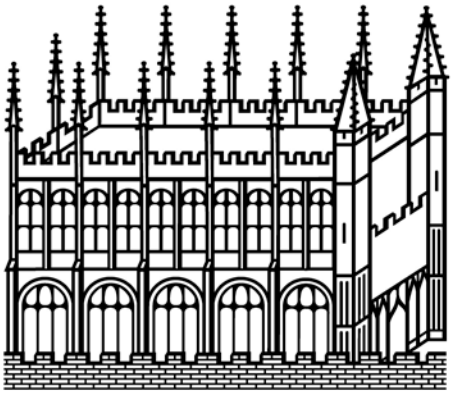

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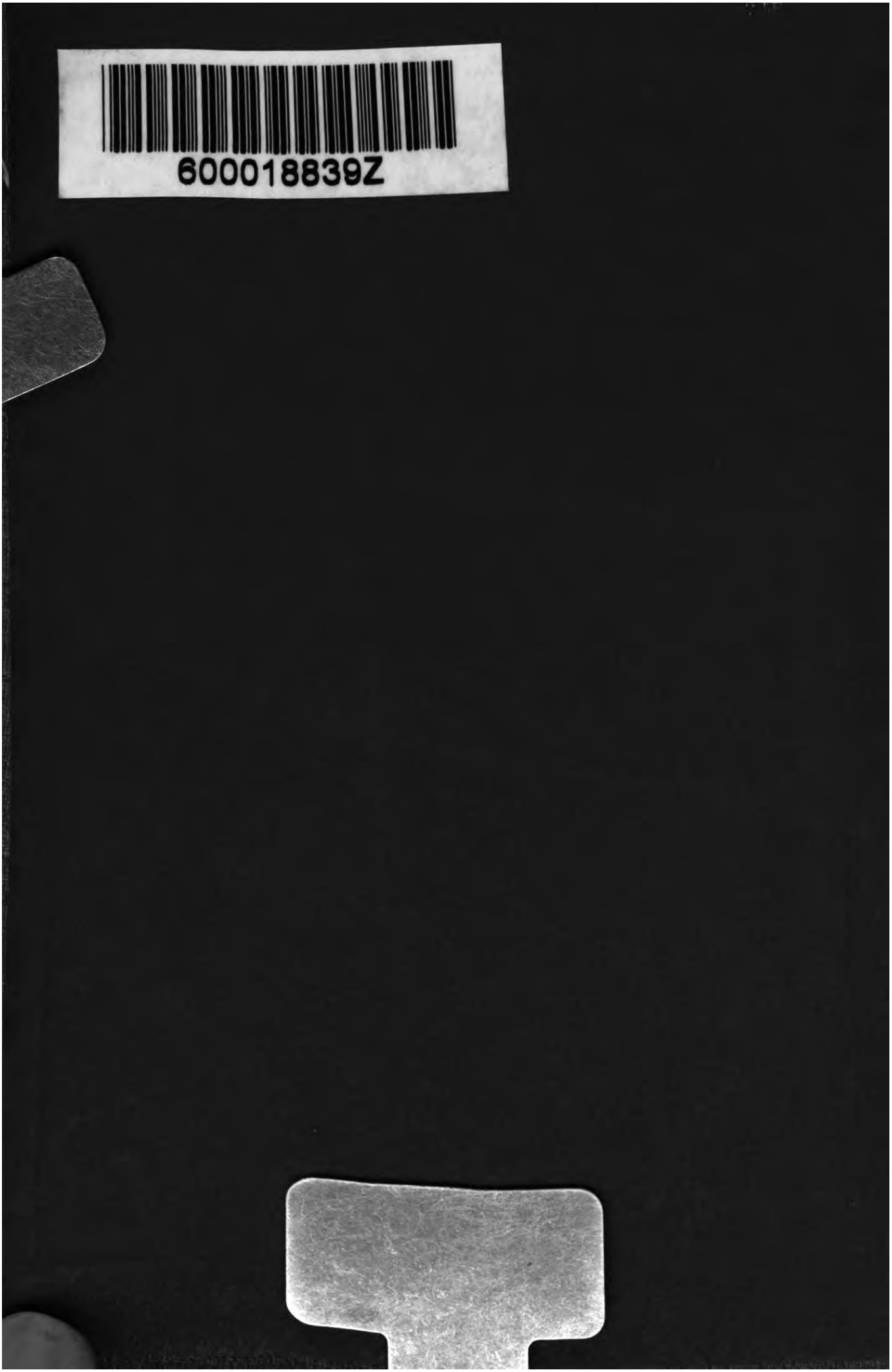
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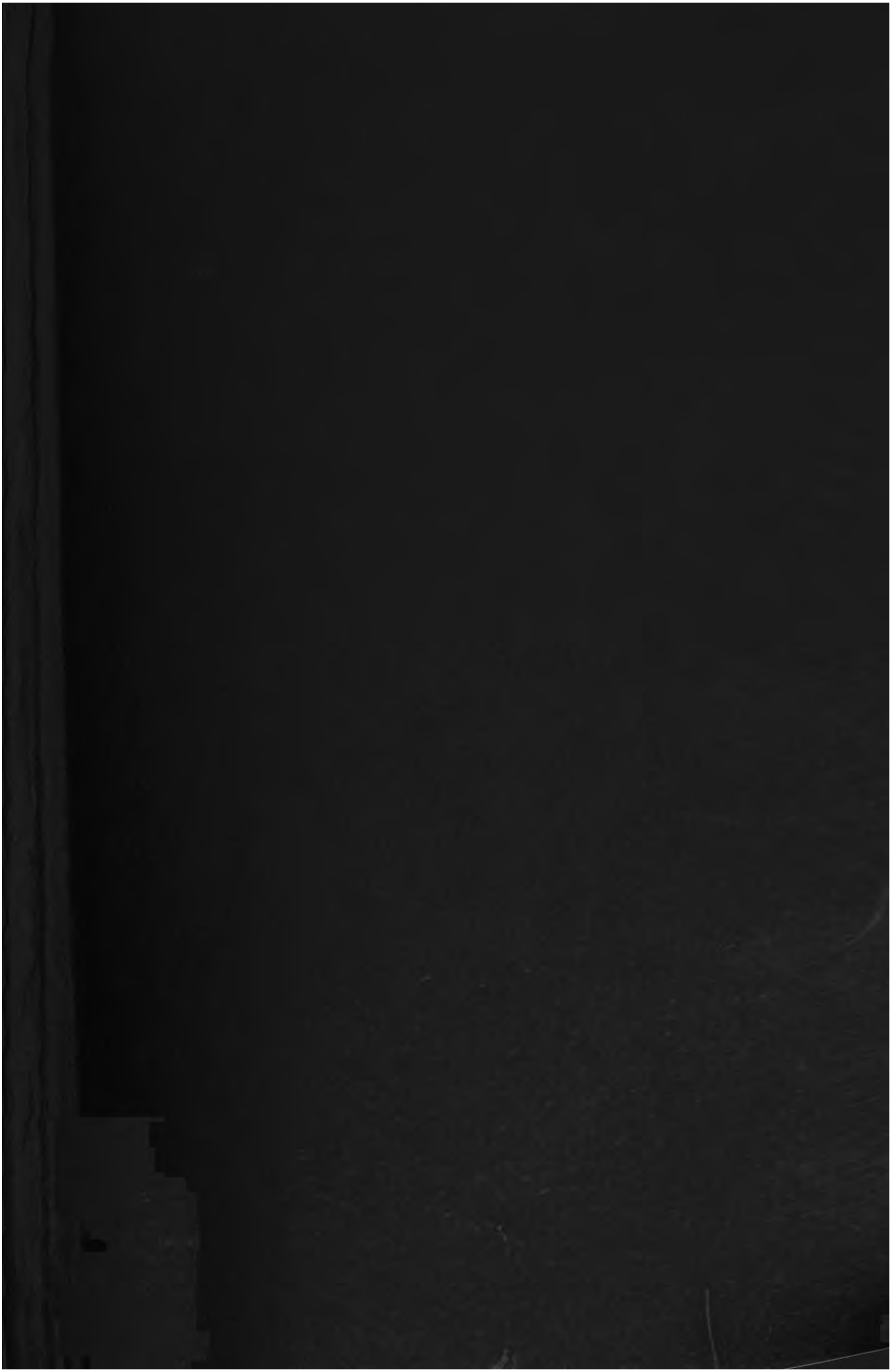

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"MR: HOLLOWAY.

"It will give me great pleasure to have the book you are about to publish, dedicated to me; and I should like very much to read the manuscript."

"JULIA INGLIS."

December 17th, 1864.

'MR. HOLLOWAY.

"I return you your manuscript, which I have read with great interest; and I hope you will meet with the success you merit, for the trouble it must have cost you, and the mental labour."

"JULIA INGLIS."

ESSAYS

ON THE

INDIAN MUTINY.

BY JOHN HOLLOWAY,

CIVIL SERVICE,

LATE A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER IN HER MAJESTY'S
32ND LIGHT INFANTRY.

DEDICATED, BY KIND PERMISSION, TO THE HONORABLE LADY INGLIS,
WIDOW OF THE LATE
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN INGLIS, K.C.B.

LONDON:

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Widow of the Late
MAJOR-GEN.
SIR JOHN INGLIS,
K.C.B.
WALMSLEY

PREFACE.

In bringing this volume before the public, I venture to hope that the subject will not be considered as one which has been too often before it.

The recent Mutiny in India, provides topics which cannot be considered as other than of national importance; and, indeed, the causes which led to the disastrous results of 1857—8, are still, to most people, a complete mystery.

In touching upon the rather difficult subject of the causes of the Mutiny, I have endeavoured to trace their source to the educational, religious, and political elements, which existed at the eventful period of which I treat.

Upon the other matters contained in this work, particularly with respect to the events in

connection with Lucknow, I apprehend, I can justly claim to be considered as an authority, as I participated in the "Defence." I was severely wounded, and was an inmate, for a lengthened period, of the hospital of the Residency; which enables me to narrate some of its never-to-be-forgotten scenes.

I have also an interest of a personal, but melancholy character, in relation to the events which transpired at Cawnpore. My wife, about eight months after marriage, left Lucknow for Cawnpore, to visit her sister, and to benefit her health. At the time she anticipated returning, the latter place was invested by the rebels, which circumstance detained her there. She, as well as her sister and brother-in-law, fell victims to the cowardly treachery and fiendish cruelty of the Nena.

A rather prolonged residence of eighteen years in India, enables me to give my ideas respecting the character and habits of its people, of which I was not unobservant during my stay.

Being myself a soldier's son, and having commenced my career as a soldier at the age of fourteen, will, I hope, exonerate me from the charge of presumption, in having written about our soldiers, for whom I have a sympathy and deep regard, and whose interests I have essayed to advocate.

I take this opportunity of recording my sense of the generous kindness and support which I have experienced at the hands of The Honorable Lady Inglis, to whom this book is dedicated. Her Ladyship, it will be remembered, shared in the dangers and privations of the defence, which fact, I conceive, invests with importance Her Ladyship's testimony as to the interesting character and merits of this volume, and I humbly hope it will induce the reading public to accord me their generous support.

I also acknowledge with thankfulness the obligations I am under to Colonel Lowe, C.B. 1st Batt. 6th Foot, (formerly of H.M.'s 32nd, L. I.) He read those portions of my manuscript relating to the events of Cawnpore and

Lucknow, and very kindly suggested several modifications and additions.

I would be wanting in gratitude were I to allow this occasion to pass without acknowledging the great favour bestowed upon me by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who very graciously became a subscriber to my work. A similar favour was bestowed upon me by the other subscribers whose names I append, and to whom I tender my sincere thanks for their great kindness.

With these few prefacing remarks, I leave this volume in the hands of my readers; and should its contents amuse or afford them information, I shall feel that my mental toil has not been unproductive in its results, and I shall have no occasion to regret having penned the "Essays on the Indian Mutiny."

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THE

MUTINY IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

PROBABLE CAUSE OF MUTINY.

HISTORY contains within itself truths which serve as beacons to warn nations from dangers that have proved fatal to the liberties and interests of preceding generations. It points, also, to great successes achieved by nations and individuals from causes that must always insure like results. The Indian Mutiny has taken its place in its pages, and will serve in like manner to instruct, when the present age has passed away, as it also possesses lessons of wisdom for the age which produced it.

Any attempt, having for its object the solution of the causes which led to the recent outbreak in

our Indian Empire, must be attended by a more than ordinary carefulness of research; for they appear not on the surface, but must be sought for in the depths. In dealing with such a question, the various elements of character, education, and religion of the people, must be considered and contrasted with those of other countries, before a just conclusion can be arrived at.

The character of an individual is not framed in a day, but is the result of a steady growth, which dates almost from the earliest period of existence, and is influenced in its developement by a course of training as well as by passing events.

The application of this rule to nations differs only as regards the period when character can be considered to be matured: for whilst with an individual this consummation is, with but few exceptions, reached during his contracted span of life, that of a nation stretches over centuries without even then reaching such a climax. Some nations make a steady progress towards a fixed basis of character, which is attained to eventually, although its growth would appear to have incurred the danger of being stunted before arriving at maturity; whilst others prove restless and unsettled, and even up to the present period, have not attained to any fixed principle of character. England has

achieved greater success in the stability of her institutions, generally, than any other nation extant; and although, at times, events transpired which seemed inimical in their tendencies to the success of this attainment, still the guiding principles of the love of truth, liberty, and individual right, have brought her triumphantly through, and have fixed her on her present pinnacle of greatness.

When we turn our eyes on our continental neighbours, and our cousins of America, for the contemplation of like blessings, we are sadly disappointed. France commenced her political existence before England, but is now in leading-strings, and presents a saddening spectacle, resulting from the want of those principles which have crowned her rival with success. We see, when looking at France, a form, which possesses a face not unstamped with the lines of greatness, amidst the marks there depicted of cares and sorrows, decked out in its old age with the habiliments of babyhood. The eye is not deceived, when viewing that form, by its seeming strength and vigour; but it can see that disease is preying upon its very vitals, notwithstanding the pains taken to suppress the symptoms of its ravages. It is pining away for want of the free air of unrestricted liberty.

