of doing so was arranged by mutual consent. On the discharge of a signal rocket from Gordon's lines, Burgevine and his companions were to make a feigned attack on the *Hyson* steamer, and board it in an apparently hostile manner. The scheme was carried out, with the exception that Burgevine himself and several of the leading Europeans were not included in the boarding party. The Taiping governor, Moh Wang, appears to have entertained some suspicions, and some of the deserters got away without waiting for their leader and the others.

The feigned attack on the *Hyson* was witnessed by a large force of Taipings, who, believing it to be *bona-fide*, rushed to the banks of the canal, ready to assist in the capture of the steamer. They found too late that they had been deceived, the *Hyson* opening a sharp fire of shot and shell, which sent them back helter-skelter to the city, and then steaming back to Gordon's camp, where the deserters were landed. They were mostly sailors, who had been induced by the representations of Burgevine to go with him to Soochow. They were in a wretched condition, on the verge of starvation; and were only too glad to be received into Gordon's force, promising to render him good service.

Occasional skirmishes with the rebels, who made attempts to re-take the stockades at Patachow, took place, the assailants being repulsed with considerable loss. On the 14th of October, Wokong was threatened by two thousand Taipings, whose attack the Imperialist troops had been unable to repel. Gordon, with six hundred men, hastened to the rescue, and attacked the rebels, who had secured a strong stockaded position. The fight lasted three hours, but at length the stockades were carried, the rebels driven out and pursued for ten miles. It was an expensive victory for so small a force, thirty of Gordon's men being killed or wounded.

He was greatly impeded in his plans by the wilfulness and arrogance of the Chinese general, Ching, who did not choose to consult the English commander and act in concert with him. The British authorities at Shanghai were strongly

of opinion that success at Soochow was impossible so long as the English major was hampered by the independent action of the Imperial army. Gordon's hopes of a surrender of the city were discouraged by the obstinacy of Ching, who persisted in making futile attacks on the east gate, and so rendering negotiations almost impossible.

He was continually harassed, too, by attacks of the rebels, and efforts to dislodge them from the stockades they had thrown up. They had established a strong position at Wuliungchiao, near Patachow; and that position Gordon was determined to carry. In order to deceive the enemy, his force made a detour of nearly thirty miles in boats, reaching the position about seven o'clock in the morning of the 24th of October. Gordon had arranged for the Chinese army to make a simultaneous attack; but with his customary self-will, Ching advanced about two hours earlier, with the result that he was repulsed with a loss of nineteen killed and sixty-seven wounded, while, wrote Gordon in describing the action, "the Taiho gunboat admiral, who had abetted him in his tomfoolery," lost thirty killed and wounded. Gordon succeeded where Ching had failed, and only three of his men received injuries, and those of a very slight character. On the following day, the rebels endeavoured in vain to recapture the stockades.

Moh Wang and the Soochow garrison must have been discouraged by these repeated defeats outside the city. The young Briton was, indeed, a terrible foe to encounter; and they had not long to wait for a taste of his quality. The time had come, and notwithstanding the predictions of failure which reached him from Shanghai, Gordon decided to attack the city.

To the Imperialist army Gordon committed the task of attacking the outposts and operating on Lake Taiho, while with his siege train, on board the *Hyson*, he made his way to the north of the city, carrying by assault a strong position, Leeku, and other fortified places, and in the course of a few days completed the investment of the city, with its garrison of thirty thousand Taipings.

The force under Gordon's direct command was under four thousand in

strength, and nearly fourteen thousand Chinese troops assisted in the investment of the city. Fushan was the centre of a large army of Imperialists, about twenty-five thousand, commanded by General Ching. Gordon well knew the strength of the enemy. In Soochow and the suburbs were at least forty thousand Taipings, twenty thousand at Wosieh, and eighteen in the adjacent town, Mahtanchiao. This strong position, occupied by the army of the Faithful King, the ablest soldier among the rebels, would enable him to attack any advance of the investing force on the canal.

Gordon, while recognising the strength of the force to which he was opposed, knew also that the position of the rebels was not free from difficulties. The Faithful King had to think of Nanking as well as Soochow, and to advance to the relief of the latter would be to leave the approaches to the former, the Taiping capital, exposed. Nanking, besides, was threatened by an Imperial force, and some of the external works had been evacuated. Practically, therefore, the large rebel army at Wosieh counted for very little, and Gordon resolved to hazard an assault.

A night attack on a formidable line of the outer defences of the north-east angle of the north-east wall of Soochow was led by Gordon himself, with Majors Howard and Williams. His men wore white turbans, so that they might distinguish between their own soldiers and the enemy. It appeared at first that the stockade might be easily taken, as all was quiet, and there were no signs of resistance. But the advanced men of the storming party had scarcely reached the stockade than the defenders opened a terrific fire. For a brief time Gordon, who was leading, and his few followers, held their ground bravely, but the remainder of his force failed to second his efforts, intimidated, apparently, by the sheet of fire which poured from the rebel lines. There was no choice but to retire. In a few moments more not one of the gallant party would have been left alive. Moh Wang, the Taiping leader, with about twenty foreigners, fought desperately in the front stockade, exhibiting extraordinary courage.

The attack, although unsuccessful in

capturing the stockade, inflicted great loss on the enemy, the loss of men from the fire of Gordon's twenty pieces of artillery, which for three hours maintained an excessive fire, being very great. The attacking party lost many officers, fifty rank and file killed, and a hundred and thirty wounded.

Most of the rebel leaders were convinced that the fall of the place was inevitable; and on the morning after the assault General Ching had an interview with the Faithful King, who told him that all the Wangs in the city, with the exception of Moh Wang, who was nominally in command, were willing to arrange terms of surrender. Thirty-five leaders of minor rank supported Moh Wang, who was one of those indomitable spirits who dislike to acknowledge themselves beaten, and who would have held out against all assailants to the last drop of his blood. This Gordon knew, and he respected his courage and determination. The other Wangs proposed, through the Faithful King, that Gordon should make another attack on the east gate, and they would shut Moh Wang out of the city to encounter whatever fate might befall him, while they made terms for themselves.

The Wangs proposed that Gordon should make an assault, not by any means an easy undertaking with the small force at his command. A very wide ditch surrounded the walls, and the fortifications were very strong. Gordon told the Wangs that, even if he succeeded in storming the place, he would be powerless to prevent his followers sacking and probably burning it. The excitement of victory after so much arduous fighting would make attempts to enforce discipline futile. If, he said, the Wangs were sincere in their wish to surrender, let them give up one of the gates as a guarantee. If they would not agree to do so, they must either evacuate the city, or take their chance in fighting. It was agreed that a gate should be surrendered; and to General Ching was deputed the duty of formally arranging the terms of capitulation.

Gordon knew his allies well, their treachery and cruelty. He apprehended the worst should Ching be uncontrolled in his treatment of those who surren-

dered. In the hope of averting any disastrous result, he made a rapid journey to Shanghai, with the intention of obtaining from Governor Li a promise that the prisoners should be in safety. Especially he employed his influence to ensure protection for the brave Moh Wang, who, from his position and determined resistance, would be one of the likeliest victims of Chinese revenge.

Moh Wang was soon made aware of the scheme of surrender, and sent for the six other Wangs, to consult with them on the subject. They assembled in the great reception hall, and the question of capitulation was fully discussed. Nothing could induce Moh Wang to consent to such an arrangement. He was for fighting to the last. One of the Wangs supported him; the others took the opposite side. Getting excited, the conference grew into a quarrel, and the fierce natures of the Wangs were aroused. One of the most violent, Kong Wang, sprang to his feet, rushed at Moh Wang, and stabbed him nine times in the back. The others then assisted him to carry the dying man into the outer court, and there he was beheaded.

Having disposed of opposition in this peremptory and barbarous manner, the surviving Wangs surrendered the city. Gordon, dreading the scenes which might follow the entrance of his men into the place, withdrew them to a considerable distance.

Gordon had stipulated with both Li and Ching, that so long as he held command, warfare should be conducted in accordance with the practice of the western nations; that prisoners, either taken in actual fight, or on voluntary surrender, should be treated with humanity. This had been promised; and, although he was well aware of the cruelties habitually practised by the Chinese military, yet, after his appealing to Governor Li, and the assurances he had received, he felt justified in supposing that he might depend upon their observance. General Ching, on his part, was lavish in his promises that Gordon's wishes in this regard should be complied with, and to these promises Gordon unfortunately trusted.

Governor Li, in concert with Ching, and in defiance of all the promises both

had made, beheaded the Wangs when they came to make the formal act of surrender, trusting to the safety of which they had been assured.

Excited and angered to an unwonted degree, Gordon, customarily so self-controlled, burst into tears. He insisted on seeing for himself the scene of the murder of the Wangs, and was led to the spot where their bodies were lying, beheaded and covered with gashes inflicted by the barbarous executioners. The terrible spectacle aroused Gordon to a state of excitement not habitual to his well-balanced mind. He determined to enforce a signal retribution, and that Li should, in his own person, suffer the punishment of his treachery. Arming himself with a revolver, he started for the governor's quarters, on board the steamer in which he had reached the city. General Ching, however, had received an intimation of Gordon's intention, and had warned Li, who took refuge in Soochow. For several days the angered British leader endeavoured to trace him, but the Futai (Li's official title) contrived to evade him. Gordon summoned his troops to assist in the search, but being unable to discover the place of hiding, returned with them to his quarters at Quinsan. There he told his men what had occurred, adding that, in consequence, he could no longer retain his position as commander of the force, which he should hand over to General Brown.

Presently General Brown arrived, and took the force under his command. "I had already," wrote Gordon, "spoken to the officers, and got them to leave the solution to the British general. The disgust and abhorrence felt by all of them was and is so great, as to lead me to fear their going over in mass to the rebels, but I have shown them that the sin would then be visited on the Chinese people, and not on the culprits who committed it."

The murder of the Wangs was but a sample of the remorseless barbarity of the Imperialists. It afterwards appeared the massacres of the inhabitants of Soochow, including women and children, took place with the full knowledge and sanction of Li and Ching. It has, indeed, been stated that thirty thousand

lives were sacrificed, many in the most revolting manner.

General Brown made an official report of the murder of the Wangs to Sir Frederick Bruce, and also related an interview he had had with Li himself. The passages referring to Gordon are of especial interest in the light of subsequent events. General Brown wrote:—

“Major Gordon has been unable to express in writing the intense indignation and disgust with which the infamous and dastardly conduct of the Futai had inspired him. . . . I speedily ascertained that the Futai was prepared to take on himself the whole responsibility of the murder of the Wangs and sacking of the city, and fully to exonerate Major Gordon from all blame.”

The Imperial authorities at Peking undertook to institute an inquiry into the circumstances attending the execution of the Wangs and other proceedings at Soochow; but very possibly did not think that, even if the charges were substantiated, Li and Ching had been guilty of any very great offence. In the Celestial Empire human life is held at a very cheap rate, and the beheading of a few prisoners of high rank is a very venial offence. Li, too, was making his own representations, claiming all credit for himself and Ching for the capture of the city, and, while mentioning Gordon's services with approbation, intimating that his army had only acted in subordination to the Imperialists. To this claim some colour was given from the fact that, though Gordon's men had done all the hard fighting, the British leader had been unable to spare enough men to occupy the positions he had won, and was therefore compelled to hand them over to General Ching.

At Peking, Li's statements were readily accepted; he received the congratulations of the minister, Prince Kung, and the honour of the Yellow Jacket, which indicates the highest military rank. It was thought necessary to compliment Gordon, and thereby conciliate the British authorities, who were persistently pressing the Government at Peking on the subject of the massacre. An Imperial decree was therefore promulgated, in which it was stated that Brigadier-General Gordon had greatly distinguished himself “in command of Li's auxiliary force,” and ordaining that a medal of

distinction and a donation of a thousand taels (about £250) should be awarded him. He was also to receive a decoration of the first class.

The Governor sent the decorations, the thousand taels, and various gifts to Gordon, together with extra pay for his troops, and additional money for such as had been wounded. Gordon willingly received the money for his men, but rejected the gifts to himself as an insult. To the Imperial communication he sent a reply, polite enough in expression, but certainly a little contemptuous in spirit:—

“Major Gordon receives the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor with every gratification, but regrets most sincerely that, owing to the circumstances which occurred since the capture of Soochow, he is unable to receive any mark of his Majesty the Emperor's recognition, and therefore respectfully begs his Majesty to receive his thanks for his intended kindness, and to allow him to decline the same.”

The Emperor must have been—to use a familiar phrase—considerably staggered on receiving this curt note. He had been trained to believe that foreigners, even of the highest rank, should only approach him in the most abject attitude, so elevated was his position among the potentates of the earth; and although, probably, the plunder and destruction of the Summer Palace had opened his eyes a little, so imperturbable is Chinese egotism that even that tremendous insult to his pretensions had made but a transient impression.

It was not long before Gordon heard enough to convince him that ruthless barbarity was an inevitable feature of Chinese warfare. Two thousand fugitives from Soochow had made their way to Wosieh, where the Taiping leader, Chung-Wang, the Faithful King, was in command. He found such an arrival very inconvenient, and he disposed of the fugitives, his own adherents, by the summary process of beheading them. With such combatants, the war might become a competition in the art of massacre, instead of fair and open fighting. Gordon had already begun to reconsider his position. He was in a situation of considerable difficulty. Rebel bands, induced, perhaps, by the inactivity of the “ever-victorious army,” that little band which inspired them with more

apprehension than Ching's much larger force, were collecting around the fallen city. Gordon's men were dissatisfied with remaining at head-quarters while work was to be done, and while the arrogant Imperialists were taking nearly all the credit of the great success gained, and so apparent was the risk of open mutiny that it was found to be necessary to dismiss sixteen officers.

He therefore consented to an official reconciliation with Li and General Ching, who had only acted in accordance with recognised rules of Chinese warfare, which made the killing of chiefs, who might fairly be supposed to influence the masses of their fellow-men, not only expedient, but absolutely necessary. He visited Li at Soochow, and arranged that the latter should issue a proclamation exonerating him from all participation in the massacre. In Shanghai such an exoneration was unnecessary, the British residents well knowing all the facts; but the public at home might be—and, indeed, were, as we have seen—misled on the subject; and Gordon desired to clear himself at the bar of public opinion, which, as an Englishman, he respected.

Gordon was again in the field, at the head of his force, by the third week in February, 1864. He promptly arranged his plan of operations, intending to attack Yesing, on the western side of Lake Taiho, and having taken that strong position, to advance farther west to Liyang, and then northward to Kintang. Each of these towns was held by Taipings, and strongly fortified; and by reducing them they would be cut off from assisting the rebels at Nanking, which was invested by an Imperial army. A force composed of French and Chinese was left to undertake the task of rescuing Hanchow from the rebels.

In some respects, Gordon's position was now more difficult than at any period of the campaign. Previously, he had been able to draw abundant supplies from Shanghai, the road to which was open, but now he was in the enemy's country, and munitions and stores had to be carried with his force. From Quinsan he marched to Wosieh, from which the Faithful King had seen fit to retreat after the fall of Soochow; but he found the city in so ruinous a condition,

that it was impossible to establish quarters for his men, who took possession of a village at the foot of a hill.

Between Wosieh and Yesing, the country had been devastated, villages destroyed, many of the inhabitants massacred, and the remainder left to die from starvation in the open fields. Yesing was found to be a small city, protected by walls and a wide ditch. A party of Gordon's men venturing near were fired on so briskly and accurately that they found it well to fall back on the main body. The *Hyson* was on the lake, and Gordon, taking advantage of that circumstance, crossed to the western side. Yesing is about ten miles inland; and in approaching the town pitiable sights were witnessed. The inhabitants of the villages through which Gordon's force passed were in the extremity of starvation, and, maddened by the sufferings they endured, actually devoured the dead bodies of those who had been killed. An assault was made on the east gate; very little resistance was offered, and the inhabitants fled terror-stricken from the town.

It was the 1st of March when Yesing capitulated. This event was followed by the surrender of two thousand rebels at Tajowku, a town on the shore of the lake, communicating by road with Yesing, about ten miles distant. Gordon's men could not, even under his discipline, refrain from a desire to plunder any place they took. Knowing well their propensity, he would not permit them to enter Yesing—a prohibition which so irritated them that they exhibited a spirit of insubordination, which Gordon promptly dealt with by picking out one of the most prominent and having him shot on parade.

Kingtang was the next rebel stronghold with which Gordon had to deal; and when the garrison heard that he was approaching, they were prepared to surrender, believing that resistance to the indomitable Englishman would be futile. The Taiping leaders, however, sent a large reinforcement from Chanchu-fu, a strong position on the Imperial Canal, some five-and-twenty miles distant, which should, according to arrangement, have been invested by the Imperialist forces, but which was so

inefficiently watched that the reinforcement mentioned was permitted to quit the place. Thus strengthened, Kingtang, which seemed at first an easy conquest, became very formidable, occupied by a strong force of the most resolute and desperate of the rebels.

Not only were the Imperialists before Chan-chu-fu outwitted by the departure of a rebel reinforcement to Kingtang; but a still stronger body of rebels had left the town, turned the flank of the Chinese, marched rapidly in an eastern direction, captured Fushan, besieged Chanzu, and even threatened an advance on Gordon's headquarters at Quinsan. The tide of success appeared to be turning; but he would not be diverted from his purpose of attacking and capturing Kingtang. A bombardment was at once opened, and three hours' smart firing made a breach in the walls. The resistance was desperate; the stormers were repelled, and from the ramparts the garrison hurled missiles on the heads of the attacking force. It was necessary to withdraw the storming-party for a brief space; and then a second attack was made and again repulsed. It was on this occasion that Gordon, who was leading, received a wound in the leg, and Major Kirkham was severely wounded.

A third assault was made while Gordon lay wounded, and chafing with impatience. Its leader was his aide-de-camp, Major Brown, son of General Brown. This attack also failed, and the major was wounded. There was no alternative but to cease the attacks for the present, and withdraw the force to its former position. It had lost a hundred in killed and wounded, including fifteen officers, two of the bravest and most efficient, Major Taite and Captain Banning being killed.

When the intelligence of this repulse and of the wound received by Gordon reached Peking, great anxiety was shown. However the mandarins might have boasted of their achievements, it was felt that Gordon was really the life and soul of the campaign, the sole dependence against rebel ascendancy. The Chinese authorities afforded no exception to the rule that anything really valuable is most appreciated when in danger of being lost. Gordon prostrate, Kingtang

untaken, the rebels successful on the western side of the lake, and marching rapidly forward on the eastern side, threatening to recapture the positions taken at so great a cost—all these circumstances were calculated to produce some dismay. Gordon was soon again at the head of his men. That, at present, he was unable to achieve a success at Kingtang, was a fact he was compelled to recognize, however disagreeable it might be; and he saw that his best course would be to fall back on Liyang.

Gordon was disabled for active exertion, as we have seen, but from his bed on board his boat he directed operations. The Taipings had made Waissoo, about midway between Wosieh and Fushan, the pivot of their movements. On that place Gordon made a rapid advance with his artillery, taking advantage, as usual, of the facilities afforded by water communication. The remainder of his force, under Colonels Howard and Rhode, were sent by land, with orders to join his boat, avoiding an encounter with the rebel stockades. The object was to avoid for the time minor encounters, and concentrate his strength for the attack on Waissoo.

Having effected something like a reorganisation, he once more approached Waissoo, and took up a good position, receiving the not unwelcome reinforcement of about six thousand Chinese troops from Soochow, led by Li-Hung-Chang. Here he received intelligence of successes and also of calamities. The Chinese commander, Tso, with a Franco-Chinese legion under D'Aiguibelle, and attended by Colonel Bailey, the artillery officer whose services had previously been so valuable to the Chinese army, had, after desperate fighting and some repulses, succeeded in taking possession of Hangchow.

With the news of this important blow to the rebels came, however, the intelligence that General Ching, the ablest of the Chinese generals, had been killed in storming a town named Kashing-fu, on the Imperial Canal, some fifteen miles to the south of Pingwang. Gordon, who was not a man to cherish personal quarrels, was deeply affected when he heard of the death, in the heat of battle, of his old ally. Ching had, with his own

hand, killed two of the rebel chiefs before he was struck in the head by a bullet. He was carried to his quarters, and although fatally wounded, his life was prolonged until he had sent a message to Li, urging him to increased exertion to exterminate the rebels.

Gordon's arrival with three thousand disciplined troops, flushed with recent successes, changed the aspect of affairs. He urged Li to assist him in investing the city on all sides.

A storming party succeeded in mounting the breach with about a dozen officers leading the way; but so desperate was the resistance they encountered that they were forced back. Li proposed another assault, the lead to be taken by the Imperialists, so much the stronger of the two forces. The walls were battered down in many places by a concentrated fire of the heaviest artillery at the command of the besiegers; and then, with great courage, the Imperialists crossed the ditches and clambered up the broken walls, encountering so ferocious a resistance that for a few minutes they wavered, and it appeared probable they would be hurled back into the ditch. Gordon, seeing the peril in which they were placed, put himself at the head of a storming party, and, with one of his regiments and a party of two hundred volunteers, dashed across the bridge and mounted the breach. This timely assistance saved the Imperialists, who rallied with great spirit, and the united forces attacking the defenders at the point of the bayonet, drove all before them, and entered the city so gallantly won. Hu Wang rushed with a force of his chosen followers to the rescue, but it was too late. He was driven back to his palace, and there made prisoner, but so powerful and fierce was he that the united strength of ten men was required to bind him.