We turn our eyes away from France and look on

the face of dear Britannia, and there behold true greatness of soul beaming out of her eyes, and stamping every feature with its lustre. Time has not dimmed the beauties of that face, but has tended rather to enhance them; and the beholder sees everything to admire in features which bear upon them the impress of the inherent beauties of a soul possessing peace, joy, and happiness. The drapery in which she is arrayed well becomes her ever youthful form, and the elasticity of her movements, points to the possession of natural health and strength, resulting from contentedness and a happy state of repose.

Germany possesses elements of health in its constitution, which are, however, neglected in its endeavour to mind the business of other people more than its own. Russia promises to obtain to a vigorous manhood, if personal interests are not overlooked, and provided the morbid idea of the necessity for a change of climate and for making a dinner off Turkey, be abandoned. Spain possesses just enough decency in her composition to prevent her becoming a positive eyesore to her neighbours. Italy is really a fine child, and promises speedily to eclipse most of her neighbours, if she be not thwarted by the intermeddling efforts of her reputed godmother. Old Rome is a long while in her

death-agonies, to prolong which is a positive cruelty; and the friends of humanity cannot better employ their voices than by soliciting her would-be physician to allow nature to assert its rights,—to then bury her with grand funeral honours,—if he likes, receive his fee of thanks, and depart,—permitting her children to take care of their own interests, particularly as a certain family, closely allied to them by ties of kindred, is ready to receive them with open arms, and to nourish and cherish them as such.

America has had a precocious growth, and has served to amuse, as well as terrify, the inhabitants of the Old World; whom she has at last startled by her frantic endeavours to re-establish the Union by principles of coercion, which, when applied by Great Britain, in the days of the struggle for American independence, proved abortive.

The character of the people of India can hardly, with fairness, be contrasted with that of any one European nation. For India can be said to have had no distinct national existence; for, in times past, it was plundered, devastated, and ruled by foreign races, who have, in their turn, given way to the sway of England. Consequently, India has never had an opportunity of displaying those principles of greatness which usually characterize

the nations that have risen to rank in the world's history. Yet this fact does not, in itself, proclaim that the absence of these qualities will always be; for, as a nation, India has within itself latent principles for attaining to future greatness that circumstances may yet develope, and aid to attain that end.

The Hindoo and Mahommedan are the predominating races of India, or at least of Central India. These have not blended, but stand out strongly each for itself. The Hindoo naturally commends himself more to favourable notice, than does his fellow subject, from the fact that he is more quietly disposed in his general habits, which are industrious and tending to peace. He also readily acknowledges the superiority of the European, and is inclined to look towards him for instruction and protection. His wants are few and of the simplest kind. The maximum rate of wages in India is about sixpence daily. On this amount both himself and family will subsist, and consider themselves well to do in the world. The generality of natives do not, however, earn more than four-pence daily; yet, even on this low sum, a man with a family will manage to exist. The mechanical skill of the Hindoo artisan is great, and the varied products of his handywork bear a favourable comparison

with those of European contemporaries. The ruling passion of the Hindoo race generally, is love of money, to hoard up which they will make every effort. A silver coin is never changed, if its possessor can avoid doing so, as he will suffer hunger and privation, rather than trench upon his savings. The Hindoo is thoroughly domesticated in his habits, being more inclined to settle down than to roam about. Energy is not in his composition, and hard work he cannot be induced to undertake. Yet he cannot be charged with idleness, or not having a desire to work, for, at worst, he but apes the habits of many European contemporaries, in his desire to take the world easy.

The character of the Mahommedan diverges, when contrasted with that of the Hindoo, as does the North from the South pole. He is an intriguing, restless fellow, ever ready to seek for opportunities of displaying his fanatical zeal; and though he seemingly admits of our superiority, does so but from motives of policy; whilst in his heart he despises the English, quite as much as he does the Hindoo, and hates them both in almost the same degree. His opinion is that, by right of conquest, he is the rightful owner of India, and he fondly cherishes the idea that he will, one day, revert to his old position as its ruler. Unfortu-

nately, his stronger will and wily arts led the Hindoo to join him in his attempt to reach such a consummation through the events of 1857-8, and which were, no doubt, planned and organised by him.

The system of education possessed by the people of India, is defective in its results for imparting a just knowledge and apprehension of the resources of other nations; and although the late government of India endeavoured to infuse into this system the greater advantages of our system, yet this was attempted so partially, that the new elements were subdued in their practical working for good, by the old ones, which were suffered to remain intact. This was certainly an erroneous step to make; for although a young shoot can be engrafted into an old tree, yet a new principle cannot be engrafted into an old one: the old principle must be entirely overcome, and expelled by the vigour, strength, and fulness of the new one. Should a physician have brought under his care a patient who has proved to have abused his constitution by a pernicious course of life, he would not surely prescribe medicine for his restoration, and still permit him to indulge his old habits. Were he guilty of such an error of judgment, he would be unfit for his calling, although his skill in

medicine might be great. Yet the late government of India certainly displayed as great a want of judgement in its weak attempt to introduce the corrective influences of our system of education into the native schools of India. The profound ignorance in which the Indian population were steeped aided in a great measure the attempts to subvert our rule over them.

The mutineers were craftily led to believe, that, were they once to possess themselves of the reins of power, no effort that England could put forth would be sufficient to wrest them from their grasp. The proclamations of the Nena Sahib, and others, fully substantiate this statement; for these documents contained such gross absurdities, and wilful untruths, when treating of the resources of our country, as would have brought down upon the framers of such libels the unqualified contempt of even a tolerably-educated community.

The mutineers were, however, no worse in this respect, than the peasantry who so eagerly joined the standard of revolt under the Duke of Monmouth, and who, Macaulay tells us, were as profoundly ignorant of the resources of the government for its suppression, as the population of India proved to be when similarly circumstanced.

The system of education of nearly all civilized

nations, enables those trained under it to understand the resources, the habits, and the customs, of the various countries of the world. This knowledge enables every question respecting foreign relations and home affairs, to be discussed in all their bearings and tendencies; and it is seldom but that the true interests of the nation at large are thereby preserved.

It was but recently that the relative merits of the Polish and Danish question were determined by the British public, when the knowledge they possessed of the resources of both Russia and Germany, clearly proved, both to the satisfaction of the government and the country at large, that the mere armed interference of England in either quarrel would have been Quixotic, owing to the insufficiency of England's armaments, to cope with the gigantic military resources of either of the continental powers.

The religion of the East presents still worse aspects than its system of education: for whilst the latter is calculated to enlighten the understanding upon some points, the former possesses not a vestige of truth wherewith to commend itself. It is a relic of the dark, dark ages, when men's imaginations supplied all their ideas about God, and to which succeeding generations have

but added even still darker shades of superstition and lies, which have become prolific in the bitter fruits of cruelty, bigotry, and fanaticism. The Hindoo is content to bow down to his god of stone; the Mahommedan to devoutly declare his belief in one God, and Mahomet his prophet; whilst the Parsee, or Persian, sees Deity in the creature, and does divine homage to the sun.

The rites and ceremonies of the religion of the Hindoo are the offspring of the most revolting and grossest form of superstition, and the priest finds in him a credulous believer of whatever he puts forth as emanating from Deity. He thus becomes a tool in the hands of a skilful cheat and imposter, who does not scruple to make use of him to further his own views and ends. History tells us of the immense hold the priests had on the minds of the laity in the early age of our own country, when serfdom was wholly abolished in England, through the judicious manner in which they made religion subservient to that end. This hold was tenaciously held by the priests in the middle ages, too. The greatest and most powerful kings of the earth were content to wait on the beck and nod of that priest-king, the Pope, and one of our own Henrys did penance at his command, and submitted to a most humiliating position, because he feared his wrath.

The best blood of Europe was poured out freely as water upon a foreign soil, whilst kings and knights were blindly acting on the behests of a monk, who conceived he had a direct communication from Heaven to accomplish what proved to be an inglorious mission. Even at this present period of time, there exist nations who are content to remain the slaves of a system of priestcraft, which acts as a clog upon their energies, and is otherwise productive of ruinous results in its operations.

The Mahommedan creed has more of a political than of a devotional character about it; and this tendency invariably induces its votaries to endeavour to attain to pre-eminence by deeds of aggres sive violence. The sword inaugurated the Koran, and the followers of that arch-liar, Mahomet, do not forget the tradition; but would be ready again, were they powerful enough, to commence anew the sanguinary, proselyting war, which marked the era of their existence as a nation. What could be expected of a nation so debased, deluded, and fanatical, but that it should exercise itself in the worst practices that could disgrace humanity, when circumstances called their passions into active operation? And what success could a government expect, which not only encouraged the people in such delusions, but also persistently excluded the

true light from shining in this dark place of the earth to dispel by its blessed influences the elements of danger abounding therein?

History teaches us that a conquered race assimilating itself to the mere conventionalities and pursuits of life of its conquerors, has never yet produced a true union between them, or cemented their friendship, so as to impart a firm basis to the stability of the government of the land. The present age furnishes apt illustrations of this truth: Ireland, possessing as it does, liberties and privileges in common with the other portion of Great Britain, has nevertheless shown itself to be wanting on many occasions in evincing a cordiality towards either the government or the English nation generally.

Russia and Poland, as well as Austria and Hungary, have displayed very prominently that spirit of antagonism which has been productive of anything but friendship between them; nor are the measures instituted by those in power, ever likely to insure dissimilar results.

But different results await the propogation of those principles which always insure success, and which join hearts as well as interests together, when the means by which they are instilled are not restricted, but are allowed to approve themselves to

the consciences of all, under the guidance of Him who doeth all things well.

In the past, there were many seekers for the Philosopher's Stone, but experience proved to them the useless nature of the search. It has remained for England to discover the true Philosopher's Stone, which has transmuted her baser metals into pure gold, and has given wisdom to guide and perpetuate her power. This result has been educed, not from the old ingredients, which produced little else than spontaneous combustion, but from the truths contained in the Bible, which have made her honourable among the nations of the earth, and will continue to do so to the end of time, unless, in an evil day, she listens to the voice of the tempter, and forsakes its maxims for a cold and pulseless rationalism, which has been productive of so much evil to other nations.

Having reviewed the character, system of education, and the religion of the people of India, we find that each of these social institutions possesses elements, well suited to produce, in the hands of designing men, the evils which sprang from the mutiny in our Indian Empire.

From the kingdom of Oude, we apprehend the movement to have originated. The annexation of that province to British India, rankled in the

breasts of both king and people. The Mahommedans, as a nation, are dangerous at all times, but more particularly so when deprived of political power; and the discontent engendered by the forcible abduction of their country, spread quickly throughout India, where their co-religionists exist in almost every village, town, and city; and thus the dangerous seed sown in Oude, was scattered broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the land. That the mutiny originated with the Mahommedan population of India, cannot be doubted, and the fact of the principal Mahommedan cities being the places where the rebellion thrived best, tends to amply confirm this statement.

Nena Sahib, and others of his stamp and creed, on the Hindoo side, no doubt readily entered into the scheme of rebellion, and his position among his co-religionists made it an easy matter to bias their minds, on its side, through the agency of the priests, who doubtlessly were easily alarmed for the safety of their profitable calling. Were it not for the matter of the annexation of Oude, the chances of discovering the motive power which originated the revolution in India would be small indeed; for we look in vain for similar elements to those which gave rise to our own revolutions, or those of Europe. No undue taxation, or religious persecu-

tion, or tyrannical laws, existed in India; for history must do justice to the late government of India, for the great consideration which it displayed towards the nation which it governed, as regards both civil and religious liberty. And the annexation policy is about the only political abuse which can be charged against it. To the annexation of Oude, and the indifference exhibited for the spiritual and moral elevation of the Indian nation generally, can the rise of the mutiny be fairly attributed.

The former of these causes was the match which fired the mine of dangerous combustibles that existed in the gross ignorance and superstition of the people generally. Had this cause of fusion been wanting, these dangerous elements might have been counteracted altogether by the higher influences of civilized life being brought to bear on them. As we invariably find that the infraction of the laws of Nature brings its just punishment, so, in like degree, does the rejection of those higher laws of Nature's God inevitably subvert every measure, however logical its tendencies may appear to insure success.

It has been a great source of surprise to nearly all persons who are acquainted with the wide spread and well-organized events of the Indian

mutiny, that an undertaking of such magnitude should have burst, so to speak, so instantaneously upon our Indian Empire; and that the government should have been completely blind to the meaning of the occurrences which preceded the mutiny. The Chappattee movement, for instance, was an enigma to every one; and the disaffection evinced by the native troops, at Barrackpore, awakened no great alarm in the minds of the authorities; nor did it tend to dispel the lethargic slumber which sealed their official eyes. Why was this? The query is best answered by the fact that the government of India attached an undue importance to the question of caste, whereby to retain their superiority and perpetuate their rule. Thus a false security was instilled into the minds of the government and the English residents in India; which, however, was not peculiar to the age which produced the rebellion, but was rather the effect of ideas which had had a progressive growth of nearly a century. No government has ever displayed greater conservatism on any particular political question than has been evinced by the Indian governments on the question of caste. Every support was lent by them to the various denominations of caste that existed. A special grant was allowed to every native regiment, to enable each caste serv-

ing therein, to hold its annual religious festival. No English soldier, or indeed any person employed under government, dared to interfere with, in the slightest degree, or to in any way molest the natives in the observances of their caste.