He and four other Wangs, and all the Cantonese rabble who were with him, were executed; the other prisoners were spared. The garrison of the city numbered about thirty thousand; their loss in the various attacks, and from the

hands of the enraged Chinese soldiers after the capture, was not correctly ascertained, but was enormous.

The fall of Chan-chu-fu was practically fatal to the Taiping cause. Gordon did not contemplate leaving Shanghai and the district around it undefended; but set to work to organize a disciplined Chinese contingent, with an English officer in command. Li heartily approved of this plan, and several British officers of the 67th Regiment, stationed at Shanghai, were appointed instructors in drill. In the meantime Nanking had fallen. The assault was made, the garrison, enfeebled as they were, exhibiting great courage in the defence. The Heavenly King had been urged to escape.

When, at length, he knew the end was come, this strange being ended his life in a manner worthy of his antecedents. First, he hanged all his wives, and they were many, and then he committed suicide. His greatest leader, the renowned Chung Wang, the Faithful King, was among the prisoners taken, and was without delay beheaded, with some other leading men.

Prince Kung, the Chinese minister, sent an official despatch to Sir Frederick Bruce, acknowledging, in the highest terms of eulogy, the services of Gordon. An Imperial decree conferred on him the rank of Titu, the highest in the Chinese army, and the highest also ever conferred on a subject; and he was the recipient besides of the Order of the Star, the Yellow Jacket, and the Peacock's Feather. By the gift of the Yellow Jacket, conferred on only about twenty of the highest mandarins, the English officer was constituted one of the body guard of the empire.

Before leaving Shanghai, the merchants presented him with an engrossed and illuminated address, expressive of their recognition and appreciation of his great services and high character.

This address was briefly, but politely, acknowledged, and shortly afterwards Gordon left China for England.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ABYSSINIAN WAR; CONTUMACY OF KING THEODORE; THE ENGLISH CAPTIVES; EXPEDITION AGAINST MAGDALA; THE ASHANTEE WAR; SIR GARNET WOLSELEY AT COOMASSIE; WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA; CETYWAYO AND THE ZULUS; ISANDULA; RORKE'S DRIFT; DEATH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL; CETYWAYO'S RESTORATION; HIS DEATH; THE BOERS AND THE TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC; TROUBLES IN AFGHANISTAN; MURDER OF CAVAGNARI; RELIEF OF CANDAHAR BY GENERAL ROBERTS.

THERE had been for some time, in the hands of a barbarous potentate—Theodore, King of Abyssinia—certain English captives, the chief among them being Captain Cameron, the English consul at Massowah, with his followers, a Syrian Christian named Rassam, Lieutenant Prideaux, Dr. Blanc, and some missionaries with their families. Mr. Cameron had succeeded a Mr. Plowden, who had been highly esteemed by the savage king, and who had lost his life while assisting Theodore to put down a rebellion. With Lieutenant Cameron, on the contrary, his relations were unsatisfactory, and the jealous tyrant suspected the English consul of intriguing against him. He also considered himself slighted by the English government; a letter which he had addressed to Queen Victoria, requesting help against Turkey, having remained unanswered.

The authorities in England hesitated long, and made effort after effort to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulty. But Theodore was inexorable, and kept his prisoners in his rocky fastness of Magdala, where their lives were in continual jeopardy from the savage moods of the king, who on more than one occasion seemed ready to have them murdered. At length it was considered necessary to take strong measures, as the reputation of England would suffer in the East if a barbaric king were allowed to set her at defiance. In 1867 a letter was despatched to King Theodore peremptorily demanding that the captives should be released within three months, and threatening war in case of refusal. It is not known whether this letter reached the king's hands. If so, it was disregarded. Accordingly, a special sitting of parliament was held towards the end of the year, and the sum of £2,000,000 was voted for the Abyssinian war. Sir Robert Napier, an experienced general, was appointed to the command of the expedi-

tion. He was an engineer officer, and fully justified, by his promptitude and ability, the choice made by the government.

From the beginning, the Abyssinian expedition was thoroughly well organised, and the plan was carried out in every particular. The march to Magdala from the coast, through 400 miles of mountainous country, was the chief difficulty to be encountered. Theodore, once defiant, gave way to a gloomy despondency as the English force approached his stronghold. He sent forth the captives, and gave them up into the hands of the English. But he refused to submit, and it became necessary to attack and destroy Magdala. The almost inaccessible heights were scaled, the savage warriors were driven back, and the fortress was taken. In entering it, the assailants came upon the dead body of the king, who had shot himself through the head with a pistol when he found that all was lost. The fortress of Magdala was destroyed, and the army, having fulfilled its task, was at once marched back to the coast. In the encounter with the Abyssinians only one English soldier had been killed and nineteen wounded, while 500 of the enemy had perished. The great feature about the expedition was its promptitude in finishing its work. On the 4th of January, Sir Robert Napier landed in Annesley Bay. On the 10th, Theodore released the prisoners. On the 13th, Magdala was stormed; and on the 18th, the army commenced its return march towards the coast. The widow of King Theodore died in the English camp. His son, Amalayou, a child of seven years, was carried to England, but he did not live many years. Sir Robert Napier was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Napier of Magdala.

This period was marked by the successful termination of a war with which England had been engaged with the

Ashantees, a fierce and pugnacious tribe, on the Gold Coast of Africa. It was not the first time a contest had been carried on with this people, who, in 1824, had not only waged war against the British, but had defeated a body of 1000 English troops; and soon afterwards, they having in their turn been defeated, a treaty had been concluded with them under the direction of Mr. Maclean, the governor of the English possessions on the West Coast of Africa. In 1872, the English acquired, by purchase and exchange, some settlements formerly held by the Dutch, who had been accustomed to pay a kind of tribute to the King of Ashantee. That potentate, King Koffee Calcalli, refused to evacuate the newly-purchased territory unless the stipend was still paid to him; and he attacked the Fantees, a war tribe who were in alliance with the English. It was determined here, as in the Abyssinian contest against King Theodore, to march an army into the interior. The capital, Coomassie, was the point aimed at; and, as in Abyssinia, the chief difficulty lay, not in the prowess of the enemy, but in the obstacles of a march through an almost impenetrable country, the command of the expedition was entrusted to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who, by his ability and promptitude, completed his task in a very short time and with entire success. At the end of September, 1873, Sir Garnet Wolseley sailed from England. He led his army from the coast to Coomassie, beating the Ashantees wherever they could be met with, penetrated to Coomassie, and compelled the king to submit to conditions of peace, one of which was, that human sacrifices should no longer take place. He then hurried his army back to the coast before the pestilential climate could do its deadly work upon them; and by the end of March he was back again in England. The war was not one in which either glory or profit could be expected; but it was one of the expensive necessities forced from time to time upon England by the necessity of keeping up the respect for her arms and prowess throughout her vast colonial empire. It would have been easy to defend the coast garrisons against any attack the King of Ashantee could have made upon

them; but it would have been bad policy to leave that savage potentate unchecked power in the interior.

A war broke out in Southern Africa in 1878. The African continent had been for some years the object of great attention in Western Europe, and especially in England. It had repeatedly been a difficult question to determine to what extent British authority could be maintained there; and successive ministries had been baffled by the problem how best to deal with the various populations, native and colonial. Among the countries of Southern Africa, the territories of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal were English settlements. There were two important regions inhabited by descendants of the old Dutch settlers, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic, whose independence was recognised by the English government. The Transvaal State had been established by the Dutch boers, or farmers, after various conflicts with the natives, in 1848, and its constitution had been declared at the capital, Pretoria, ten years later. There were, besides, a number of native governments under chiefs. These nations were generally known by the name of Kaffirs, and among them the Zulus were the most warlike. A Zulu chief, Langelibalele, rose up against the English, and his revolt was put down with great severity, he himself being captured, deposed, and imprisoned. In 1872 the Zulus were under the dominion of Cetywayo, a chief of considerable ability and great determination, who conquered his position by defeating and slaying his brothers, and who organized a very formidable army with which he maintained his rule. The Zulu warriors who comprised this force were forbidden to marry until their term of service was past; and the army was afterwards designated by Sir Bartle Frere, the governor of the Cape, "The celibate man-slaying war-machine." Cetywayo looked upon the English with great suspicion and dislike. Frere insisted that Cetywayo should disband his army, which force he regarded as a standing menace to the English authority. He then applied to England for assistance, and the 90th Regiment was despatched to the Cape, with a battery of artillery, in January,

1878. Presently, another raid was made into British territory; and Cetywayo, on being required to give up the ringleaders, peremptorily refused. He offered to compromise the matter afterwards by tendering a fine; but Sir Bartle Frere demanded as an ultimatum that the offenders should be surrendered within thirty days. This was towards the end of the year; and the time, which was extended to afford an opportunity for submission, having expired, and Cetywayo still continuing contumacious, a British force crossed the frontier river, the Tugela, on the 12th of January, 1879, and invaded the Zulu territories. It was under the command of General Thesiger, who had just succeeded, by the death of his father, the late chancellor, to the title of Lord Chelmsford. On the 21st of January, Colonel Pearson inflicted a defeat on the Zulus and fortified Echowe; but on the 22nd a great disaster befell the English. Their camp on the Tugela, at Isandula or Isandlwana, about ten miles from Rorke's Drift, was surprised by an army of 15,000 Zulus. Five companies of the 24th Regiment were almost annihilated, the Zulus attacking with immense courage and determination, endeavouring to overwhelm their foes by their numbers and the fierceness of their attacks. The English lost above 800 men, with two colonels, Durnford and Pulleine, and many other officers. The loss of the Zulus is estimated at above 2,000 men.

The surprise at Isandula was fortunately an isolated disaster. Though Rorke's Drift was fiercely attacked on the same day, it was heroically and successfully defended by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead; and on the 24th of January, Colonel Evelyn Wood inflicted a severe defeat on the Zulus who attacked Inkanyana. Reinforcements were promptly sent out from England, and in March the "Tamar" arrived at Maritzburg with 800 men; and soon afterwards Cetywayo's brother, Ohum, joined the English with 600 men. Near the Itombo River, the Zulus cut to pieces a British convoy, capturing waggons and stores; but on the 29th of March, Colonel Evelyn Wood gained a victory at Kambula. It now became possible to relieve Colonel Pearson from his dangerous position at Echowe, which operation

was effected on the 3rd of April. In May, Sir Garnet Wolseley, having been appointed commander-in-chief and governor of Natal, set sail for the Cape, where he arrived on the 23rd of June, 1879.

A lamentable casualty happened a few days before his landing. Prince Louis Napoleon III., and the Empress Eugenie, had requested permission to accompany the expedition, and had joined as a volunteer some time before. On the 1st of June he rode out with a reconnoitring party under Captain J. Brenton Carey, at Imbabani, near the Mozani River. The party was surprised by some Zulus who burst from an ambush, and the young prince was speared to death by the enemy. The rest of the party escaped. The death of the young heir of the Napoleons created a painful impression in England, where he had been living.—His death put an end to the prospects of the Napoleonic dynasty in France, as there was no other candidate who could be put forward with any chance of gaining popular favour. On the 7th of July, 1879, the hopes of Cetywayo were destroyed by the crushing defeat inflicted on his army of 23,000 Zulus by Lord Chelmsford. The British formed a hollow square, which the Zulus, in spite of their vigorous charges, were unable to break. The savages displayed great bravery, and repeated their attacks until more than 1,500 of their number had fallen. The English burnt the great military kraal at Ulundi. The chiefs presently came in, and offered their submission to Sir Garnet Wolseley. Cetywayo continued to conceal himself for a time, but was captured by Major Richard Marter on the 28th of August, and sent as a prisoner to Cape Town. Sir Garnet Wolseley came to an arrangement with the chiefs, by which it was agreed that the system of celibate warriors should be abolished, and the country divided into thirteen districts under separate chiefs, of whom John Dunn, a European who had lived twenty years in Zululand and was thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the natives, should be one; the ancient laws and liberties were to be retained, British residents were to be appointed in the various districts, and no arms were to be imported. Early in September, Sir

Garnet Wolseley was able officially to announce the conclusion of the war, the cost of which to England had been close upon £5,000,000.

Cetywayo was not content to give up his power without an effort. In the middle of 1881 he sent in a petition to the Queen for reinstatement, but his prayer was refused. In 1882 he himself came to London, and succeeded better. He was received by the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Gladstone, and the government was induced to consent that he should be restored to a part of his former dominions under certain restrictions. Thereupon he returned to Africa, and his restoration was proclaimed at Ulundi in January, 1883. But he became almost immediately involved in war with his brother Oham and other chiefs, especially by the powerful Usibepu. He was attacked and defeated at Ulundi; was for a time a fugitive, and delivered himself up into the hands of the English, by whom he was conveyed to Durban in October, 1883. In January, 1884, he escaped, but was speedily recaptured, and died of heart disease on the 8th of February, 1884. The struggle with the transvaal republic occupied the attention of the home government simultaneously with the war against the Zulus. When the Transvaal was declared a Crown colony, many of the inhabitants objected to the arrangement; and at the beginning of 1880, the Boers claimed independence. At the end of 1880, the South African republic was proclaimed by three men, Pretorius, Kruger, and Joubert, and troops were sent out from England to put down the rising—Sir George Colley, the governor of Natal, taking the command. On the 28th of January, 1881, General Colley was repulsed with heavy loss at the pass of Laing's Neck; and on the 8th of February the British again suffered defeat after a twelve hours' fight on the Ingogo River. Sir Evelyn Wood presently arrived with reinforcements, and the neutral Orange State offered mediation. A still greater loss was suffered by the British at Majuba Hill, to which place about 600 men marched under General Colley, intending to surprise the Boers in their encampment at Laing's Neck. The Boers attacked the

British in great numbers, and by their deadly fire were at length able to put their foes to flight. Nearly 100 of the force were killed, and 122 were taken prisoners. Among the slain was Sir George Colley himself, who fell fighting bravely. The Boers lost upwards of 150 men. Sir Arthur Roberts was now sent to the Transvaal, and negotiations were soon afterwards opened for peace, which was concluded and confirmed by commissioners, by whom the Transvaal State was declared free, subject to the suzerainty of the Queen of England. Two out of the Boer triumvirate, Pretorius and Joubert, signed the treaty with the royal commissioners.

Dost Mohammed, the old khan, had died in 1863, leaving his throne to his son Shere Ali, to whom the viceroys of India had on various occasions behaved with great friendliness and consideration. Sir John Lawrence had assisted him with arms and money, when his throne was attacked by rivals, and Lord Mayo had received him with distinguished honour at Umballah, and had, by his good offices, effected a reconciliation for a time between Shere Ali and his rebellious son, Yakoob Khan. He had been at various periods propitiated with subsidies for the maintenance of his army; but when, in 1877, in view of the increasing influence of Russia and the efforts made by that power to establish a position on the frontier of India, it was considered advisable to have a British resident at the court of Cabul, Shere Ali refused to allow this, and the subsidy was consequently withheld. Soon afterwards a Russian envoy named Stolietoff was received at Cabul with every mark of honour, and a treaty was signed making Russia guardian of the Ameer. Thereupon it was determined by the English government to send a large embassy, supported by a military force, to Cabul, to counteract the Russian influence there. It started in September, 1878, from Peshawur, under Sir Manville Chamberlain, the commander of the Madras army. At Ali Musjid a fort in the Khyber Pass, the British advance guard was threatened with attack, and compelled to fall back on Peshawur. In consequence of this defiance, a British army was collected at Peshawur, Quetta, and

Kuram; and on the continued contumacy of the Afghan ruler, who left Lord Cranbrook's despatches unanswered, the army advanced, and occupied Ali Musjid after a sharp fight in which several British officers were killed. On the 2nd of December, 1878, General Roberts, at the head of the 72nd Highlanders and a force of Ghoorkas, defeated the Afghans with great loss to the enemy. Jellalabad was presently occupied, and Shere Ali fled to Balkh. Yakoob Khan assumed the command, and the Russian mission was withdrawn. Soon afterwards Shere Ali died, and Yakoob Khan, as his successor, on the 8th of June signed the Treaty of Gandamak, by which it was stipulated that the British should occupy the Khyber Pass and the Kuram and Pisheen Valleys, and have a resident at Cabul, paying a subsidy of £60,000 to the Ameer. But presently an event occurred that bore a sorrowful resemblance to the disasters of 1841, and the death of Sir Alexander Burnes, and his companion, Sir William Macnaughten. On the 3rd and 4th of September, Sir Louis Cavagnari, who, with his escort, had been honourably received at Cabul in July, was cruelly murdered by some mutinous Afghan troops who had besieged the British residents. With Cavagnari perished his secretary and several British officers, with between seventy and eighty men, Indian cavalry and infantry. To revenge this outrage, General Roberts marched to Cabul, proclaimed martial law, imposed a heavy fine, and caused eighty-seven Afghan mutineers to be executed, besides five mollahs who had been foremost in instigating the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his companions; and the British occupation of Cabul was proclaimed. But it was found extremely difficult to extend the British authority beyond the ground actually occupied by the British forces. Heavy fighting continued throughout the whole of 1879, frequently with serious loss to the English. In January, 1880, the hill tribes generally had been subdued, and General Roberts was able to proclaim an amnesty from which a few exceptions were made. Soon after, Shere Ali, a cousin of the late Ameer, was made governor of Candahar by the British,

and Sir Donald Stewart, after defeating several furious attacks of rebel Ghazis and others, took the chief command at Cabul in May, 1880. It was necessary to despatch a reinforcing army of 2,400 men under General Burrows from Bombay towards Candahar. The Wali of Candahar proved an utterly inefficient ruler. His troops revolted and joined the rebel Yakoob Khan. On the 17th of July, 1880, General Burrows attacked the army of Yakoob Khan, numbering more than 20,000 men at Marwand, about fifty miles from Candahar, and after a gallant contest of four hours, in which he lost 700 men and many officers of the 66th Regiment, was compelled to retreat.

In July, 1880, in consequence of Yakoob Khan having proved impracticable, one of the very numerous other grandsons of Dost Mohammed, named Abdur Rahman, was recognised as Ameer, and assisted in asserting his authority at Cabul. Yakoob Khan, who was in authority, such as it was, at Herat, resisted this appointment. With a force of 12,000 men, and 20 guns, he marched upon Candahar, where General Burrows was in command, and a series of very severe engagements immediately followed, in which General Burrows was worsted and compelled to retire into the citadel, which he defended with 4,000 men. An ineffectual sortie thence was made on the 16th of August, extremely heavy loss on both sides being the only result. General Roberts marched from Cabul on the 9th of August, to the relief of Candahar. Almost simultaneously Yakoob Khan was reinforced by Ghazis until his army numbered 20,000. On the 31st of August, General Roberts, with about 10,000 men, arrived before Candahar. Yakoob Khan endeavoured to make terms, but they were rejected. On the 1st of September General Roberts defeated him.

Abdur Rahman succeeded tolerably well at Cabul, and on the 11th of August he was left in sole authority there, Sir D. Stewart with all the troops, after a satisfactory interview with the Ameer, finally withdrawing from the city. In November it was duly announced that tranquillity had been restored at Cabul, and soon after the inefficient Shere Ali resigned his position of Wali of Candahar and retired to India.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TROUBLES WITH THE KHEDIVE OF EGYPT; MR. GOSCHEN'S MISSION; THE MAHDI; ARABI PASHA; BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA; HICKS PASHA'S DISASTER; GENERAL GORDON IN THE SOUDAN; BAKER PASHA; BATTLE OF EL TEB; OSMAN DIGNA; GENERAL GRAHAM'S ADVANCE; GORDON AT KHARTOUM; HIS FATE; THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENT; CONCLUSION.