This patronage, bestowed on the caste question generally, proceeded not from any sympathy with the classes who observed their peculiar rites of religion, but was rather the effect of a systematic course of conduct, which arose out of a supposed political necessity. A government which scrupled not to annex a country, comprising thousands of a population who were wedded to their own institutions, could not, with justice, be thought to possess any weak scruples about the maintenance of superstitious rites. The object to be gained by the observance of the caste system, was to prevent the population from acting in concert, should any movement be attempted to subvert or overthrow our rule in India. Caste was pitted against caste, to keep under mischievous propensities. It was deemed quite as an impossible occurrence for the Hindoo and Mussulman to agree upon a question of public interest, as it was for fire and water to agree when brought into contact with each other. This assumption has proved a fallacy, for both these representatives of the great religious bodies

perfectly agreed whilst prosecuting the scheme for overthrowing our dominion in the East. When men's views are centred upon the attainment of a common object, there is little fear of such a desire being frustrated by an over anxiety to preserve certain religious observances; nor has history disclosed the fact that, upon occasions when the worst passions of mankind have been fully aroused on any public question, sectarian views prevented those engaged in the undertaking from acting in concert. The passions existing in the human breast are the same in the case of the Protestant, the Catholic, the Mahommedan, the Jew, or the Heathen; and when aroused into action by a common interest, they present a complete analogy, notwithstanding the diversity of opinion entertained in each case respecting topics of religion. In trusting to caste, the late government trusted to a rope of sand, which crumbled to atoms when put to the test. The foundation of their hopes was overthrown, and their pet idea proved chimerical. The torrent of rebellion swept everything before it; the most prominent among the wreck being the caste question, which was considered to be the greatest bulwark of our interests in India.

Far better would it have been to have trusted to the moral and spiritual elevation of the people of a

country, to insure stability to a government, than to have confided in the debasing and grovelling tendencies of superstition and fanaticism to produce like results.

The wave of trouble has receded from the shores of India; but it has left an indelible mark there, which, like the footprint on the sand discovered by Robinson Crusoe, disquiets the mind as to the possibility of dangers in the future. England, however, has it in her power to dispel all threatening elements, by applying the powerful talasmanic influence which she possesses to the affairs of India; and she likewise has it in her power to head the scroll of fame on earth, and to be immortalized in its counterpart above, by spreading the blessings of her own home influences among the people of that Empire.

There is great danger in the present age, when Reason has been elevated by man to a position in the Godhead, of listening to its calculating dictates, in preference to the counsels of a higher form of wisdom; as there is also a tendency to reject everything that cannot be limited within the rules of mathematics, as unfit for use or belief. But notwithstanding this modernism, the good old rule of right can still be consulted, and applied with beneficial results to human affairs. And we fer-

vently trust that right will have the preference in the eyes of our legislature, and of the nation generally, and be the fundamental principle of action in the future laws for the government of India.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST SYMPTOMS.

THE first symptoms of the Mutiny appeared in a very harmless form at Barrackpore, an important native military station. The introduction into our service of the Minié rifle, and its proved efficiency, caused the Indian government to decide upon its adoption for the use of its army generally. The Sepoy portion of it, however, objected to the use of the Minié cartridge, because pig's fat was one of the ingredients used in its manufacture. Their objection was allowed, and the matter was considered as ended. After events, however, proved this consideration to be fallacious, for the spread of disaffection assumed such formidable proportions, as to cause the disarmament and subsequent disbandment of a portion of the Sepoy troops in that locality. The disbanding the native force at Barrackpore can be hardly considered

politic, for it helped to spread the elements of disaffection among the people of the villages and towns, whither the disgraced soldier returned home. Without a doubt he made the best of his story, telling his audience that the government, if not intent upon a process of extermination, nevertheless seriously intended to put down their religion, and force upon them the use of abominations.

He would here introduce the story of the pig's fat, and recount how he and his fellows resisted the insult to their faith, and were punished for doing so by the loss of their position. He would further relate that the native army was so powerful, and possessed of such matchless heroes, that nothing could withstand their prowess, and that their merest effort would have the effect of exterminating the detestable Faringhees. And as he, from the force of circumstances, had become a traveller, he would tell of the lacs of rupees, and other riches, which lay stored up throughout the land, and could be possessed and shared by all for the mere trouble involved in going to fetch them.

This harangue would have the effect of stirring up the fanatical zeal of his audience, and of sharpening their natural cupidity; whilst fresh fuel would be added to the kindled heap of human passions by the prophecy of their favoured god,

that India would be freed from the English yoke in a century from the date of the commencement of the British rule.

No better plan could have been devised by our greatest enemy than that adopted by our government, of spreading throughout India those men who had shown towards it such a hostile tendency. They were thus transformed into itinerant newsvendors; and their disaffected ideas, which were of a contagious character, were disseminated among the population of India, even to its very remotest parts; which could not have been reached so effectually but for this gross piece of mismanagement. Thus was instituted a second edition of the Chappatee movement, and the wide spread of the seeds of rebellion was doubtlessly owing to this cause more than to any other.

Other events soon followed on the heels of the Barrackpore disturbance. The Meerut tragedy convinced all concerned that no portion of the country could be considered as exempt from like circumstances, whilst the atrocities committed upon man, woman, and child, at such times, gave a sure index to the remorseless nature by which the impending struggle would be governed. The daily papers were filled with accounts of the murders perpetrated by fiends in human shape; and the

details of the brutalities which accompanied these deeds, were oftentimes of such a nature as to render them unfit for publication. In a short time, communications became completely suspended, and the residents at the various stations, which were so widely interspersed throughout the land, were placed in a painful state of uncertainty as to the progress of the events of the mutiny, or their contingent proximity to themselves.

Many had relations and friends residing away from them, about whose fate they were extremely solicitous to hear; but in many cases they were kept in trying suspense for months, without even then being able to determine whether those whom it was known had perished, had met their end by disease, or other contingencies inseparable from war, or whether they were among those who had been so fiendishly butchered by malignant foes. Such events add years to the lives of those experiencing them, and impart a colouring of sadness to the whole of their after-existence.

CHAPTER III.

SOLDIER LIFE IN INDIA.

LIFE in India has its peculiarities which arise from the force of local circumstances surrounding it. In the summer months, anything like active exertion is rendered almost impossible from the oppressive heat and its consequent enervating influences upon the constitution, which loses that buoyancy and elasticity, which, in more favoured climes, impart a pleasurable feeling to work of every description.

A person may have been imported from England in the full possession of health, with its usual accompaniment of vigour and energy; but as he soon finds that there is positively nothing on which to exert those qualities, he quietly succumbs to circumstances, and jogs along the old beaten path of the ordinary routine of life in the East. At first, this appears painfully monotonous, but

eventually has its charms, which, as time advances, become endeared from the mere force of association.

If the want of appetite, as well as other circumstances, did not forbid it, residents in India would soon become fit candidates for the office of either Aldermen or Lord Mayor, from the time they have on hand to eat, laugh, and become "Bantings."

To regiments stationed in quarters, each day is but a counterpart of its fellows. To eat, sleep, and kill time, is the occupation of almost all. Sleep, in tropical climates, hardly deserves the name. It is a composition of spasmodic winks and blinks, and the person undergoing the operation is not unlike, in his movements, a child who has been dosed, or drugged, for quietness sake. It is not an unusual sight to witness a sleeper being operated upon by a native barber, who performs his part with such gentleness, that even should he slightly irritate his subject by making a gash, it is placed to the account of the musquitoes, to whose attacks he has become so habituated as to render them contemptible.

Light reading is a favourite occupation in India during the summer months, and the choice is hardly to be wondered at. The reader who would

have the boldness or temerity to attack Rome, (Gibbons'), would be a fitting aspirant for the Victoria Cross, and would outrival even Garibaldi's famous attempt in 1848. Even a very Grant, (U. S. General) supposed to be the most ambitious and stubborn man of his age, would think twice before he essayed to pursue his fortunes among the heavy roads of Blackstone's Treatises. For even the prospective encouragement of a seat on the woolsack, would hardly nerve the aspirant after law honours to storm the intrenchments of hard names and puzzling clauses to be encountered during his progress.

The most inquisitive reader might forego the information to be derived from conning over English history, even though its perusal would endow him with a knowledge of the habits, customs, and manners of his ancestors, dating from the period when nature was closely copied by all classes, who were content to depend upon the chase for food and raiment. This was a time when clean faces were not fashionable, or an elaborate toilet necessary to an appearance in society; for the aid of mirrors were wanting, and each person viewed his or herself in nature's glass, a brook or stream.

As the reader continued, he might further glean the following interesting facts: how, as time ad-

vanced, the Papal bull used to bully John Bull, until the eighth Henry kicked him out of England, because he tried to prevent his turning Mormon. How one of the daughters of this king showed a strong predilection for the trade of a *butcher*, and the other for the *pursuit* of a soldier. And how her successor possessed very able qualities for the position of a school-master, not a certificated one, but very few for his kingly office. And that when his son attempted to follow his footsteps, it cost him a *crown*, and the country a *sovereign*. How a counterfeit was then forced upon the nation, and, like a bad sovereign, was very hard to be got rid of. How, at length, the people regained their *sovereign*, but paid very dearly in hard cash for it; and eventually had to apply to a foreign house to regain their credit, which has been retained until the present day, as clearly proved by the termination of the late debate upon the affairs of Denmark.

These historical facts, though epitomised in these pages, would take the reader some time to gather for himself from a book, and he might be pardoned if, instead of doing so, he sought a good laugh in the company of jolly Mr. Punch, or took up with a "Mutual Friend," or others of such a genial class.

But, unfortunately for themselves, some seek to

dispose of their spare time in other ways than by innocent means of amusement. Many, alas! too many, have recourse to strong drink, which is the bane of the European soldier in India. It is the car of Juggernauth, beneath the wheels of whose chariot he immolates himself, thereby destroying both body and soul. The habit of using ardent spirits was, until very recently, forced upon the soldier, who had no option but to partake of it daily, should he wish to satisfy even a moderate desire for stimulants. It is not a fanciful or idle assertion to make, when it is stated that two-thirds of the deaths which annually take place amongst our troops in India, is attributable to the excessive use of spirituous liquors. During the prevalence of an epidemic in that country, the fact is patent that its victims are principally those who are intemperate.

To teetotalize our Indian army would be an undertaking requiring superhuman aid, nor is it advocated that such principles should be forced upon our soldiers, or others; for an *intemperate* temperance advocate resembles, in his zeal, a person who would run through the streets to advise every householder to have his house pumped on because there was a fire *somewhere* in the town.

Again, a forcible inculcation of temperance

principles might be productive of results similar to those attributed to the trial of the system upon a party of grog-taking elephants. The story has it, that, in days gone by, the authorities in India, in consideration of the arduous nature of the duties performed by a gang of elephants, issued for their use a daily ration of rum, which issue was continued so long as the work lasted. When the task was ended, the allowance of rum was discontinued, and the animals had to return to the cold water system, to which, however, they now evinced a decided antipathy, by mutinying and killing their keepers; nor was discipline restored until their allowance of rum was restored, and continued to them to the time of their death; unless, in the meantime they were prevailed upon to take the pledge, or to wear Father Matthew's medal. As the story, when we heard it, did not mention either of these moral pledges having been taken by the animals in question, we are at liberty to suppose they died, as they had lived, with a strong liking for a wee drop, if not to wet their "een," at least to wet their trunk. Care was taken to train up their fellows, of that as well as succeeding generations, to strict habits of temperance.

Sir Hugh Rose has effected much for the benefit of the soldier by the erection of "Institutes," and

the organization of the trade system, which, by all accounts, has worked most admirably, both as regards the men's health and pockets. The Indian Sanitary Commission has but recently made its report, which contains valuable suggestions for improving the Barrack rooms, as well as for increasing the comfort of the soldier and his family, generally, which, if acted upon, must be productive of beneficial results. Economy, where the lives of our soldiers are at stake, would be false economy indeed, and reprehensible; but it cannot for a moment be supposed that the practical suggestions contained in that report, will be met in any other than a liberal spirit by the country.

The old nursery ryhme that "Satan finds some mischief for idle hands to do," is truth itself, when applied to the condition of our army in the East, before the events of the Mutiny; for the spare time which the men had at their disposal was productive of evil, simply because they had not the necessary objects whereon to bestow it. Our soldiers have ever shown a disposition to improve themselves when the means have been afforded them of doing so; and we trust that the value of this experience will not be lost upon the Legislature or the general public.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIEGE OF DELHI.

THE City of Delhi was the first place of note to fall into the hands of the mutineers, who gained a great prize at no personal risk. The arsenal, which was well stocked with *materialle*, and the Treasury, were possessions which strengthened their hands considerably, and imparted a firm basis to the movement, not only at Delhi, but throughout Bengal generally.

The circumstance of such a strong position having been permitted to remain without the presence of European troops, when passing events plainly indicated that no reliance was to be placed on the fidelity of our native army, points very strongly to a great want of judgement on the part of the powers who were intrusted with the guidance of the affairs of that division of the country.

Umballa, and the Hill Stations, where European regiments were located, were places not far distant

from Delhi, and they could have reached the spot in a very short space of time. Had this been done, a corps of observation could have watched the movements of the native troops, until reinforcements could have reached the spot.

Delhi, as a strategical position, was second to none in India, but yet it was left at the mercy of the rebels.

The presence of only one regiment of European infantry, and a battery of artillery, sufficed to awe the rebels at Lucknow, and the surrounding Oude district, for a considerable time; and there is not a doubt that, had it been possible to reinforce the garrison at that place, by but two or three additional regiments, the celebrated siege of Lucknow would not have taken its place in the annals of history. Justice must, however, be done to the authorities, who made no unnecessary delay in concerting practical measures, when precautionary measures were useless, for wresting the prize from the hands of the insurgents.

Delhi, at the time of the mutiny, was inhabited chiefly by a Mahommedan population, to whom it was doubly endeared, both by the reminiscences of the past, and the sacred character of the present. The great founder of their empire in the East, was wont there to hold his royal court, and to issue

from thence his mandates to the rulers of the wide-spread dominion which acknowledged his sway. Delhi was, to the Mahommedan in India, what Jerusalem was to the Jew; or what Rome was, and still is, to the Catholic. Thither were his steps directed annually, or as often as his circumstances would permit, to join with his co-religionists in the great festival of their faith, and to worship at that sacred shrine, where thousands had already bowed in senseless adoration.