FOR some time the condition of Egypt had been full of danger and difficulty. Ismail, the Khedive, who was an independent sovereign, had long been involved in debt, and the finances of his country had taxed the ingenuity, not only of his own officers and ministers, but of various European statesmen and financiers whom he had called in at various times to his aid. Already, in 1876, a report had been published in the London "Times" setting forth the evil condition of the Egyptian finances and its causes; namely, undertakings begun with inadequate means, extravagance, and careless expenditure in the various state departments, and speculation by dishonest persons. Mr. Goschen and Mr. Joubert had gone out to Cairo, to devise a means (afterwards known as Goschen's decree) whereby the Khedive's liabilities might gradually be reduced, for his debts amounted to nearly £91,000,000. The exertions of the English and French commissioners, seconded by the exertions of the finance minister, Nubar Pasha, had placed matters on a better footing when Mr. Goschen returned to England in 1877; and the Khedive was relieved of another great anxiety through the successful labours of one of the most remarkable and exemplary of English heroes, Colonel, afterwards General Gordon, eminent alike as soldier, negotiator, and philanthropist, who more than once restored peace for the Khedive in Abyssinia and the Soudan territory, retrieving the disasters that had fallen upon the Egyptian troops. But the Khedive was continually halting between two opinions. Nubar Pasha was repeatedly dismissed, and then restored to power. Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières, who were appointed as finance minister and minister of works in 1878, after in vain remonstrating with Ahmed, were dismissed by him, as was also his son, Tewfik Pasha, the president of the council. England had purchased the Khedive's shares in

the Suez Canal, and was in other respects so deeply interested in Egyptian affairs as to be compelled to intervene; and in a joint note at the beginning of May, 1879, England and France demanded the appointment of European ministers; the only part of his government that had been successful having been the operations of Gordon and his lieutenant against the rebel slave-dealers in the Soudan, which operations were followed by equally successful negotiations for peace by Gordon in Abyssinia. After vainly appealing to the Sultan, who declined to interfere on his behalf, the Khedive was obliged, in June, 1879, to submit to a sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Porte. He departed for Naples, and his son Tewfik was proclaimed Khedive in his stead. In the beginning of 1880, Colonel Gordon resigned the governorship of the Soudan, and by June in that year the peace with Abyssinia had been officially announced, and before the end of the year there seemed every prospect of a time of prosperity for Egypt.

But soon these fair prospects were overclouded. In the Soudan a formidable insurrection arose in July, 1881, headed by Sheik Mahomed Ahmed, of Dongola, who announced himself as an inspired prophet, or Mahdi, destined to revive the glories of the times of Mahomet, and to lead his followers to victory and dominion. He was, however, defeated in the winter of 1881, and was compelled for the time to retire up the Blue Nile, whence he was soon to reappear with increased forces.

At the same time other troubles arose. Some 4,000 soldiers under Ahmed Arabi Bey surrounded the Khedive's palace, tumultuously demanding increased pay. The riot was appeased, and peace restored for a time, and soon afterwards Arabi was appointed under-secretary for war. From that time his influence continued to increase, and was considered

as so inimical to European interests, that in May, 1882, English and French squadrons appeared before Alexandria, and the English and French consuls demanded, as an ultimatum, the dismissal of Arabi Pasha, who indeed retired for the moment, but only to be reinstated a few days afterwards. The state of confusion soon amounted to anarchy. There were riots at Alexandria and attacks by Arabs on the Europeans, which were put down with much bloodshed by the Egyptian troops. Panic prevailed in Cairo, and great numbers of Europeans left the country. Arabi was still in the ascendant, and fortifications threatening the British fleet were thrown up at Alexandria. Though Admiral Sir Michael Seymour declared he would bombard the place if these works were not stopped his protest was disregarded; and on the 11th of July, 1882, he carried his menace into effect, the English squadron bombarding the forts for ten hours with complete success. A force of 1,000 British marines was brought from Malta to Alexandria, as Arabi Pasha assumed an attitude of defiance. That desperate man was obliged to retire into the interior, but not until he had released the convicts in Alexandria, who proceeded, in conjunction with a great mob of Arabs, to plunder the city, setting fire to it in various places, and massacring many of the inhabitants, including a number of Christians. A part of Arabi's army afterwards went over to the Khedive; and 800 marines, who were landed from the fleet, undertook the restoration of order, and the reinstalling of the Khedive, who, under British protection, degraded Arabi from his rank. A force of 5,000 troops presently landed. The Khedive declared Arabi a rebel; who thereupon, being at the head, it was said, of 30,000 men, proclaimed a "Jehad," or holy war. Troops were sent out from England, and already, before the arrival of the reinforcements, the British gained a success, under Sir A. Alison, at the Mahmoudieh Canal. In August, Sir Evelyn Wood arrived, and among the officers who accompanied him was the Duke of Connaught. Sir Garnet Wolseley presently assumed the command at Alexandria, the task of restoring order being definitely handed over by the

Khedive to the British army, which presently numbered 31,000 men in Egypt. General Macpherson also arrived at Suez with some troops from India in August.

The campaign was short, sharp, and decisive. Among the British troops was a force of the Household Cavalry, now engaged for the first time in foreign service since 1815. Sir Garnet Wolseley pressed on from Ismailia to Nefidie, where an engagement, chiefly a cavalry combat, occurred with the enemy, who were routed. On the 28th of August, General Graham was attacked at Kassassin by a force of 13,000 Egyptians, whom he put to flight. A second attack at Kassassin was similarly repelled; and the campaign was decided by the battle of Tel-el-Kebir on the 13th of September, 1882. Sir Garnet Wolseley, having broken up his camp at Ismailia soon after midnight of the 12th, marched during the night upon the entrenched camp of Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir. The rebel leader had about 26,000 men of all arms, and seventy guns. Wolseley's force consisted of about 13,000 men with forty guns. At daybreak the British troops attacked the entrenched camp, completely surprising the Egyptians, who, after a short combat, were driven out of the trenches in headlong flight by their foes, and pursued for some distance with great slaughter by the cavalry. Their loss in the action is estimated at about 1,600 men, while that of the British was about 50 killed and 380 wounded. The fugitives left all their guns and ammunition in the conqueror's hands. Soon afterwards Arabi surrendered unconditionally. He was tried for high treason, and sentenced to death, but the sentence was afterwards commuted to banishment. He was sent, with several of his followers, to Ceylon. The authority of the Khedive was thus completely restored. The British entered Cairo in triumph, and the Khedive was soon afterwards able to dissolve the Egyptian army, the forces of Arabi having been completely broken up. The British army and navy deservedly received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and Sir Garnet Wolseley and Admiral Seymour were raised to the peerage, with the titles of Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester. Grants of money of £30,000 and £25,000

respectively were also made to them. Presently the British force in Egypt was reduced to about 7,000 men; soon peace was proclaimed, and the government of Egypt was reorganized. A general amnesty was granted; the new council of state was opened by Cherif Pasha, and order seemed to be assured. But disastrous news arrived from the Soudan, and the departure of the remaining British forces from Egypt was necessarily delayed.

During the winter of 1881 and the earlier part of 1882, Mahomed Ahmed, the Mahdi, had been able to reinforce his army. In June, 1882, he surrounded and cut to pieces an Egyptian force of 6,000 men under Yussuf Pasha. He fought with varying success during 1882, at one time defeating the Egyptian army, at another being himself driven back. His forces, though mixed and irregular, possessed the most determined valour, heightened by oriental fanaticism. They thoroughly believed in their leader, and fought with a truly heroic contempt of death. In 1883, Colonel Hicks Pasha, a brave officer who had seen much service in India, took command of a large force of Egyptians, and marched against the Mahdi, whom he defeated signally at the battle of Marabia, of which the following particulars were given at the time by a newspaper correspondent who was an eye-witness of the action:

"The great difficulty of Hicks' movements is the total absence of cavalry. All reconnoitring has to be done by the officers of his staff. The danger of this insufficient means of scouting was shown now. Colonel Farquhar, accompanied by Captain Massey and four Bashi-Bazouks, had not been far, when they raced in and reported the enemy's advance. So rapid was it, that in fifteen minutes they were on us like a cloud."

It was then nine o'clock, and General Hicks' force had marched a few miles into the vicinity of a wood, which extended some three-quarters of a mile to the front and right. From this cover the spear-armed Arab warriors came in hundreds. Their leaders carried banners before them, and the utmost bravery characterised the advance. Hicks Pasha, seeing the enemy so determined, formed a square, the Nordenfeldt gun being in the left corner. The correspondent

whom we have already quoted, proceeds to describe the battle. He says:

"A tremendous fusillade was opened from our front face, apparently without effect, for they still came on gallantly, but at 500 yards they began to fall fast. Still the chiefs led on their men with all the recklessness of the old Saracen knights. One by one they fell dismounted, two or three to rise again and dash forward on foot. . . . Their devotedness was in vain. One after another they bit the ground. After half-an-hour the advancing hordes waver, move off to the right among the long grass, and our front is cleared. When the smoke had rolled away, it was seen that the ground was strewn with corpses, most of them within four hundred yards."

The Egyptian troops fought steadily; and the bravery of the fanatical followers of the Mahdi need not be insisted on. We shall find them all through these campaigns, whether opposing Egyptians, Englishmen, or our brave brethren from Australia, fighting like demons, and seemingly unable to know when they ought to be beaten.

The occurrence of the rainy season at this time suspended operations in this district, and Hicks Pasha with his victorious army retired until the autumn. A camp was formed at Um-Durmah opposite Khartoum. Here the army for the subjugation of the Mahdi was assembled. When ready it proceeded to El Duem, and there was joined with other detachments. From Duem the march was directed to El Obeid, an expedition undertaken with all the bravery of an Englishman, and that too amid the most doleful prophecies.

The Egyptians whom we had thrashed under Arabi were not very likely to show fight under Hicks. Colonel Seckendorf declared that he had often seen Egyptians fight, but would be "at a loss to find one hero amongst them."

Nevertheless the spirit of the Egyptians seems to have satisfied their officers. It was decided to cross the desert, trusting to what pools the rainy season had left, for the water supply. So on September the 9th

"Into the Valley of Death"

marched the army. The last sigh of

almost hopeless farewell bravely breathed by the war correspondent as he strode to his fate being as follows :

"We are running a terrible risk in abandoning our communications, and marching two hundred and thirty miles into an unknown country. But we have burnt our ships. The enemy is still retiring and sweeping the country bare of cattle. The water supply is the cause of intense anxiety. The camels are dropping."

So into the desert passed the column. The last soldier disappeared into the trackless waste. The sand uprises and conceals the little army which was never seen again !

For a few moments we are able to follow the devoted band which, obliged to relinquish all communications with the base of operations, marched to its destruction.

After quitting the valley of the Nile the army was formed in square, and with baggage, etc., in the centre, proceeded, slowly, in such formation, towards El Obeid. As the force continued its way it had to encounter many terrible privations. The water supply carried was small, and the wells were often found choked ; the pools filled with dead bodies.

Notwithstanding all these warnings the gallant Hicks pushed on to the Mahdi's camp, and having accepted the guidance of an Arab—who, under the circumstances, should have been distrusted—the army found itself in a defile with wood and rocks, which might serve admirably for an ambushade, in front and around.

For three days the unequal struggle continued. Without water, and under a burning sun, surrounded by fanatical enemies, unable to advance or retreat, the gallant Hicks still refused to capitulate. So long as his ammunition lasted the enemy never came to close quarters. But on the fourth day the last cartridges were served out, and then Hope spread her wings and fled !

In her place came Death. Death in its most terrible form hovered, vulture-like, over the grim, rocky, waterless waste in which the Government forces were struggling. There was no need to give any more orders when the words, "Fix bayonets," had been pronounced.

No ! The men and officers, the correspondent, the artist, knew that the last hour had come. Fix bayonets ! aye, and say, Farewell to companions, home, and life !

Many a man must have flung a mental glance backward over the desert, and the Europeans' hearts went out to England in that hour, to hearths and friends who would lament them and remember them in club-room, in their pleasant, social dinners, at literary gatherings ! But the pen of O'Donovan and the pencil of Vizetelly were laid aside for the revolver and the sword !

Forward ! Charge ! The bayonets were brought to the charge. Hicks placed himself at the head of the column which advanced steadily—and then, overlapped by furious enemies, melted away like the morning mist amid the fanatical hordes of howling enemies.

The news reached England late in the year. At Cairo, it is needless to remark, the sensation was "profound." The success of the Mahdi was like the torch thrown on a parched prairie ; the flame of insurrection spread in all directions. The Mahdi was welcomed as the Deliverer, and thousands, who had doubted, now came under his banner. Was he not the anointed of Allah ?

At Khartoum the officer in command, Colonel Cœtlogon, made all necessary preparations for resistance. But the British Government "advised" the Khedive to let the Soudan alone ; Lord Granville "recommended" its abandonment, and subsequently through Sir Evelyn Baring, insisted upon the Khedive Ministry adopting the British Ministers' views. The Khedive acquiesced ; the Egyptian Ministry resigned ; Nubar Pasha became Prime Minister ; and the relief of the outlying garrisons was suggested then.

Not a moment too soon. Mr. Gladstone had declared that measures should be taken for their relief. The tribes of the Soudan were all in revolt ; nevertheless the attempt was made. Sinkat and Tokar were surrounded before any force was sent to their aid. Communication between Berber and Suakim was interrupted, and finally cut off. Suakim was itself in danger, but kept safe by British gunboats.

The Soudan was up in arms. Attempts were made to relieve Tokar first, Sinkat afterwards. Osman Digna prevented the former expedition, for he surrounded it, and slew the whole of the troops. The English Consul was amongst the slain. The rebels then turned and killed nearly the whole of the force which, a month later, had been despatched to relieve the Sinkat garrison.

These disasters induced the Khedive to turn to Baker Pasha and his force of gendarmerie for the relief of the invested towns. He collected a force and reviewed them at Suakim. The British Government "permitted" the advance, and even sanctioned British ships to back it up. A cry came from Colonel Coëtlogon in Khartoum, requesting permission to retire his garrison. This step was approved and directed to be accomplished. But how was it to be carried out? There were many thousands of persons in Khartoum, and their retreat could only be accomplished by the Nile. The step was necessary for safety, but impracticable! Who could assist the beleaguered city? Was there any one who could go to the rescue and carry out the Government policy of "Retirement?" Yes.

It was to General Gordon that the government turned as the man for the emergency. That distinguished officer was in Belgium in the beginning of 1884, making arrangements with the king for taking the command of an international expedition to the Congo River, when he was suddenly summoned home, to undertake the task of pacification in the Soudan, the English government having wisely and prudently determined not to involve the country in a strife with innumerable hordes of Africans, for the possession of a territory too large to be held. The object of Gordon's mission, in which he was accompanied by Colonel Stewart, a brave and able officer, was to treat with the chiefs or sultans of the Soudan, for which purpose he was invested with full authority by the Khedive, as governor-general of the Soudan territory. His advice, embodied in a memorandum to the English government, was that the rule in the Soudan should be handed over to the different

petty sultans "who existed at the time of Mehemet Ali's conquest, and whose families still exist"—that in this restoration of the country to its former rulers, the Mahdi should be left entirely out of the calculation, for the sultans would, for their own sake, defend their possessions against him. "The most difficult question," he wrote, "is how and to whom to hand over the arsenals at Khartoum, Dongola, and Kassala." In January, 1884, Gordon and Stewart left London, and made their way without loss of time to the Soudan frontier.

Gordon and his companion reached Berber on the 11th of February, and immediately set to work in high spirits. He had already issued a proclamation permitting the holding of domestic slaves, which gave unbounded satisfaction in the Soudan, if not to his critics in England. The Soudanese were pleased, but they declared that Gordon should have come a year earlier. He was too late, they said. But Gordon himself did not share this opinion.

He entered Khartoum on the 18th of February, and was received with acclamation. He had assumed the title of Governor-General of the Soudan, an assumption of supreme authority which irritated the Mahdi. He invested Khartoum on the 12th of March, while his able lieutenant, Osman Digna, was occupying the attention of General Graham at Tamai, and in the neighbourhood of Suakim.

While Gordon was on his way out, as just related, Baker Pasha was endeavouring to lick his men into shape, and advance with them to the relief of the beleaguered garrisons. It was near the end of January when all his preparations were completed, and with his small force of less than four thousand troops, few of whom could be relied on, he started.

The first advance was made by sea to a place called Trinkitat, some twenty miles distant from Tokar, the first object of the expedition, and about twenty-five miles from Suakim. At Trinkitat Baker paraded his troops, and on the 11th of February the force commenced to march. The advance was not made in square; the guns were in front, the cavalry skirmishing all round, when suddenly the rebels, who had been lying in ambush

in the scrub, made a determined attack upon the marching column, which seems to have been quite unaware of the close proximity of the enemy.

Baker Pasha, with commendable promptitude, formed his infantry into square and endeavoured to resist the swarm of rebels who came rushing, spear in hand, upon the Egyptians. But time would not admit of the desired formation. The agile enemy bore down upon the half-made square, and particularly on one disorganised flank. A hurried, aimless volley only increased the exasperation of the Arabs, and alarmed the men who fired it. They never rallied. The square was broken up. Huddled in close contiguity, the Egyptian braves made no attempt to fire, and when the Arabs charged, the frightened fellows flung away their rifles, and rushed off in all directions.

The scene of carnage which then ensued may be imagined. No description could do it full justice, and none will ever do it more justice than those which the correspondents of the *Standard* and the *Daily News* gave their readers. In less than ten minutes the entire Egyptian army was skedaddling over the plain. The fanatical rebels revelled in the blood of unresisting men. Stabbing and throat-cutting, the Arabs rushed headlong through the rabble to where the few English remained to sell their lives dearly. But any resistance was out of the question. Let us condense the report of the eye-witnesses at this point. "The Arabs rode right into the midst of the staff. The stampede of the cavalry alarmed the troops on the side of the square which was not exposed to attack, and they opened a heavy fire *into the air!* Meanwhile the enemy advanced rapidly on the other side. Without awaiting the onslaught, the Egyptians turned their backs and plunged into the interior of the square, closing in on the camels, horses, and baggage, until they became completely wedged in and incapable of moving."

The results of the massacre at El Teb, in Egypt, were disastrous. Very few escaped from the battle, but that was not the worst. Tewfik Pasha, hoping to meet Baker, sallied from Sinkat, where he had been making a brave resistance,

and was surrounded. His force was destroyed. This defeat was quickly followed by the surrender of Tokar, and Osman Digna was triumphant. He even contemplated an attack on Suakim; but the British Ministry, forgetting their non-interference policy, and their late insistence on letting the Arabs alone, summoned vigour enough to assemble a force there under General Graham, and make an attack on the Arab position at El Teb, where Baker had been defeated.

General Graham, bearing in mind the disaster which had overtaken the Egyptians, advanced in square, as Hicks had done. From the camp at Trinkitat, now called Fort Baker, he proceeded in command of 3,000 infantry, 750 horsemen, and about 300 engineers, artillery, and sailors. There was no question now that England would, *pace* the declarations in Parliament, have a finger in the administration of Egypt and the Soudan. This was the condition of things at Suakim when the Arabs became aware of the humane intentions of General Graham. They made their own arrangements for the destruction of the human race, as represented by British infidels. The Arabs had entrenched themselves in El Teb, and had utilised the guns which had been left by Baker's force's weakness. With a shortsightedness which is scarcely regrettable, the rebels had acted ostrich fashion in a way. They had protected their front, but the rear of their position they had left almost unguarded. This omission General Graham hastened to take advantage of.

The second fight at El Teb was on the 1st of March, 1884. The approach to the battlefield, as it proved to be, was encumbered with the remains of the fugitives of Baker Pasha's army, which had been routed a month before. Hundreds of the fleshless skeletons were passed; and not far from these ghastly remains the fight began.

It was about eleven o'clock; before that the enemy's bullets had become pretty frequent, but no reply was made. The large square, "solid as a wall," moved in silence, escorted by the cavalry. At about a mile from El Teb the enemy opened with Krupp guns, which had been captured, and soon found the correct range. Then the British guns and mit-

railleuses replied, doing much execution.

The square advanced, changing front occasionally, and always exposed to a heavy fire. Colonel Burnaby was wounded here. The enemy fought with fiendish desperation. A terrible hand-to-hand encounter ensued; and by two o'clock the battle was over. Major Slade and Lieutenant Probyn were killed; Baker Pasha wounded.

The British lost 4 officers and 22 non-commissioned officers and men killed; 22 officers and 120 men were wounded; while the Arabs lost about 1,500 in all.

General Graham believed in striking while the iron was hot, so he continued his way to Tokar next day, and, finding no opposition, he returned to Suakim. The Arabs and their leader Osman were, however, by no means dismayed. In spite of addresses and proclamations requesting them to surrender, they continued obdurate, and declined to make any but warlike advances.

This condition of things could not last. The presence of an armed enemy within a few miles of Suakim was a standing menace which could not be tolerated. The news came that Osman Digna had entrenched himself with a considerable force at Tamai, some fifteen miles from Suakim, in a south-westerly direction. This defiance was accepted, and two divisions of infantry were despatched to bring the Arabs to reason.

The British infantry moved cautiously, and on the first day encamped a little distance from their base. The cavalry then arrived, when the whole force again advanced until the enemy was descried in his camp. Then the troops halted, entrenched themselves, and on the morning of March 13th began the attack.

The Arabs, according to their favourite tactics, had been pestering the British troops all the night with an intermittent rifle-fire; but now daylight had come not an Arab could be seen. They had concealed themselves in the brushwood.

The distribution of the British forces was as follows:—The infantry were formed into two brigades; one under General Redvers Buller, who commanded the Gordon Highlanders, the Irish Fusiliers, and the King's Rifles. The other division was under General Davis,

who had the Black Watch, the 65th Foot, the York and Lancaster, and the Marines. Such was the force that was intended to crush the rebels of the eastern Soudan.

The two squares, in échelon, of which General Davis's was foremost, advanced on March 13th. Owing to the impatience of the men who formed the front face of this square, it became separated from the sides. The Arabs, who were on the alert, rushed into the gap, which they at once perceived, and attacked the English "lads."