The religious processions of the Mahommedans are full of display, and the devotees are noisy in their demonstrations; which is the effect, not so much of zeal, as of bang, a drug they freely partake of on these occasions, and which stimulates to a state of frenzy, almost bordering on madness. This description of drug is in common use among those who cannot afford the greater luxury of the real opium. Its effects upon the constitution is pernicious in the extreme, and produces even worse results than a debauch through strong drink. Persons under its influence, have been known to run through the streets of a city or town, armed with a naked sword or dagger, and to strike indiscriminately at all in their route; the number of victims being regulated by the crowded state, or otherwise, of the thoroughfares. This custom is known as "running-a-muck."

Several native regiments were stationed at Delhi, and, as is well known, they each of them mutinied; and this force of rebel Sepoys formed no mean foe for our soldiers to encounter, especially when entrenched behind a formidable series of fortifications, which could be reduced only by a regular course of siege operations. The defences of Delhi were very formidable, and had exhausted in their construction all that modern science could devise; and were further materially strengthened by natural causes.

Some time elapsed from the period when the mutinous Sepoys possessed themselves of Delhi, until a force of ours, at all adequate to the requirements of the occasion, could be organized for the investment of the city. The necessity which existed for providing for a summer campaign in India, where, even under ordinary occasions, the health of the soldier must be studied, increased that delay.

War, even under its most favourable aspect, is not a thing to be desired; but during the hot summer months in India, it proves a direful calamity. The siege operations before Delhi were trying above measure to our men, who were compelled to work under circumstances, that even our navvies, used as they are to manual labour, might wish to forego. Using the spade and the pick, at a time when the thermometer is above fever heat,

is a task of the heaviest kind; and nothing but the dauntless courage and heroism of our soldiers bore them up under their heavy trials.

A life in camp in India, during the summer months, is accompanied with very disagreeable trials, even in times of peace. A tent is a very poor protection against the inroads of dust, which in the East, is so fine in its particles as to penetrate through every crevice and loophole that present themselves. At such times one inhales dust, eats dust, and drinks dust, which state of things is anything but agreeable; whilst, as if this intolerable nuisance was insufficient in itself to cause discomfort, flies innumerable invade the premises, and attach themselves to everything, without exception. These domestic pests endeavour even to get into one's mouth. When eating it needs particular care to inspect each particle of food, to see that no intruding fly is on it, as the penalty attached to swallowing one is extremely disagreeable. The sand fly is also a sad disturber of one's repose, and renders a person irritable by its attacks during the day.

At night, that tribe of bloodsuckers, the mosquitoes, take their turn of duty; whilst the other interesting specimens of nature for trying one's patience and temper, retire to roost.

The comfort of the punkah, a large kind of fan, is denied a person whilst living under canvas, and the air one breathes is inhaled in its hot state; whilst the water for drinking is rendered nauseous from its tepid state. These form a picture of the delights attending pic-nicking on a large scale in India during peaceable times. In war times, these discomforts are augmented ten fold by circumstances that are inseparable from the occasion. The British soldier before Delhi found as great an enemy in Nature as he did in the rebel.

With these prefacing remarks, the reader's attention is called to the following brief sketch of some of the events which marked the time from the investment of the city until its final capture by our force.

On Sunday, at midnight, the 12th of May, 1857, at Kussowlie, where H. M.'s 75th Foot was stationed, the sleepers were awakened by the bugle sounding for orders. Immediately all were on the alert to gain some intelligence of the meaning of such an unlooked-for occurrence. The curiosity of all was soon gratified by learning that the native troops had mutinied. At first, all sorts of absurd tales were current respecting the locality of the mutiny, and of the atrocities committed by the mutineers. One's ideas are not usually very clear

on being rudely awakened from sleep, and the conflicting reports which quickly circulated, only tended to still further confuse them.

A Colonel Barnard was the bearer of the news about the outbreak amongst the native troops. He gave the alarm to H. M.'s 75th Foot whilst passing through Kussowlie, en route for Simla, where the General Commanding-in-Chief and his staff were stationed. Upon the receipt of this startling piece of news, the regiment was immediately ordered to commence its march on Umballa at daylight. The bewildering tidings soon reached the women, who were filled with sadness at hearing that, in so short a time, their husbands would be separated from them to proceed upon a dangerous duty. Many sad partings ensued between the soldiers and their wives and little ones, some of whom were destined never to meet again in this world.

The march from Kussowlie to Umballa was accomplished by 7 P.M. on the same day (Monday). Excitement enabled all to endure the long and fatiguing journey without heeding it much, although the sun beat down upon them with a furnace-like heat along the whole line of march.

Arrived at Umballa, the 75th regiment halted until it was joined by the 1st and 2nd Bengal Fuziliers, from Dugshai and Sabathoo, which were

both Hill Stations. Unfortunately, cholera attacked the force in camp at this station, and committed great ravages in its ranks. This commencement of trouble caused a gloom to pervade the community generally, and all were only too glad when the order was received to resume the march on Delhi, for the change of locality promised a release from the presence of the cholera; but, alas! this hope proved fallacious, as the plague went with the force as it journeyed, nor could any effort shake off its hold.

On reaching Kurnaul a halt of a few days was made to rest the men of the force; but the cholera caused this respite from the fatigue of forced marching to be unappreciated, as it continued to make its wonted daily calls, and selected its victims at Kurnaul as elsewhere. Brigadier General Halifax died at this place, from an attack of the cholera. He was colonel of the 75th Foot, and his untimely loss was severely felt by the members of the corps, to whom he had endeared himself by his kind and considerate conduct during his command. The service was deprived by his death of the services of a zealous and efficient officer.

From Kurnaul, the force commenced its march on Delhi, and had reached Alypore, distant some twelve miles from Delhi, when it was joined by the

following European regiments, viz. the 6th Dragoon Guards, 9th Lancers, 60th Rifles, and a brigade or so of Artillery from Meerut. The entire force now mustered six regiments of Infantry and Cavalry, besides Artillery. Nothing daunted by the smallness of its numbers, this force determined to at once attack the enemy. All were eager for the fray, for the atrocities committed by the mutineers at Delhi and other places, coupled with their being the cause of the existing discomforting state of affairs, stirred up the minds of the troops to an extent which boded no good to the enemy when encountered.

On the morning of the 8th of June, the British army, under the command of Sir H. Barnard, marched from Alypore towards Delhi. Upon reaching Budlakaserai, the rebel batteries opened fire upon our troops with excellent precision, killing and wounding several of them. The 75th Foot was immediately ordered to advance in line, supported by the 2nd Fusiliers, to capture the troublesome batteries, whilst the 60th Rifles executed a flank movement, with a view to harassing the enemy's retreat.

The order to advance was greeted by cheers, and foot to foot and shoulder to shoulder our brave fellows moved forward against the enemy's position, exposed to a heavy fire which told with fatal effect

upon their ranks. Before reaching the battery, however, square was formed, to resist an anticipated attack by the enemy's cavalry, who were observed to be hovering on the flank. The alarm proved groundless, for no charge was attempted, owing to the demonstrations made by our cavalry force to bear down upon their opponents. Whilst formed up in square, the enemy very cleverly dropped a shell into the mass of our men, killing and wounding several of them.

Upon the line being re-formed, our men dashed forward, giving several hearty British cheers; and, despite a most determined opposition, captured the batteries, spiking the guns, and bayoneting those of the enemy who had not fled.

The sharp-shooters of the 60th Rifles harassed the retreating enemy, and their murderous fire told heavily amongst their numbers.

This rather brilliant feat of arms was accomplished by a portion only of our force, the reserve not having been required to take part in the engagement. The victory gained on this occasion served to raise the spirits of our soldiers, who looked upon it as an omen of good luck. It was a noble inauguration of a campaign which reflected throughout the whole events of it the greatest honour and credit upon our arms. The enemy's

loss upon the occasion must have been severe, whilst our own loss was not trifling.

The following incident will tend to show the reckless daring evinced at times by our soldiers. Two non-commissioned officers found time to make a wager of a trifling nature, as to who would be the first to enter the battery; they accordingly strained every nerve to accomplish the object of their ambition; but sharp as they were, they were outrun by a private of their corps, who bore away the palm from all competitors. On entering the battery, the non-coms. discovered their rival upon the ground, whilst close by him was lying a Grenadier Sepoy, both of whom were transfixed upon each other's bayonet: in this state they lay glaring at each other, whilst the crimson tide of life was fast receding from them both. Upon the entry to the battery of Brigadier Showers, he exclaimed, when looking upon his brave countryman, who was fast dying, "I never saw a British soldier die in a more honourable position."

After the capture of the batteries, no time was lost in pursuing the retreating enemy to the heights before Delhi. Our Horse Artillery made great havoc among the ranks of the rebels, by pouring into them round after round of grape and shot with great rapidity, as they retreated through

the several archways which spanned the road. Our Infantry, meanwhile, scoured the wood, which lined either side of the route, and their effective and galling fire proved extremely disastrious to the foe. Upon reaching the heights before Delhi, no time was lost in erecting batteries, which speedily opened fire upon the city.

From the 8th of June, 1857, when the siege of Delhi can be said to have commenced, the greatest trials and hardships were endured by our besieging force. The nature of the siege operations demanded from our soldiers a constant and unremitting toil. Batteries had to be erected, earthworks to be thrown up, and the other imperative requirements of the occasion promptly executed. What was effected in this respect, was subject to repeated interruptions from the enemy, who from the outset harassed and assaulted our men. The great numerical superiority of the mutineers, enabled them to launch division after division against the besiegers, and thus a wearisome and almost daily strife had to be waged by our soldiers.

The enemy's divisions of attack were wont to issue from the gate of the city, primed with opium or bang, and cheered by the assembled crowd witnessing their departure. The fighting heroes would then raise their war-cry of Mahomet, and

promise great things from the bravery which they meant to exhibit on this and every other occasion. Victory always declared on the side of the British; the victors invariably pursued the retreating foe to within as close a distance to the walls of the city as prudence dictated, and then retraced their steps, with hopes of a respite to enable them to rest their wearied bodies. But unfortunately, the rebels gave, very often, no opportunity for enjoying the much-needed rest.

The rhyme which was current among the men, and which was somewhat altered from the original, that "Jack Pandy, who runs away, returns to fight another day," proved true. For very often our force would have but just reached their encampment, each member of it prostrated nearly by the powerful and scorching rays of the sun, when the fire of our advanced batteries, and the alarm notes of the bugle would summon the jaded and tired soldier to again confront the foe. Many a hearty malediction came from the lips of our men; but despondency there was not among their ranks, for the many cheering war-cries, which varied, as did the nationality of the speakers, could be heard urging each other on to again defeat the attack of the enemy. The Englishman would exclaim, "Three cheers for our Queen and the maids of

merry England!" The Scotchman would ejaculate, "Let it never be said by the lasses of our native glens, that we have been driven from the field by the blacks!" whilst the Irishman vociferated the following challenge, "Come along, my black friends, and by my soul you'll get a taste of the steel before you get back!" Thus our men never refused the challenge to battle, but promptly accepted the gage thrown down so confidently and defiantly by the enemy.

Our field pieces supplied the rebels with plenty of grape and cannister, which, combined with the withering and deadly fire of Infantry, and their subsequent bayonet charge, quickly made them forget their prophet, and everybody, and everything else, save the necessity for saving themselves by an ignominious flight; or, to use the humorous remarks of one of our men who was engaged on these occasions, "Mr. Pandy (the Sepoy) finds that if he had swallowed all the opium from St. Thomas' Mount (Madras) to the Kyber Pass (Northern India), it is all of no use, and makes up his mind to the effect that the sooner he doubles to within the 'Lahore gate' the better chance he has of keeping a sound skin on his back." Our Cavalry would at such times use their sabres and lances with good effect upon the routed foe, being cheered on to the charge by their Infantry brethren.

The repeated victories which our force gained over the enemy, proved productive of good results elsewhere than at Delhi: for the success of our troops on every occasion was indispensably necessary, not only to expedite the capture of the fortress, but also to avoid the great evils that would have followed on the heels of failures.

So long as our measures were successful, our credit stood high with the population of the north-west provinces, who doubtlessly were eagerly watching the progress of events at Delhi, whereby to regulate their conduct in joining with the malcontents or not. There can hardly be a doubt that, had the events transpiring before Delhi, at the time we write of, proved at all inimical in their tendencies towards success, a large accession would have been made thereby to the ranks of the rebel army, even despite the precautionary measures instituted by Sir John Lawrence for the prevention of such a catastrophe, which, had it occurred, would have greatly imperilled the possibility of a speedy resumption of our rule in India.

The evils of camp life, at this intolerably hot season of the year, accumulated day by day. Cholera and other climatic diseases made sad havoc among our men. The mortality among the beasts of burden, which was greatest among the

camels, caused the stench from their putrifying remains to be unbearable, and productive of disease and pestilence. Scores of such carcasses lay rotting in the immediate vicinity of the camp, until such time as the Quartermaster's establishment could make it convenient to remove these unsightly and offensive remains to a greater distance, by attaching ropes to them, and dragging them away by the assistance of elephants.

The uneasiness caused by the uncertainty of the tendency of events in other parts of the country, was not among the least of the many discomforting things of the occasion. There was no telling what a day would bring forth, for there was a possibility of the besieging force being attacked both in front and rear. From Cawnpore to Delhi, the country was in the hands of the mutineers, who could easily reinforce the garrison of the latter place, or concert measures for attacking our force from several points, and by this means place them under a dangerous disadvantage. The several details of what might be, were freely discussed by many of the men of our own force; nor did the probable tendencies of future events prove consolatory to those who, in imagination, tried to pierce the veil o'erhanging futurity.

As the siege progressed, and success crowned the

unwearying efforts of the besiegers, help reached them at times. The Sikhs willingly proffered their services, which were eagerly accepted, and which proved of incalculable advantage in aiding the measures of our force for the reduction of the place. The reinforcements included Ghoorka soldiers, who excited the admiration of our men by the undaunted bravery which they displayed when in action. The Ghoorka regiments are almost entirely composed of men of small stature, and are recruited from among the hill tribes of the country. When engaged at close quarters, these soldiers use the knives with which they are armed, with fatal effect. The mutineers had a particular dislike to these ***diminutive*** gentlemen, who proved ***highly*** dangerous foemen to encounter.