A terrible hand-to-hand encounter then ensued. There was no question of aiming at advancing savages. The Arabs were in the midst of the British; men, officers, and newspaper correspondents, had to fight for very life. Had not the troops stood manfully and firm, the whole of the Arab force would have broken in. But the British closed up, and by degrees fell back into a line with the other square, which was advancing in a fringe of fire.

The Arabs had, however, captured the Gatling guns in possession of the first square; but the gunners made a rush and recaptured them. The second square, which had not been broken, continued to fire such deadly volleys that the enemy scarcely approached it. General Davis soon reformed his men, and then the whole force, which had been admirably assisted by the cavalry (dismounted), advanced, and burned the village of Tamai.

Next day the camp of Osman Digna was destroyed, with all the stores. The Arabs were soundly defeated. Their losses were estimated at 3,000; but at one time it looked very much as if the battle would turn in their favour. This engagement gave rise to considerable animadversion; and some complaints of mismanagement were made. After the destruction of the camp General Graham's forces returned to Suakim.

This engagement was a more severe one than the former. The tenacity of the Arabs, who fought with even more than their accustomed dash and recklessness, was equalled, and finally surpassed, by the steadiness of the British second division (General Davis's square), which, when broken, and in hand-to-hand con-

flict with deadly enemies, managed not only to re-form, but to re-advance in formation to recover the guns, which remained in the grasp of the rebels but a little while.

"The best troops in the world," remarked a writer, "might envy the gallantry of the Arabs, who broke the Second Brigade and captured its guns; while the rally and recovery of that Brigade might (to speak modestly) not always have been accomplished, even by very good troops."

After the return to Suakim it was suggested that a force should be employed to open a route to Berber, so as to bring the beleaguered garrisons back. But the plan, if feasible, was not adopted. A third time General Graham advanced, but met with little resistance. He succeeded in burning the village at Tama-nieb, and then, as the hot season was approaching, the troops were ordered away from Suakim. A few hundred men, however, remained behind; for the Arabs, although defeated, were by no means subdued; and Osman Digna had sworn to drive the English into the sea. To provide against this contingency the gun-boats were retained, and for some time the night-attacks and skirmishes were quite sufficiently enlivening to prevent any feeling of *ennui* from overcoming the broiling garrison of Suakim.

Although the Mahdi was particularly active in February and March, General Gordon was not behindhand in his movements. Since his arrival at Khartoum, he had materially strengthened the defences of the town, and had reduced the number of the population by nearly three thousand, including six hundred soldiers, whom he despatched down the Nile. He wanted to send away all the people; but the Mahdi, bent upon killing or converting, advanced rapidly.

It may be wondered why the Madhi would not permit the occupants of Khartoum to escape, and leave him in undisturbed possession of the Soudan. The answer to such a question is, he wanted to convert them. The following passage will explain this:—"The reason why the Madhi would allow neither Gordon nor the Egyptians to depart in peace was that he must first attempt to convert them. He must either convert or exter-

minate—such is the Madhi's mission, which if he does not fulfil he cannot be regarded as the Madhi of the prophecies."

It was therefore a policy of kill or cure with the Soudanese leader. Treachery, too, was imported into the question, and this Gordon soon discovered. From the first engagement, when the general attempted to bring off the garrison at Halfiyeh, the Arabs opposed him; but he would have succeeded had not two pashas, who had been acting under the orders of Colonel Stewart, betrayed their trust. The Egyptians fired one volley and fled like sheep. A massacre ensued. This was on the 16th of March; Osman Digna had been defeated on the 13th at Tamai by Graham.

In this Halfiyeh affair, Colonel Stewart was wounded. The inhabitants began to desert the town; the Bashi-Bazouks became mutinous and had to be disarmed. On this the two pashas, who had been found guilty of treachery, were shot. Gordon succeeded in relieving the Halfiyeh garrison on the 21st, but on the 24th March the whole country south of Berber rose in revolt, and Khartoum was invested. From that time until April, General Gordon continued a system of desultory warfare from his steamers, for he would not risk any direct engagement on shore.

There were still thirteen thousand people in the town of Khartoum, and it was then impossible to have them released, for like a wave, the flood of insurrection rose along the Nile and its banks. Metemmeh, Shendy, and Berber were thus overwhelmed; and Khartoum stood out like an island in the midst of the troubled waters of rebellion—a beacon, a hill, but an isolated spot, whose base was swept by the angry flood of fanaticism.

Then came the messages already referred to, which Gordon, with much difficulty, despatched to Sir E. Baring, who supported him at every opportunity. On the 19th of April, Gordon telegraphed that Khartoum was provisioned for five months, up to the middle of September, that is. Then came a blank, a silence, which endured for five long months. From time to time indeed rumour sent a message across the desert concerning Khartoum, which appeared like a ship

with a faithful captain and crew, tossed about on the waves, an object now appearing above the horizon of doubt, and again sinking into the depths of despair.

On the 20th of July it was announced that the brave general had written to the Mudir of Dongola under date of June 22nd. In this communication Gordon said he had eight thousand men under his banner at Khartoum, but he was anxious for reinforcements. The Mudir continued loyal, and on the 23rd defeated an army of five thousand rebels near Debbeh. This was, so far, encouraging; but the terrible blockade continued, and yet England had not advanced a soldier!

July wore out, and, though preparations were being made, the manner of approach to Khartoum was still undecided. General Stephenson advocated the desert march, for he was of opinion the Nile route would not be suitable. In the beginning of August a credit vote passed the House, and two days afterwards intelligence was received from Gordon that he, Colonel Stewart, and Mr. Power, were all alive and well. They reported that they had provisions for four months, and could hold their own.

On August 10th came more good news. Gordon had sallied forth, and had gained a victory over the Arab tribes, whose losses were estimated at eighteen hundred killed. This was encouraging, and, while preparations continued and British regiments, ships, and stores were forwarded to Egypt, the Nile route was decided upon, and its advocate, Lord Wolseley, appointed to carry out his own ideas.

On August 28th he was gazetted as leader of the Relief Expedition. On September 10th he arrived at Cairo, and almost immediately proceeded up the Nile.

It is impossible within the brief space to which our *resumé* must be confined to give every detail of this expedition, but we will endeavour to recount the events which simultaneously occurred on the Nile and Khartoum in the most comprehensive manner for the ordinary reader.

We must, therefore, remember that General Gordon was shut in Khartoum from April 1884 until February 1885, that very little news was received from him all that time, and that the Relief Expedition started in September when

the Nile was falling. The army should have taken its course upon the flood, which, no doubt, in this case, as in so many other mundane affairs, would have led it to good fortune.

No effort was spared by the authorities to ensure the success of the expedition, when once it had been decided upon. England rang with war preparations; Kroomen and Canadian boatmen were brought from Africa and the Dominion. Experienced rapid-runners, and many inexperienced ones, found their way to Egypt, and their wages from the British Treasury. Canoe-rafts, Nile boats, and every craft that was deemed serviceable, were employed. Soldiers and sailors, vied in rowing and sailing, hauling, and in all the varied duties of transport. No regard was had to clothing; the most nondescript individuals were formed up as soldiers in uniform, with scarce a kit between a dozen of them. But the arms and ammunition were always clean and dry. The same resolution to make the best of everything was present throughout. Royal Engineers, Postal Telegraph Employés, Commissariat, Line, Camel Corps, and other detachments worked alike well. Such was the enthusiasm that the regiments, European and Egyptian, sailors, marines, and volunteers, worked in the greatest harmony; and the first stage of the great Nile journey was commenced.

The first part of the journey may be said to have consisted of the distance by train and river to Dongola; and there is no doubt, had the necessary orders been given earlier, and the preparations made six weeks before the time the troops actually started, the labours of the expedition would have been considerably lightened. This, however, is by the way.

From Alexandria to Wady Halfa the railway was in excellent working order; and the first cataract of the Nile was rounded without any more difficulty than might be encountered, and with a little less delay than is met with in England by the ordinary traveller on the South-Eastern Railway to Greenwich. But at Wady Halfa the real difficulties of Nile transport became evident. The steamers advanced against the current; and the soldiers who were packed in the train

which ran—or rather, crawled—to Sarras had a nice time on the journey.

The Soudan military railway, thirty-three miles long, from Wady Halfa to Sarras, was in a pitiable condition. A daily breakdown was a common occurrence, for the recommendations made by the inspecting officer having been ignored, there were no engines really efficient, and the line was dreadfully bad. The Mudir of Dongola behaved most loyally. He procured boats, and sent them down to Sarras as quickly as he could. By his assistance alone the first detachments were enabled to reach Dongola, for the boats from England had not arrived. "Too late" must be the epitaph of the expedition.

From Sarras the Nile was entered upon, and the voyage to Dongola commenced—a struggle of 315 miles by river, past some dangerous cataracts, and always against a strong and falling stream.

It would be tedious, and not within the scope of our present purpose to continue the record of the advance to Dongola, where Lord Wolseley arrived in November. On the 5th of the month the advance upon Khartoum virtually commenced. When the troops reached Korti it was found desirable to make a dash across the desert. On December 12th the head-quarter staff had gone up to Ambukol, which will be found on the map close below Korti, where Sir Herbert Stewart arrived on December 15th, and Lord Wolseley on the following day.

A strong position was taken up at the Gakdul Wells; and the necessary arrangements were made for a desert march by Metemneh to Khartoum. But all these dispositions were not accomplished without reason, and the reason was the disastrous intelligence from Gordon which, though succeeded by a cheering telegram, gave Lord Wolseley extreme anxiety. So the daring march across the desert was undertaken—an expedition we shall presently follow. But first we must proceed to Khartoum, and bring the course of events there into harmony with the British advance.

The diary published by the *Times* will put us *an courant* with the events which occurred in Khartoum up to the 29th of July. We now know by this and other evidence that Gordon had no money, that he had to issue pieces of paper as currency,

and personal promissory notes; that his Egyptian soldiers were arrant cowards, and that, in fact, nothing but the bravery and firmness of the few Europeans, of whom Gordon himself was foremost, kept Khartoum from destruction. Ably seconded by Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power, one of the so often despised "correspondents,"—men dreaded only by the votaries of Red Tape and Mismanagement—Gordon held out, superintending everything.

The situation of Khartoum on the junction of the two Niles is peculiar. Gordon possessed steamers with which he ruled the streams, so that his position was only assailable from the south. Posted all night on the roof of the palace, the brave engineer remained until day dawned, and he could trust other eyes to keep watch. His despatches, few and far between, gave hope and breathed confidence. By means of the steamers he procured food and supplies, but the ever-contracting circle of rebels were hemming him in more and more closely. No wonder he complained of the tardiness of the expedition, while he bitterly reprimanded the Government for their desertion of him.