The present Governor-General of India, Sir John Lawrence, adverted but very recently in one of his public speeches, in no measured terms of praise, to the assistance which the British received from the Rajahs, Princes, and other native dignitaries, during the progress of the events of the siege of Delhi. Some of these loyal native gentlemen have been invested with the order of the Star of India, in recognition of their services at that and other periods of the rebellion.

As soon as the heavy batteries, which had been

erected at a great sacrifice of life, had effected the requisite breaches in the walls of the citadel, it was decided to assault the place, and, if possible, to carry it by storm. Accordingly, on the 14th September, 1857, at which date the breaches were reported to be practicable, the storming of the city of Delhi took place. The desperate nature of the struggle for the possession of the fortress has been reported again and again: but still no words can convey an adequate idea of the unflinching bravery and almost superhuman efforts of our soldiers, which, under Providence, were crowned with success. Numbers of brave men fell before the capture of Delhi was completed, but their lives were freely given to advance the welfare of their country, and to avenge the numberless cruelties and atrocities which had been perpetrated by cowardly ruffians under the plea of a struggle for liberty.

Freedom achieved by such means deserves not the name of that hallowed, beautiful, and precious gift, but degenerates into an unholy and fiendish quality, altogether removed from the influences and tendencies of that pure and bright flame of freedom, which in Eden was committed to the keeping of man, but who, alas for his kind! in an evil hour, dimmed and well-nigh extinguished its life-imparting light by his disobedience.

The sons of Britain showed the true spirit of freemen in trampling under their heel and crushing out the incendiary flame of rebellion at Delhi. It was a proud day for themselves, as well as their country, when their feet trod the streets of Delhi; for they gave peace to a vast portion of our Indian Empire. It was acknowledged that the mutineers made a desperate effort to maintain their hold upon the city. They asked for no quarter, but stubbornly suffered themselves to be shot down and bayoneted. The country suffered a great loss in this struggle by the untimely death of General Nicholson, who fell whilst gallantly leading his men on to the assault. Sir John Lawrence has but very recently alluded to the loss sustained in General Nicholson, of whom he spoke in unqualified praise. This distinguished and disinterested testimony to the memory of one of our bravest soldiers, passes upon him the highest eulogium possible.

Upon the captors finding time to view that portion of the city which fell into their hands, they beheld a melancholy picture of the evil effects of war. The wreck of life, which lay strewn about, gave to the place an aspect of desolation. Heaps of bodies, in all stages of decomposition, offended the eye and disgusted the nostrils of all who looked upon this sickening spectacle. The trenches

were also filled with bodies, which emitted a fearful stench, as they floated on this stagnant and pestilential sheet of water. The combined effluvium arising from the dead bodies on the land and in the water, must have been productive of the plague of cholera, which raged so violently in the city during its investment.

The wreck of property was also great. Furniture of all kinds lay scattered about. Seemingly, these articles had, at one time, been the property of Europeans, who, most likely, had either perished at the hands of the mutineers, or had fled the place. Carriages, harness, and appointments, figured among the destruction of property. The deserted shops contained all sorts of merchandise; clocks, china, earthenware, bales of silk and cloth, lay strewed about the floors in great disorder. Several of the men of the besieging force managed to fall in with rich booties.

A story is told of a European and a Ghoorka, who fell in with each other while seeking for plunder, and who made a compact to divide equally any booty which either might find. Among the Ghoorka soldiers, it is usual, when making an agreement, to bind each other to its observance by kissing the handle of the knife with which each is armed; and this custom is considered by them to be

as sacred as our form of oath. In the present instance, this form of oath was taken by the European, and his friend was quite satisfied therewith. The Ghoorka was rewarded in his search by finding some valuables and gold, which he very honourably intrusted to the safe keeping of his European comrade, until such time as they could share according to agreement. But the European determined to keep the whole of the plunder for himself, and managed to escape unperceived from the company of his friend.

A short time after this event, it so happened that the European's regiment was quartered near that of his Ghoorka acquaintance, who one day lit upon his defaulting partner, and immediately accused him of the fraud he had practised. The accusation was rebutted with insolent contempt by the European, who heaped abusive epithets upon the head of his accuser. The angry altercation soon attracted a crowd of men of both the regiments, who, for a time, were at a loss to understand the cause of the quarrel. Word succeeded word, until at last the Ghoorka, losing all control of his temper, drew his knife and rushed upon the European, with intent to kill him. Fortunately the members of the crowd prevented this catastrophe occurring by securing the would-be murderer.

As soon as the matter could be properly explained to the Europeans who were assembled at the spot, they gave their verdict in favour of the Ghoorka, for some of them had seen the articles, about which the dispute had arisen, in the possession of the accused. They advised him to make reparation as soon as possible, or otherwise the matter might be taken up by the comrades of the Ghoorka, who all looked upon it as an affair of honour, in consequence of the oath taken by him, and, as such, would aid their comrade to avenge himself. This good advice was taken by the European, who had the good sense to give up to the Ghoorka a fair portion of the spoil. Thus the matter was amicably settled, and both parties parted the best friends imaginable.

Upon the final capture of Delhi, on the 22nd of Sept. 1857, a division of our force was sent in pursuit of the enemy, when fatiguing forced marches were made, in order to overtake them. The fugitives made repeated stands at Bolundshur, Ackrabad, and Allyghur, but on each of these occasions they were defeated with great loss.

On the night of the 9th of October, our pursuing division turned aside from the road hitherto kept, and made a rapid forced march of twenty-eight miles, upon Agra, where they arrived by seven

o'clock on the morning of the 10th of October. They found the Fort at this station o'ercrowded with European and native Christian refugees, who had sought its shelter because of an anticipated attack by Tantia Toopee, who, however, was checkmated by the presence of our forces at a time when he least expected resistance.

The position chosen for our forces on this occasion was the spot known as the "Brigade Ground." Arrived there, every one made it his business to proceed about making the halt as agreeable as possible, particularly as the authorities at the station reported that Tantia Toopee's force was some fourteen miles distant. The Cavalry and Artillery picketed their horses, and the animals seemed as well pleased at the chance of enjoying a rest as did their masters. Many of the officers and men strayed about the neighbourhood, to see what was to be seen; whilst the gentry from the Fort paid a visit to the encampment, to glean some news, and to welcome the newly-arrived troops. A portion of the force were impatiently awaiting the arrival of the camels and elephants, in order to pitch tents; and, indeed, every one was also as impatient to get something to eat. At this juncture, and with a suddenness quite equal to a transformation scene at a pantomime, "Mr. Tanty,"

as the men termed him, appeared on the scene, ranged his guns in position, extending from the old graveyard to the "Metcalfe" testimonial, and opened a brisk fire upon our force.

As may be surmised, this sudden and surprising assault quite bewildered every one, and for the moment there appeared to be great danger of the surprise being complete. But, happily, the panic proved but momentary, and our Artillery, in a very short space of time, opened a well-directed and destructive fire upon the enemy. This checked their audacity, and enabled something like a formation to be made by our force, when a sharp and spirited engagement took place. The Artillery and Cavalry went into action in their shirt sleeves, as did also many of the Infantry.

As for the gentry, who were out for their morning airing, they quickly and very unceremoniously turned their backs on the scene, and sought the securer shelter of the Fort.

As soon as practicable, the force of ours engaged were reinforced by the 3rd Bengal Europeans, who were stationed at the Fort. By a great oversight, the men of this corps were marched into action in their winter clothing, and choked up by the abominable leather stock; which circumstance caused a

large number of them to be completely prostrated before they arrived at the scene of action.

Never during the whole of the eventful period of the mutiny in India did our soldiers display greater gallantry or heroism than was displayed by every member of the force opposed to Tantia Toopee. Hard fighting was the order of the hour. Desperate charges succeeded each other; whilst our Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, emulated each other in deeds of daring. These combined efforts resulted in a splendid victory to our arms. The enemy was completely routed, and fled in great disorder in the direction of the Gwalior road, pursued closely by the 9th Lancers, who did terrible execution with their lances amongst the fleeing hundreds of the foe. The victory was of so complete a character that the whole of the enemy's guns fell into our hands. Among the captured pieces of artillery were some very heavy siege guns, which were no doubt intended for use against the Fort of Agra. Thus a surprise was, through Providence and the splendid bravery of our men, turned into one of the most complete victories of the many achieved by our arms.

The wounded and dying were conveyed into the Fort, and were placed in the building termed the palace, where they received every attention that

kindness and sympathy could suggest. Both the ladies and gentlemen located in the Fort vied with each other in their attention to the sufferers; and from every private store, wines, fruits, and other luxuries, as well as necessary comforts, were freely distributed. Foremost among these "Good Samaritans" was Captain Glover of the Engineer or Barrack department. He was untiring in his exertions for the comfort of the wounded and sick, and he gained for himself the gratitude of many, and the praise and admiration of all.

The Delhi Division quitted Agra as soon as no danger threatened that station. Their march out of cantonment was marked by an ovation on the part of the residents, who crowded the walls of the Fort, cheering and waving handkerchiefs as long as their deliverers remained in sight.

To free the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow, was the next object these brave soldiers had in view, and with that intent they urged their way onward towards that place, without meeting with any but a slight opposition from the enemy.

In concluding this brief sketch of the operations of our force before Delhi, and at Agra, we cannot refrain from remarking that both the officers and men comprising it have earned for themselves the admiration of their countrymen and the thanks of

a grateful country. The prestige acquired through their noble deeds has added fresh glory to the glorious achievements of our army in preceding ages. The native population of India will ever remember that at Delhi, as elsewhere, the British soldier proved terrible in his wrath and matchless in his deeds of bravery and daring.

CHAPTER V.

DEFENCE OF CAWNPORE.

THE very mention of the name of Cawnpore has attaching to it associations of a most painful and mournful nature; indeed no other known locality has attained to such an unenvied celebrity; and it is a cause of great thankfulness that the events which caused this notoriety but seldom happen in the life of mankind.

A false sense of security appears to have existed among the residents of Cawnpore. When events in various parts of India were causing a panic to pervade society, no serious apprehensions filled the breasts of the European community at that place. The tone of the letters which reached Lucknow from Cawnpore, contained anything but gloomy anticipations when treating of the future. Accordingly, but few precautionary measures were adopted for the safety of the position held by our force, although hundreds of women and children were congregated there.

Almost the whole of the married soldiers of H. M.'s 32nd Foot and their families were quartered in the falsely-called entrenched camp at Cawnpore. Civilian gentlemen and their families were also among the numbers who sought safety in that place.

It is impossible to conceive a worse spot than the one which was selected by General Wheeler for purposes of defence. Two ranges of buildings, of a temporary character, surrounded by a flimsy wall of mud, was the extent of the proportions and accommodation of the position. Surrounding it on all sides were private dwellings, and old and half-finished barracks. The elevated site of the principal range of buildings rendered it a dangerous abode in the event of hostilities occurring, for it presented a capital mark for artillery practice. The other range, though of humble pretensions, was equally undesirable as an abode in war time, as its thatched roof could be easily fired by the enemy. The fact of the place having been used as an hospital for troops, for which purpose it was expressly built, speaks as to its utter unfitness for defensive purposes.

The European force which garrisoned the position was but a small one indeed. It consisted of a company of H. M.'s 32nd and 84th regiments, and a small complement of Artillery.

A considerable force of native troops were usually stationed at Cawnpore; their presence served to awe the population of the Oude territory, to whom they were a standing menace. General Wheeler commanded the Cawnpore division during the events of the mutiny, and for some time previous to it. He was an old Indian officer, and from his boyhood his whole life was spent in India, which circumstance caused him to become almost thoroughly imbued with Asiatic notions and tastes. He was one of a school of officers who, from their lengthened association with the people and customs of the country, had become almost Asiatic in tendencies.

They reposed the greatest confidence in the Sepoy, whom they trusted more than they did the European soldier. There is no doubt that to this undue partiality for the native soldier, can be attributed many serious disasters during the progress of the events of the mutiny. Their tardiness to believe in the infidelity of their pets, proved a fruitful source of evil. The disorderly and mutinous actions of the Sepoys were placed to the score of mere waywardness. Serious breaches of discipline were thus regarded, and evil disposed men were treated as if they had been spoiled and petted children. Men are not to be despised for displaying affection for their fellow men, even though the

objects of their affections should be possessed of a dark skin; but it is reprehensible, and more than a mere weakness, when officials, who are intrusted with a command, involving, in the right performance of its duties, the safety of the lives and property of a community, trifle with indications of danger, and blindly continue to treat with confidence those who have ceased to deserve it.

The step taken by General Wheeler in intrusting all his stores and munition of war, together with the custody of the entire station, to the hands of the Nena Sahib, has been condemned as an exceedingly ill-advised measure.

But yet there are circumstances connected with the matter which are highly extenuating to that officer. With but a very small European force at his command, which was perfectly inadequate to the requirements of the occasion, it can hardly be considered a matter of surprise that he should have accepted the offer of assistance from one who had hitherto borne himself towards our government and all classes of Europeans generally with loyalty and kindly courtesy. The Nena was not in any way connected with the native army. Had he been so, then a prompt refusal ought to have been made to anything emanating from a person so positioned. The blame attaches itself not so much to the

acceptance of the offer of the Nena, as to the utter disregard which General Wheeler evinced to the institution of precautionary measures, and which measures, both passing events and local circumstances rendered imperatively necessary. Common prudence should have dictated the necessity of providing against the possibility of treachery, and certainly the position chosen for the purpose of affording protection to hundreds of men, women, and children, should have been strengthened and rendered as formidable as possible. The Arsenal at Cawnpore, which was well supplied with all sorts of weapons and munitions of war, was, by a great oversight and want of judgement, made over to the custody of the Nena Sahib; whilst the European garrison was left but ill supplied with requisite materials to prosecute either offensive or defensive measures.

Upon the mutiny occurring at Lucknow among the native troops stationed there, a goodly portion of the mutineers crossed the river at Cawnpore, with the intention of proceeding to Delhi, to take part in the defence of that place. They had proceeded some little distance from Cawnpore in pursuance of their object, when the Nena Sahib followed them in person, and persuaded them to return to Cawnpore, and assist his force in attacking

the European garrison. Having gained them over to his cause, he forthwith despatched a message to General Wheeler, to the intent that, at a certain hour, he intended to open fire upon his position.

This announcement must have fallen with dreadful forebodings upon the ears of the garrison, who could not be otherwise than stunned by its suddenness, and its threatening import. The short period of time that remained ere the actual commencement of hostilities, was doubtlessly turned to the best account by both parties. The European garrison strained every nerve in their endeavour to meet the new and threatening posture of affairs. The difficulty experienced in providing shelter for the women and children must have been the chief of the many anxieties which pressed upon both officers and men.

The consternation which the news caused among the females was great, but until the commencement of the attack by the Nena's force, hope buoyed them up with thoughts that the threats of the traitor would not be executed.

These hopes, however, proved delusive, and as both shell and shot crashed through the buildings which lay fully exposed to the fire of the enemy, the shrieks and cries of the women and children were appalling in the extreme. Our batteries

quickly replied to the fire of the enemy; and from that moment, the thunder of cannon and the rattle of musketry ceased not until the time of the melancholy termination of the defence of Cawnpore. The enemy's sharpshooters took up their quarters in the unfinished barracks, which were situated near the entrenched camp, from whence they kept up an incessant and galling fire.

Fresh batteries opened their fire from time to time upon the devoted garrison, and caused great destruction of life among its numbers.

Not very long after the commencement of hostilities, General Wheeler received an intimation, to the effect that the enemy intended, if possible, to surprise the garrison by night. Immediate measures were adopted to give the expected visitors a warm reception. As the hour approached when the intended surprise was to take place, the guns of the garrison were loaded with grape, and every available man was at his post. Orders were issued to allow the enemy to approach within point blank range of our guns before fire was opened upon them.

The night set in very favourable for the intended surprise, which both parties were intent upon inflicting upon each other. The darkness was not so intense but that the advancing enemy could be discovered. They advanced very cautiously, and

in great numbers, and, without a doubt, they imagined, from the comparative stillness which pervaded the European garrison, that the members were not on the alert. But in the twinkling of an eye, the silence of the night was broken by the roar of our cannon, which showered down grape shot like hail, into the midst of the attacking party. These salvos of artillery were accompanied by a raking fire of musketry, which rolled along the whole length of our position. The surprise of the would-be *surprisers* could not have been more complete, whilst the havoc caused by our fire amongst their numbers was very great.

During the progress of this brisk engagement, the women were, as may be expected, in an anxious mood as to whether or not our party would succeed in repelling the enemy. Doubtlessly many an anxious prayer went up to Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death, that He would guard and protect them in this their hour of great and imminent danger.

From this date forward, the enemy appear to have pursued the system of tactics which were practised by their class elsewhere. The Nena was perfectly acquainted with the entire resources possessed by the inmates of the entrenched camp; and acting upon this knowledge, it would appear to

be his object to starve our people into submission, or to arrive at a similar result by the aid of treachery.

Dire calamities befel the members of the little garrison each day. The only source from which they could procure water, was from a well which was commanded by the enemy's sharpshooters; whose incessant fire upon this spot, in particular, rendered it an undertaking of great danger to draw water from it. Many were wounded in the attempt to procure water, among which number were women who risked life and limb in their efforts to procure a drink for their little ones.

Only such persons, who have experienced the almost insatiable thirst which seizes upon the resident in a tropical climate during the summer months, can realize what a calamity the want of a sufficient supply of water proved to the European garrison at Cawnpore. Its want must have rendered food revolting, and the utter inability to comply with the cleanly observances so necessary for the preservation of health and personal comfort, was no doubt productive of evils.

The destructive fire which was kept up from all points on the buildings of the entrenched position rendered them untenable; and thus the sick and wounded; as well as the women and children, were placed in a wretched predicament. The difficulty

of providing a safe retreat from the enemy's missiles for these helpless non-combatants, was partly met by the formation of caverns, in which underground retreat they burrowed like animals.

Doubtlessly these places were gloomy in the extreme, not only because the light of day was almost entirely denied them, but rather because of the state of mind of their occupants. The deprivation of many of the commonest necessaries of life, and the but small chance which appeared to exist of their being delivered from their dangerous position, which was each day becoming worse, must have given a gloomy colouring to the thoughts of all. Words of encouragement and sympathy there may have been, for even under the most trying circumstances of life there are a few who rise superior to the situation in which they are placed. But if they were spoken they must have fallen upon the ears of those who were disinclined, through their weighty sorrows, to hope against hope.

But by far the cruelest stroke of adverse fortune, was that which fell upon the garrison, when the thatched roof of the building which contained the sick and wounded was set on fire by the enemy. This was a fearful catastrophe, for not a few of the poor sufferers were burnt to death ere they could be removed from under the burning roof. The state

of affairs was pitiable in the extreme, and a parallel to it hardly exists in history. The position of those Royalists, during the reign of terror in France, who awaited in their dungeons the arrival of the tumbrils, which daily bore some of their number to execution, was far more enviable than that of the individuals who formed the garrison of Cawnpore. Both parties were the victims of circumstances which arose from causes almost similar, for the sufferers in either case were the representatives of government, against which the nation had risen in arms, and as such they were persecuted and put to death. Thus far the position of both parties was analagous; but a divergence takes place when the privations and sufferings endured by each respectively are reviewed. In the case of the Royalists, we find that, although their altered circumstances deprived them of their wonted comforts, yet they were supplied with wholesome food and a clean bed of straw whereon to repose. When summoned forth to execution, they had the sympathy and condolence of those who were their fellow-prisoners, and the hearty shake of the hand and the exhortation to bear themselves bravely under their trial, often nerved even the weakest of their number to brave the insults of a brutal crowd with a calm demeanour, and to show no craven fears. The words of true

sympathy are very strong. The case of the poor sufferers at Cawnpore was worse than that of the Royalists. The commonest necessaries of life were but scantily forthcoming, and they had absolutely no place of safety where to lay their wearied bodies down. Their repose was interrupted by sounds that told of the horrors of war. Many a loved one was stricken dead ere a parting good bye could be uttered. Those who were wounded had no comfortable bed whereon to repose, and even water was often wanting to wet their parched lips.

War was not meant for women or children, but for men who can receive as well as bestow hard blows, and who can, further, endure hardships which at times seem almost out of the pale of human endurance. Among the women who were at Cawnpore during its defence, were some who endeavoured to assist the efforts of the defenders. They made bags for the ammunition for the cannon, bandages for the wounded whom they tended, and during the pressure of an attack they loaded the spare muskets, that the men might not be delayed in delivering their fire by waiting to load.

Captain Moore, who commanded the detachment of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, proved himself to be every inch a soldier, and he by his noble example animated and cheered the, at times, drooping spirit of the

garrison. He strenuously opposed the clause which stipulated that the garrison should be disarmed. Indeed his actions and advice in this matter almost imply that he had a presentiment that treachery was intended.

It appears strange that those who had experienced the bitter fruits of the Nena's past treacherous actions should, under any circumstances, have been induced to confide in his promises for the future. But doubtlessly the consideration for the safety of the helpless women and children decided the point at issue. Many persons belonging to the garrison may have reasoned thus: although the Nena broke faith with us, he was induced to do so by the solicitations and menaces of the force which he commanded, and that he therefore was compelled to identify himself with the cause of the mutineers, both from motives of policy as well as feelings of patriotism. But having it in his power to offer to the garrison terms by which they could be placed in safety, he decided to do so, and seized the opportunity to compensate us, in part, for the misery which his past conduct imposed upon us.

The voices of those who knew him personally might have been thrown in the balance, in his favour, by narrating the many courtesies and kindnesses which they in happier times had re-

ceived at his hands. Such considerations could hardly fail, when supported by the knowledge of the inability of the garrison to hold out much longer, of causing the offers of capitulation to be accepted. Nobly had this little band of devoted men shed their blood, and suffered great trials in defence of the interests of their country. Another sacrifice was yet to be made on behalf of the helpless women and children, whom they had hitherto so courageously defended; and although many of them spurned the idea of surrender with contempt, yet they yielded to the seemingly-pressing exigencies of the occasion with an unselfishness which was worthy of them, heroes as they were.

At Cawnpore, if anywhere, was the great Nelson's motto fulfilled, "England expects every man to do his duty." Brave and generous hearts, you deserved a better fate than the one which fell to your lot, at the hands of demons in human shape; and England mourns over you, as those of her great ones who are not lost, but have gone before; and although your dust has returned to its kindred earth in a spot unhallowed as the scene of your murder, yet your memory is doubly hallowed in the affections of a grateful and sorrowing country; whose children have, long ere this, shed many a tear over the recital of your sufferings and death.

Let not the sacredness which time has imparted to the events which were enacted at the *river* and the *well* be broken in upon in these pages. Brave men, gentle women, and innocent children, received the summons to come up hither. They had a sorrowful end. May they have a joyful resurrection, must be the prayer of all true hearts.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NENA.

THE Nena Sahib was the adopted son of the ex-Rajah of Poona, who was a pensioner upon the late Indian government. This custom of adopting a son into the families of the great men of the East who are childless, is a common one; and the adoption, according to the prevailing practice, entitles the adopted one to all the advantages usually accruing to children born in wedlock.

On the demise of the ex-Rajah, the Nena, as his son and heir by adoption, applied to the government for the reversion of the pension to himself; but was refused on the plea that he could not be acknowledged as the son of the deceased prince, and had therefore no claim whatever to the bounty in question. By this refusal he was not only deprived of a very handsome annual stipend, but was also deprived of the rank and position held by the

late Rajah. No doubt the Nena felt the degradation inflicted upon him very keenly; and the fancied insult and wrong he sustained, fostered a spirit of revenge in his mind, for the gratification of which passion he patiently awaited the events of 1857-8, when he let loose the torrent of his envenomed hate upon all classes of Europeans, who were unfortunate enough to fall into his power. His conduct up to that period of time, gave not the faintest index of the hellish passions which raged in his breast.

Upon the death of his reputed father, the ex-Rajah, the Nena became entitled to a very handsome fortune. With this he retired into private life, as a native gentleman, and fixed his residence at Bithoor, where he had a very fine mansion, or palace. Whilst living in that place, he evinced a decided predilection for European society. He kept open house for such among the gentry of the surrounding country as wished to avail themselves of his proffered hospitality, and who invariably found in him a kind, courteous, and agreeable host. He also freely mixed in English society, and was generally liked by all classes of it. He not unfrequently attended public balls and other entertainments, and was to be often seen at the band-stand at Cawnpore.

Whilst thus engaged in ingratiating himself with the members of European society, he was not regardless of seeking to win for himself the esteem of all classes of his own countrymen, by his liberality on all occasions of public festivities, &c. He invariably attended all such, and was doubtlessly regarded by his co-religionists as a liberal patron, and a zealous upholder of their religious faith. His manners, like those of most Asiatics of high rank, were polished and agreeable, and his conversation was characterized by that ease which usually denotes good breeding, as well as by that courtier-like style, which imparts to even the most common-place topics, the charm of pleasing gracefulness. He played his game skilfully and well, and had he been trained to the pursuit of some of the honourable callings of life, the talents he displayed in the attainment of his wicked ends, would have tended to have placed him in an honourable and exalted position in society.

The Nena resembled, outwardly, the beautiful flowers of his country, which so temptingly invite the hand to pluck and inhale their sweet perfume, but which often conceal beneath their leaves the deadly cobra, the most venomous of known snakes, and one ever ready to inflict its fatal bite on its unsuspecting victim.

He was possessed of the ruffianly qualities of a Jeffries, the seeming inoffensiveness of a Robespierre, and the refined cruelty of a Nero. He had the art and tact to allure his victims from the protection of their defensive position, to trust to his generosity as a magnanimous conqueror; and whilst he was negociating terms, which were to have placed them in safety, he was also engaged in planning and superintending those fiendish measures which led to their destruction.

He was not satisfied with treacherously slaying husbands and fathers before the eyes of their wives and children, but he must needs order the little innocents themselves to be butchered before their mothers' eyes; and, as if to prolong the miseries of these bereaved and helpless creatures, he consigned them to imprisonment, under the daily insulting gaze of those whom he intended should be their future butchers.

It is recorded in history that certain Roman emperors were in the habit of placing the poor wretches whom it was intended should be devoured by the lions on the following day, in a cage adjoining the dens of these savage beasts, that they might whet their appetites by sighting their future prey. Cruel as this custom was, yet it was but innocent sport in comparison to the doings of the

Nena Sahib, who, however, failed to procure among his soldiers any who were hardened enough to undertake the office of executioners. He was determined, however, not to be baffled; but procured, from amongst the lowest dregs of the native population, fitting instruments whereby to accomplish his hellish deed.

Outwardly he had the semblance of a man, without possessing, however, any manly virtues or propensities. Nature was responsible for the human shell of this ruffian, which Satan filled with a legion of his satellites, thereby transforming him into a perfect monster in the fullest acceptance of the term. A more horrible monstrosity has never seen the light of day, for in his composition was a triple admixture of man, beast, and devil. His name is for ever rendered infamous; and his crimes have long since cried aloud to Heaven for vengeance, which will have its fulfilment in eternity. His actions have crowned the summit of infamy, and he stands morally gibbetted in history, and execrated in the memory of mankind.

CHAPTER VII.

OUTBREAK AT LUCKNOW.