On the 7th of August a note came that all was well, and that there were provisions for four months in Khartoum. A few days after we heard that the general had gained a great victory and had slain 1,800 rebels. A month later we find that he had attacked Berber, had made many reconnaissances, and captured two islands. Again on September 17th there came a despatch dated August 25th, which said:—

"I am awaiting arrival of British troops in order to evacuate garrison. Send me Zebehr. I shall surrender Soudan to the Sultan as soon as 20,000 Turkish troops arrive. If rebels kill Egyptians, you will be answerable for their blood!"

Two days later came complaints of the delay of the expedition, and on the 17th of September he wrote that he had despatched Colonel Stewart, Mr. Power, and the French Consul with troops to attack Berber.

So the year 1884 comes to a close. Lord Wolseley had decided on the dash across the desert to Metemneh. On the

30th of December General Stewart left Korti; on the 1st January a message dated 14th Decèber was received:—

“Khartoum all right. C. G. GORDON.”

A glance at any map of the Nile district will show that the river from Ambukol makes a great bend in a north-westerly direction to Abou Hamed, passing Korti, Merawi, Hamdab, Borti, Kirbekan. From Abou Hamed it turns again southward, 124 miles to Berber, 103 miles more to Shendy, opposite which is Metemmeh, then Gubat, and 100 miles higher up is Khartoum, where the “White” and “Blue” Niles mingle their streams. The route for the flying column was the base of the rough triangle described by the river, the apex of which is at Abou Hamed. The whole route to Metemmeh from Korti is about 182 miles—to Gakdul 96, thence to Abu Klea Wells 64, and onward to Metemmeh 22 miles; 182 in all.

The column quitted Korti in the afternoon, Major Kitchener in front with the guides, who were guarded by mounted infantry, ready to shoot at any traitor. Scouts proceeded far in front of these. Sir Herbert Stewart had made his dispositions excellently. A broad front of one hundred yards was adopted, the length of the column being half a mile. The feelings which actuated the men, and the sensation of risk which was being incurred, found expression in General Buller's remark: “Omelettes cannot be made without the breaking of eggs; we cannot undertake a campaign without risks being run;” and from the annexed despatch:—

“As to the fate that is in store for us across the desert, it would, of course, be folly at present to speculate. Before this letter can have reached England, whether we are to have opposition or no opposition will have been decided; but it may be of interest to know how we, on the spot, look upon the venture. No one denies the risk we must incur—a risk which I have referred to on more than one occasion by letter and by telegram as a risk which would not have been necessary had the preparations for the expedition been begun a month sooner.”

Sir Herbert Stewart left Korti on the 8th of January. He bivouacked after marching seven miles. At 1.30 next

morning they started, and made nearly thirty miles, and on Saturday, the 10th, reached Hambok. On Sunday the column reached Halfa Wells. On Monday Gakdul was gained, and the march continued to Abu Klea, some 60 miles. On the 16th the Arabs were perceived a few miles from the wells in considerable force, being estimated at 10,000. General Sir Herbert Stewart had only 1,500 men, the other 500 having been left as guards at the various wells *en route*. This little army bivouacked on the night of the 16th, while the enemy kept up a harassing fire all night.

On the 17th General Stewart attempted to draw the enemy, but they would not be tempted out. The baggage was accordingly left in the care of the men of the Sussex regiment, and the remainder of the force advanced in square towards the Abu Klea wells. The force was composed of men of various corps—Life Guards, Dragoon Guards, Dragoons, Scots Greys, Lancers, Hussars, Foot Guards, Line regiments, and the Naval Brigade. The line of march lay over stony ridges down to a Wady; and as the troops advanced the enemy kept up a rifle fire. Some flags were seen on the left, and on them the artillery opened. Skirmishers were thrown out on both the flanks of the square, which moved to outflank the enemy on the right. But the skirmishers were soon seen running in, followed by thousands of Arabs, who had suddenly risen from the brushwood about 800 yards off. They advanced at racing pace, and as soon as the skirmishers had gained the square a terrific fire was opened on the Arabs from the left face of it, but they came on. As they neared the square they swerved, and suddenly rushed at the rear of the square, formed by the heavy cavalry men.

The sudden rush bore the British back, and a hand-to-hand combat ensued. The front and left flank continued to pepper the Arabs; and after a desperate resistance they fell back, the square still firing. Had the men been deployed and the guns brought into play the slaughter would have been terrific. But prudence prevailed. The Hussars pushed on to the wells, the square followed, and an escort brought up the baggage in safety.

In the afternoon of the 18th the little column, much reduced, advanced a thousand strong to Metemneh, where the enemy was reported to be in force, and entrenched there, about five miles from the Nile. Immediately the enemy was sighted a zereba was formed, and a kind of parapet made with camels, baggage, and saddles. But the fire of the Arabs was galling and severe. General Stewart was wounded as he sat on his charger. The correspondents of the newspapers were at lunch behind the camels, when Mr. Cameron of the *Standard* was killed. Mr. Herbert, who represented the *Morning Post*, was also slain in this fusillade, and two officers likewise. Mr. Burleigh, of the *Telegraph*, narrowly escaped. Twelve were killed and forty wounded before the zereba was completed.

In this conflict Colonel Burnaby was killed by a thrust of a spear. There were about 800 Arabs killed and an enormous number wounded. The British loss was considerable, particularly in the heavy cavalry corps.

Then the advance sounded. The square was formed, and after marching a couple of miles the attack was delivered. But the onset was not so impetuous as at Abu Klea. None of the Arabs came within sixty yards of the square, from which the fire was terrible.

Meantime the zereba was attacked by mounted Arabs. Lord Charles Beresford was in command of the troops, and sustained an unequal conflict for two hours. At length the Arabs were beaten off; and the loss of the "rebels" during the day was computed at 2,000.

The position at Gubat was made very strong. There was ammunition in plenty and no lack of food. More troops were pushed up as they arrived; and General Earle was making his way by water up the bend of the Nile. Public attention was chiefly concentrated on Stewart, but General Earle soon attracted notice at Kirbegan.

On January 22nd five steamers sent by Gordon reached Gubat carrying soldiers and guns. The Commander brought a letter from Gordon reporting all well, and Sir Charles Wilson was desired to go up with two steamers and relieve Khartoum. Accordingly he started on his errand.

He bombarded Shendy, *en route*, and ascended, leisurely as it seems, towards Khartoum. He occupied two whole days in steamers on the hundred miles of water he had to traverse, and, as is well known, arrived too late!

On the 24th of January, Sir Charles Wilson, accompanied by Major Gascoigne, Captain Trafford, and Lieut.-Colonel Stuart Wortley, with two detachments of the Sussex regiment, and some black troops, left Gubat in two of Gordon's steamers at Khartoum, little more than a hundred miles distant.

Before Lord Charles Beresford was able to rescue Sir Charles Wilson and his party he was for ten hours under a heavy fire from the enemy to the south of the Sixth Cataract. One shot pierced a large hole in the boiler, compelling Lord Charles Beresford to anchor in the centre of the river for repairs.

Sir Charles Wilson and party meanwhile landed from the island and marched along the bank of the river for some distance, when they were picked up by Lord Beresford, whose steamer arrived at Gubat, towing four boats with the troops from the wrecked steamers on February 5th.

Too late came the rescue! A traitor named Faraz Pacha, whom the Madhi very properly hung, admitted the Mahdi's troops at ten o'clock on the night of January 26th. Gordon was killed as he rushed to the Consulate. In a letter to Sir Charles Wilson Gordon expressed his fears of treachery. He could have escaped, but preferred to remain with his people. He declared he would never be taken alive. Some say he was stabbed, others that he was shot. But he died as a warrior and a Christian should die: that is certain.

The noise of preparation of a new expedition in England soon received an impetus which gladdened the hearts of all British-born subjects. The colonies telegraphed their willingness to come to the assistance of the "old country" in a hearty and disinterested way that won golden opinions from every Englishman; and heart went out to heart across the ocean. From Australasia came offers of men and money. New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, were eager to prove that, although

thousands of miles divided them from the old home, the same spirit of patriotism which burned in England was unquenched at the antipodes. From the Queen down to the lowest grade of society the same feeling of gratitude and kinship was aroused. "The sympathy and devotion of the colonies to the mother country has been received in Great Britain with deep emotion and gratification," says Lord Derby in his reply to the Governor of South Australia; and this is as true now, as when the despatch was penned. From India we had brave and devoted soldiers. From New South Wales we had equally brave, equally devoted, and more valuable volunteers for service side by side with the men of the old country. None who witnessed the meeting of soldiers at Suakim, is ever likely to forget the reception the contingent received as it landed from the transport, and came swinging along valiant and strong like its comrades of the old brigades.

The patriotic outburst in the colony soon took a practicable shape owing to the willingness of all, and the example and influence of the Hon. W. B. Dalley. Men, money and horses were forthcoming in plenty. The contingent was selected; artillery and infantry were both included. Colonel Richardson was appointed to the command, supported by an excellent staff; and seconded by regimental officers, he gave the order for departure.

It was on the 3rd March that the New South Wales men, the "Corn-stalks" as they call themselves, left the colony. On the 27th they reached Aden, and received news of the terrible disaster which had befallen General M'Neill in his ill-protected zereba, an incident which created a profound sensation.

The arrival of the New South Wales contingent at Suakim was a veritable

triumph. The heroes of the hour were the "Corn-stalks," as, headed by the drums and fifes of two British regiments, they marched along the road to the camp, the way lined with enthusiastic spectators. General Graham left the camp to meet the contingent, welcomed it to the Soudan, and expressed his pride and pleasure at its appearance.

The Australian contingent, as well as the British, were kept pretty well on the alert; and though only engaged in skirmishing and in small encounters amid the Hasheen hills, the colonists gave evidence of endurance and courage which would aid us when the time came for more important engagements.

Lord Wolseley had arrived at Suakim, and was on his way home. He had failed in his project, and any further attempts on Khartoum were voted useless. Besides, what should we do with the Soudan when we had it? It would be an open sore, or a continual fester in our side. We could do nothing with it—as well attempt to count its sands as to keep it quiet. So the order came to evacuate the Soudan. The troops were gradually brought down; Lord Wolseley left Egypt on the 6th of June. The Mahdi died on the 26th from small-pox. The actual close of the expedition may be said to have occurred on the 24th of July, when the flotilla came down the Nile. Kassala still held out resisting bravely. But on August 24th an agreement was made with the tribes, and the garrison surrendered. A vote of thanks was given by both Houses of Parliament to the army. The leaders were rewarded substantially, and the nation felt that the operations in Egypt, with the toil and hardships they involved, so manfully and bravely borne, had added no unimportant page to the glorious chronicles of England's Battles.

THE END.

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