AS Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment took a prominent part in the events of the mutiny at Lucknow, it may not be deemed amiss to join them at Kussowlie and march with them to Lucknow. Kussowlie is one of a few stations, that are interspersed throughout a portion of the ranges of the Himalayan mountains, and which serve as sanataria for the various European regiments stationed in the Bengal Presidency. The climate of the hill stations resemble in part that of Europe, with respect to its alternations of heat and cold. The winter in these parts is marked by the accompaniments of frost and snow, and the change of the seasons throughout the year is perceptible; which is not the case throughout the lowlands of India, where, three fourths, or even more of the year, can be justly termed summer time. The bracing character of

the climate soon invigorates the constitution of those who have been transported from the plains, where the enervating influences of its dry and sultry atmosphere, soon makes sad havoc with the health of the European.

Athletic sports can be indulged in here with impunity. The good old game of cricket forms the chief amusement, and it can be enjoyed without Mr. Sol putting his veto on the proceedings, by taking his place too strongly in the field, and stumping some of the players out with a bale ball, in the shape of a fever. Another favourite amusement with many is that of chasing the butterfly, which is found throughout the hill stations in great variety of hue and size. The chase often leads one some miles from home, up and down hill and valley and beside murmuring streams and brooks, which delight one's heart with their music, and amidst scenery which abounds in picturesque beauties, that dame Nature has so profusely and charmingly spread out for the inspection of her children.

As may be conceived, the route containing the order to leave such a pleasant spot was received by all with regret; but there was no help for the matter, but to pack up and be off on the road. The journey to the foot of the hills is a most pleasant one, particularly in favourable weather.

The road winds round the sides of the hills, and gradually descends until the base is reached; and the traveller is then once more on the plains of India. During the march, the serpentine nature of the route the traveller is pursuing, presents many sights that assume varied aspects; this is particularly the case when a regiment, with its attendant train of followers and baggage, is on the move.

At times, the view obtainable does not extend along the road for more than a couple of hundred yards; whilst at others, the eye can scan the line of route for some two or three miles: and the different objects, such as men and animals, form a not unpleasing picture, as they recede from the view for a time whilst rounding some corner, and again emerge into sight. Precipices, varing in depth from a hundred to a thousand or more feet, traverse the whole length of the road, and at times descend so abruptly from the height above, that to look down into the depths below is to make one feel quite giddy. The various summits of the hills, as they tower one above another, and stand capped with vegetation, form a scene of grandeur, and when, at times, the snowy range can be discerned off in the distance, rearing its head far away above into the clouds, the spectacle afforded to the view of the beholder, is majestic in the extreme.

The second encamping ground had been reached, when symptoms of cholera showed themselves amongst the ranks of the regiment, and soon assumed an active form. It is an usual thing for the natives to hold an annual fair at the foot of the hills, and, this year, cholera broke out amongst them, whilst assembled there, with great virulence; and was spread throughout the country, on the dispersion of the people to their homes. To this circumstance, the presence of the cholera in the corps was attributable.

Local circumstances and the filthy habits of the natives, generally, render the existence of the plague no marvel. Any one who has passed by steam through that part of the country known as the Sunderbund, can well conceive that the dense jungles, which stretch down to the water's edge, afford causes sufficient for the production of the cholera. The masses of vegetable matter, when decaying under the combined influences of the sun and water, emit pestilential gases, which attain to such a density, as to be wafted by the currents of air throughout the entire length and breadth of the land.

That this epidemic travels in such a manner, has been fully proved by experiments, and its route extends, at times, for hundreds of miles in one

direction, and then abruptly ceases, when it will again be heard of in quite another direction; which clearly proves that some vegetable or other poison is borne by the currents of air, and commits fearful ravages along the whole course of its track.

The entire population of India has no idea of the importance of sanitary measures for the preservation of life. The dead bodies of men and animals are allowed to corrupt on the surface of the ground, and were it not for the presence of a numerous staff of scavengers, both of birds and beasts, this practice would render the prevalence of epidemics of more frequent occurrence, than is the case from other causes. The domestic habits of the inhabitants are filthy in the extreme, and will give plenty of trouble to sanitary commissioners to reform.

The ravages of the cholera were confined to the rank and file portion of the regiment and their families, the officers and their families remaining unscathed. This scourge to humanity haunted the corps with its presence for nearly a month, following it from camp ground to camp ground, in each of which were laid its victims, who at times numbered two and at others a dozen.

It could not be exorcised, although every means which human skill and ingenuity could devise was brought to bear upon it, to stay its ravages. The

feeling of desolation and gloom which such an occurrence casts over the minds of a community, can be felt acutely, but can hardly be described. Eugene Sue's fiction of the Wandering Jew, whose footsteps were marked by the devastating track of this enemy to mankind, gives some idea of the circumstances of the present case. At last, one fine morning, the fact became patent to all that the cholera had taken its departure, and the spirits of all rose immensely in a short time, in somewhat the same fashion that gold ascends in the American market. When the subsequent events of the mutiny again cast a gloom over the fortunes of the corps, this calamitous event appeared to have presaged those more fearful scenes of a time of suffering, and a long night of despondency and fear.

The march of a regiment from one cantonment to another is not usually marked by any great variety of events. The rouse sounds at an early hour, sometimes at two or three o'clock in the morning, when the tents are struck, and, together with the baggage, packed on the backs of elephants and camels, and started for the next encampment, before the column commences its march.

The break-up of an encampment presents an animated spectacle, and one full of life. The striking of tents, and their subsequent loading, is

not effected without a great deal of noise and bustle. The view obtained, through the aid of camp fires, of the beasts of burden, with their attendants, as they move off the scene, is striking. When all is reported clear, the regiment commences the march, headed by the band playing some lively quick step. The pace is usually about three and a half miles an hour. A halt is made about half way between the old and new ground, for about half an hour, and refreshments are partaken of, which consist principally of bread and coffee. At the expiration of this time, the march is again resumed, and no further interruption ensues till the encamping ground is reached.

The first duty performed is that of pitching the tents, and it is really astonishing to a novice in such matters to witness the celerity with which it is performed, for in an incredibly short space of time a perfect town, with its several streets, exists, where but a short time before not a vestige of a habitation could be discerned. When this duty is finished, the breakfast meal next engages the serious attention of all hands, and is partaken of with a relish which the recent march has imparted to the appetite.

After breakfast, some indulge in a nap, whilst others stray about the place and see all the sights

that are to be seen. In the cool of the evening, a parade is held, which usually lasts about an hour, and no further call is made upon the men's time from that until bedtime. Each day brings the same routine, and the monotony is unbroken until a cantonment is reached where an European regiment or two is stationed, when an interchange of visits takes place during the few days of halt, which is invariably prolonged on such occasions, to the delight of all parties.

During the progress of the march, an occurence took place, which caused an unusual excitement at the time. One of the men, through a feeling of dissatisfaction, threatened the life of the Colonel Commanding, and upon an alarm being raised, the offendor started off for the open country, wounding a comrade, who thought to have prevented his escape. A party, with loaded muskets, accompanied by a mounted officer armed with a revolver, pursued the fugitive, and happily effected his capture without the effusion of blood, as he made no resistance to his captors, although he was armed with a pistol and had several rounds of ball ammunition in his possession. The prisoner was subsequently tried by a General Court Marshal, and sentenced to a term of penal servitude.

The station of Cawnpore was reached at last,

when the married men and their families, with but few exceptions, together with a company of the regiment, were detached, and stationed at the place. This measure was consequent upon the want of room at Lucknow.

A tragedy occurred at Cawnpore, when H. M.'s 70th Regiment was quartered there, and as a military execution figured in it, a description of the event may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to the reader. A murder was committed by a private of the corps, his victim being a sergeant, who through supererogatory habits had obtained the unenviable name of a tyrant. On the night of the murder, it was the turn of this non-commissined officer to call the roll of the men, to ascertain whether all were present; and whilst thus engaged he was shot dead, the ball having passed through his heart. The murderer was apprehended and kept in confinement, and in a short time was tried by a General Court Martial, and sentenced to be shot to death by musketry. The sentence was carried into effect in due course, and in the following manner.

The whole of the troops in cantonment, both European and native, were assembled at an early hour upon the plain, and formed up in three sides of a square, the fourth side being formed by a butt or mound of earth, which was erected to prevent

the bullets of the firing party from straggling beyond into the open country, On the prisoner making his appearance on the ground, the troops were called to attention, and the preliminaries which preceded the closing scene of the execution commenced forthwith. A procession was formed in the following order: first, the regimental band, which played the Dead March in Saul; next, the firing party with arms reversed; then the prisoner's coffin, borne by some of his comrades; next, the prisoner himself, in undress uniform, accompanied by his chaplain, who read the burial service; and last, the other personages whose duty it was to take part in the ceremony.

The procession defiled slowly past each face of the square, and the assembled troops were doubtlessly deeply impressed with the solemnity of the proceedings. The proceedings of the General Court Marshal were than read in the hearing of all, and the prisoner was marched to the place fixed for his execution; and after his eyes were bandaged, he was placed in a kneeling position on his coffin and facing the firing party, who were distant some twelve paces. The chaplain remained with him up to the latest moment; and when he left his side, the firing party received the word *ready;* and, so intense was the death-like silence that prevailed, that the

click caused by the muskets being placed at full cock could be audibly heard.

A painful interval of suspence was passed by all, and every eye was rivetted upon that form which in a few moments would be riddled with bullets. The ringing of the shots broke the spell that had fallen upon the spectators; and as the smoke cleared away, the criminal was discovered to be in a reclining position upon his coffin, but not dead. The reserve of the firing party, consisting of three men and a corporal, were ordered to double up to the spot where he lay, and put the poor wretch out of his misery. This was done, and the Provost Marshal, as is customary, next discharged the contents of his pistol into the body; and the sentence of the law was then considered to have been fully carried out.

The troops were made to defile past the body as it lay on the ground, and afterwards returned to their respective quarters, headed by their band playing some lively air. The corpse was placed in its shell, and buried without the precints of the burial-ground.

The 32nd Regiment next moved on to Lucknow, which was reached after a march of four days. Nothing of particular moment occurred to interfere with the usual routine of life in quarters until the

account of the disturbance at Barrackpore came upon all as an omen of ill luck; and whilst the details of the affair were still fresh in the memory of the residents at Lucknow, the Sepoys stationed there followed the example of their brethren at the former place, and got up a row on their own account. One Sunday evening, about seven o'clock, the alarm and assembly brought all the regiment out under arms, and every one was anxious to know what was the matter. It soon transpired that the native troops had mutinied, and that the presence of the European troops was required to bring them back to a sense of duty.

On reaching the scene of the revolt, the 32nd Regiment and the European Battery of Artillery were formed up facing the mutineers, who were informed that should they refuse to give up their arms, or otherwise evince the slightest disposition to remain refractory, the cannon, which were loaded with grape, as well as the fire of the Infantry, would sweep them from the face of the earth.

The intimidation proved too much for their nerves, and had the desired effect; for the arms were quietly secured and the Sepoys ordered to their quarters. As may be readily apprehended, this circumstance caused a feeling of uneasiness to exist amongst the Europeans of the locality, and caused

a strict watch to be kept upon the movements of the native troops; to effect which, the 32nd Regiment were ordered to vacate their barracks, and to take up a position in camp near the Sepoy quarters. This measure answered the double purpose of awing the Sepoys, and protecting our Artillery against capture. At night, all hands fully armed and accoutred, slept on the plain where the cannon were; and thus the force was prepared to act at a moment's notice. After a short time, the regiment was divided into three parts, and were distributed to garrison the Residency, the Muchee Bhawn, and to still retain one portion as a party of observation in the old position near the Sepoy quarters.

This measure was certainly a bold stroke of policy, for it awed the population and checked the rising of the Sepoys for a considerable time; and all this was effected by the judicious handling of a mere handful of troops.

About this time, fugitives began to arrive almost daily from the adjoining stations, where the Sepoys had mutinied, and killed every European they could catch. Many hair-breadth escapes were made from the hands of the rebels, and nearly all the refugees arrived at Lucknow in a complete state of exhaustion, and without, in numerous instances, the

necessary articles of clothing requisite for decency. Jungles were traversed and rivers forded, and the gnawings of hunger endured, before a place of safety was reached.

Amongst the numbers who were subjected to such extreme perils and hardships, were not a few women. Two sisters effected their escape together, and one of them was severely wounded during the attempt. Nothing daunted, they pursued their way, the wounded one being supported by the other, who courageously remained by her side until they both reached the Residency in safety. Their case excited the commiseration of all classes, and the poor creatures received every attention and assistance which kindness could prompt. The wounded sister survived about two months from the time of the receipt of her injury. The surviving sister escaped unharmed throughout all the dangers of the defence of Lucknow, and her husband, whom she had given up as dead, turned up with Havelock's force, on the relief of the place.

CHAPTER VIII.

DESCRIPTION OF LUCKNOW.

THE city of Lucknow covers a vast extent of ground; and, with respect to its population, and the magnificence of many of its buildings, stands second to none in India. The population is chiefly a Mahommedan one, the Hindoos being in the minority. The same aspect pervades this place as is observable in all the cities and towns throughout India, as regards the laying out of its streets and houses. The dwellings of the rich and poor are erected without any line of demarcation being observed in their situation. A palace, or the mansion of the rich, very often has for its neighbour a cobbler's hut, or some such humble dwelling; and the contrast thus presented would be one likely to stir up the ire of a Chartist, or the lover of the Agrarian system. This want of taste is observable almost throughout the city, and gives to it an appearance as if the houses had been

put in a lottery-bag, out of which they had tumbled into their places. The suburbs of the city possess most attractions for the European, as the gentry usually reside in these parts; and, as each house has a good plot of garden-ground, which is usually kept in a perfect state of order, a very pleasing picture is produced.

The Dil-cusha, or hunting park of the ex-king of Oude, is a delightful spot indeed, and, before the mutiny, abounded in deer and monkeys. The Martiniere school is a very elegant pile of buildings, and, as a charitable institution, has effected great good. It bears the name of its founder, who was a general in the service of the king of Oude, and was supposed to be a French political refugee. The various mosques and Hindoo temples, which abound in the city, are very elegant in their style of architecture, and are picturesque in appearance. The city is divided by the river Goomtee, which is spanned by an iron bridge, a stone bridge, and a bridge of boats. The former of these is an elegant structure, and possessed of great strength and durability.

The business pursuits of the inhabitants are localized in their character and extent; the commercial relations with the remaining portion of India being few indeed.

The demeanour of the natives, previous to the mutiny, though not cordial toward Europeans, yet never assumed any hostile form, although it was plainly to be discerned that the English rule was anything but palatable to those who, until lately, had enjoyed a separate political existence from the other states of India.

The Residency, so called from being the dwelling of the political agent of the Oude district, is situated in the heart of the city, and stands on a slight elevation. At the time of the mutiny, it consisted of a group of several buildings, which provided accommodation for the staff of the British Resident, as well as for himself. Two of these buildings had a commanding appearance, both from their style of architecture and the vastness of their proportions. The principal one consisted of three stories, and had two wings attached to it. In front was a verandah, which, by its shade, kept off the effects of the sun from the lower portion of the building, and the rear face was similarly provided. Every attention had been paid to the comforts of its inmates, by the loftiness of the rooms, and the numerous conveniences that existed for the ventilation of the entire structure. This last quality is an indispensable one for health, in a climate where, at certain times of the year, one almost begrudges

his neighbour the scanty supply of air which is hardly sufficient to inflate one's lungs, or raise a catspaw on the surface of the water. This building was appropriated by the Resident for the use of himself and family.

The next in importance presented an appearance almost similar to that we have already described; the chief difference between the two was that the latter, which was named the Assembly Rooms, lacked one story. In point of architecture, there was no perceptible difference. The principal room in this building served the purposes of entertainments, for dancing and theatricals, &c. and was also used as a place of meeting for the Durbar, or official levee, which was usually attended by the native princes, and high official dignitaries, who met the British Resident to discuss affairs of state. The spectacle arising from the display made by these personages at such times, was very pleasing.

The national costume of the East is a graceful one; and the rich quality of the fabrics worn by the higher classes of natives, as well as their variety of colours, render a group of persons thus attired a not unpleasing picture to look upon. Their retainers usually wear the same style of garb, the materials, of course, being less costly than those of their masters; and they are armed either with a

matchlock, or with a tulwar, or native sword, and shield, or else with a spear.

Their appearance, from being thus armed and accoutred, although it does not impress the beholder with any ideas of their military qualities, as contrasted with the disciplined soldier, has, nevertheless, the attraction of novelty surrounding it to recommend it to notice, in the absence of anything more useful or effective.

The equipages usually consist of the palanquin, or else the horse and elephant figure in the scene; the latter presenting an imposing spectacle with his superb trappings of scarlet and gold, and his no less imposing howdah, or castle, which is usually ornamented in the same profuse and costly style. The squares in front of these buildings were laid out in parterres of flowers, and the road was lined by an avenue of trees, which imparted to the place an aspect at once pleasing and domesticated.

Previous to the mutiny, the Residency lacked nothing to make it a desirable abode, and its general appearance was much admired by all who visited the spot; but the stern necessities arising from the outbreak of the mutiny, soon swept away all the vestiges of its former attractions, and completely changed the whole aspect of the place. Trees were cut down, flower beds uprooted, batteries

erected, earthworks constructed, stockades formed, and everything that could at all interfere with the free communications of the entire position was removed.

The Residency was thus converted into an entrenched camp, as far as practicable, under the guidance of the Engineer officers attached for duty at the station, who, to their credit be it stated, made it as strong and adapted for defence as their skill could devise. The principal battery was called the "Redan," and was formed like a half-moon, and mounted some of the heaviest guns we possessed; and, from the fact of its being able to command several points, it proved a very effective battery indeed. The next battery in importance was situated on what was termed the Cawnpore side; but owing to its being commanded by the enemy's sharpshooters, who were ensconced in a building near to the spot, it was rendered for a time perfectly useless. The Artillerymen who attempted to work the guns were shot down as soon as they entered the battery; and thus a very promising young officer and several men were killed in this spot in one day. Gubbins's Battery proved a very good one, and did some excellent service during the progress of the defence. Several other batteries of minor importance existed at spots best

suited to repel the advance of an attacking force. Earthworks were thrown up at every point where they could be of any service, and behind which the defenders were enabled to give the enemy, when he attacked their position, a warm reception. The church was converted into a granary, and sand-bags were placed on the parapet walls, from behind which a galling fire was kept up on the mutineers, at times when they showed themselves in that direction.

There were two entrances to the Residency, which were named respectively the "Iron Gate," and the "Water Gate." The first-named gate was the strongest, and was well guarded by the defenders. A battery consisting of about two guns commanded it, which were kept constantly loaded with grape, so as to pour in a destructive fire amongst the enemy, should they have succeeded in forcing their way through into the precincts of the garrison. The Water Gate was of no strategical value, as the mutineers needed not to force an entrance through it, because they could easily climb over the low wall which encircled a portion of the position, and get into the enclosure, where, however, they would be exposed to a raking fire of grape and musketry. To bar their further progress, mortars were also advantageously placed throughout the

garrison, and proved very efficient in dealing destruction to the foe.

Nature had accorded but few features to the position of the Residency, that could be termed of any value in improving it as a fortification, or in aiding the engineering skill expended on it. To a determined and resolute foe, there was nothing in the defences to prove formidable barriers, or to present insurmountable obstacles to the capture of the entire position. Indeed, circumstances generally were highly favourable to the besiegers, who had the advantage of occupying the buildings, which by their situation commanded the Residency at many points; nor were they slow to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, as they stationed sharpshooters in these miniature fortresses, who kept up an incessant fire of musketry, both by day and by night, upon the devoted garrison.

In some instances, as in the case of the Cawnpore battery, the enemy were enabled to negative the efficiency of the engineering measures for the defence, by the command they possessed of several of our works. It must not, however, be inferred from this, that the engineer who planned and executed the several defences of the position, showed a want of judgement; for it is evident that no preparations for

the defence of a position can be pronounced effective, until their capabilities have been tested by the attacking force, which very often adopts a plan of proceedings quite at variance with the estimate formed by the Engineer who constructed the works, thereby upsetting his theory by its practice.

The Muchee Bhawn, or the Palace of Fish-scales, was situated some distance from the Residency, and in the city. The place in its palmy days presented, no doubt, many attractions, and was possessed of architectural beauties; but at the period of which we write, but very few vestiges of its former magnificence remained, for the hand of time was laid heavily upon it, and decay had stamped its characters upon almost everything the eye rested upon. It was at one time a position of great strength, and from the style of the whole structure, it evidently had been intended to serve the double purpose of a royal residence and a fortified position, that could be resorted to for safety in troublous times.

As has been already stated, this position was garrisoned by a portion of the 32nd Regiment, and guns had been mounted on its walls. The place was made to assume as formidable an appearance as could be possibly given to it; more as matter of policy than from any idea that it could

be held in the event of actual hostilities ensuing; for the entire force available for the defence of Lucknow, was barely sufficient to garrison the Residency, or meet the requirements of that place.

The presence of the garrison of Muchee Bhawn proved effective in awing the population in its immediate neighbourhood for some time, and thus allowed the plans for the defence of the Residency to be matured and effectually carried out. The square in front of the position, and which faced the principal entrance to it, was the scene of numerous executions for political offences; occasionally, as many as five criminals were hanged at one time, in the presence of hundreds of spectators, who were prevented from making any demonstration in their favour by the presence of our troops, and by the knowledge that the cannon were trained to bear upon them in readiness to pour forth a destructive fire of grape in their midst. It transpired, subsequently, that the very same gallows were preserved intact, for the purpose of hanging thereon a portion of the garrison, upon the capture of the Residency by the mutineers.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

MONG the many names that have earned for their owners an honorable place in the annals of History, none stands deservedly higher than that of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, who was the Political Agent of the Oude territory, and who also filled the post of Commander of the Forces at Lucknow. Some men achieve greatness through the lucky combination of circumstances, which occur at exact moments in their lives to develope talents, which otherwise might have remained dormant and unproductive of results for the benefit of their possessors, or of their fellow men generally. Others have to toil a steep ascent by the wearying ladder formed by the circumstances of every day-life, and who bear the heat and burden of the day during their progress to the goal of greatness.

How small an effort of thought it costs many who admire or envy greatness, of the trials and crosses that have been endured before such a desirable climax has been attained. Let us endeavour to trace the footsteps of some young and ardent aspirant after greatness, as he pursues the path which leads eventually to the fulfilment of his wishes.

A young man commences life with the possession of talents and genius, which he feels assured will eventually lead to the achievement of results that will place him on the roll of fame, and these anticipations are encouraged by kind relations and friends, who buoy up his youthful fancies until he almost feels he can grasp the prize before attempting the race.

When once launched upon the world, he begins to find that the disappointment, cares, and vexations of life, that flavor every cup, take away the romance from his ideal which he formed at the commencement, and leaves the cold, stern reality attending the pursuits of life, to stand out bereft of that attractiveness with which he was wont to surround things. He discovers by experience that his disappointment is but commensurate with the high standard of expectations he had formed, and that he himself is alone to blame in the matter.

Enemies spring up where he expected to find friends. He is snubbed by his superiors, who think him too clever by half, and one who requires to be kept under. He breaks through old-fashioned rules and ideas, and finds his originalities treated as a crime. His case thus resembles the anecdote related by an Eastern traveller of a custom which exists among the Arabs. He employed a party of them to transport his goods and curios to the banks of the river. After they had proceeded a short distance on their journey, they left their load and squatted on the ground, to have a chat and a smoke. Whilst thus employed, it was discovered that one of the company squinted; whereon they rose en masse, and belaboured the unfortunate individual with their fists and slippers until they thrust him out of their company, because they considered he was possessed of an evil eye, and therefore likely to bring trouble and mischief upon all, were he allowed to remain. So oftimes, among more civilized communities, the possession of talents of an original order is considered an infirmity, which is likely to prove mischievious to some fondly-cherished whims, that have suited past generations well enough, and ought to suffice for the present one also; and their possessor finds himself assailed by *hard* names and *hard* lines,

which often prove *harder* to bear than the blows inflicted by the fist and slipper upon the poor fellow who was found guilty of squinting.

When he has surmounted all obstacles and emerges into notice, he is patronized at times by individuals, who treat him as if they had imparted to him his talents, and achieved for him his success. Such things must be harder to bear than were the disappointments, vexations, and drudgery of his apprenticeship. Greatness achieved, very often means hard work performed; and among the hard workers must the subject of the present sketch be ranked. His youth was employed in the Civil Service of the Indian government; and, in old age, death found him at his post.

He passed years of his life amongst the courts of Indian princes, where he was occupied in watching over the interests of the government which he represented; and none proved more zealous or devoted to its cause than did he; and none could more readily make use of the craftiness, wiliness, and depravity of Indian diplomacy, to further the ends of his own party, than himself. He stands in the formost rank of the Indian diplomatists of the past, nor is there any of such a class alive who better understands the native character in all its points, than did Sir Henry Lawrence. He pos-

sessed great firmness and decision of character, combined with gentleness, kindness, and moderation; and the actions of his public and private life were stamped with integrity, honesty of purpose, and a desire for the furtherance of the welfare of his country, and his fellow men generally.

His sagacity and foresight stand prominently forth in the precautionary measures instituted by him for the defence of Lucknow. Upon the first indications of the mutiny, his eye detected in their aspect sufficient cause for apprehension for the safety of the district under his command; and forthwith he commenced a series of measures, which, under the blessing of Providence, proved the salvation of that portion of our Indian Colony. He had a difficult task to perform in his attempt to keep under the mutiny in the province of Oude. This becomes apparent when we consider that it had been but recently annexed to the British portion of India, and that its population had not had sufficient time to test the beneficial effects of the laws of the new government.

The people had been used to the rule of their princes, who, although they taxed them pretty freely, still gave them more to look at for their money, than did the new rulers. The splendour of an Eastern court has been so often described in the

works brought before the public from time to time, that our readers must have no difficulty in realizing the truth of the foregoing statement.

At the present date, there exists in India hardly any court that has not its exchequer controlled by some agent of the British government; and, therefore, the Native Princes have no chance of reverting to the splendours of bye-gone days, but are forced to content themselves with the more modest show which their altered exchequer necessitates them to adopt. A few years previous to the mutiny, the once famous splendours of the court of the kingdom of Oude, were completely shorn of that magnificence, which in its palmy days was wont to delight the eyes of the people, if it made their hearts ache by the hole it made in their pockets. Our own history furnishes a parallel, when the people lived on scanty fare enough, whilst a depraved monarch and his court were gratifying their passions for splendour and show at the expense of the National exchequer. Happily for us as a nation, such times can never come again; for we sincerely trust that the example set by our present beloved sovereign, will have a salutary effect upon her successors; but should that fail, then we trust that the improved tastes of the people will be sufficient to exercise the necessary restraint upon all who err from the

virtuous principles which govern the court of our sovereign of the present day.

The policy which caused the annexation of Oude can hardly be termed a just one, albeit it was a policy of expediency; which is no bad type of the basis of nearly all the political actions of the various European governments of the age we live in; and which, when taking great liberties with the future destinies of states, or nations, would do well to consider what a fire they are kindling, which may, at no far distant day, involve them and their country in a blaze of revolution and anarchy.

Sir Henry Lawrence was not made of that stuff which quietly succumbs to danger; but he rather steadily set about the performance of a difficult task, without letting the manifold obstructions which threatened its fulfilment, daunt him in any way, in making an onward progress towards the goal of success.

From the outset of the mutiny, hardly a week passed without its being marked by some event having for its object the conciliation of the native dignitaries and officials of the district; or, when conciliatory measures seemed lost upon them, to intimidate and awe them into subjection. Presents were freely lavished upon such natives who showed a desire to continue their allegiance to the govern-

ment, and native soldiers were publicly rewarded for acts of loyalty and fidelity to the British cause. Treasonable practices were, when discovered, punished with the utmost rigour of the law, and every action betokened a determination to preserve the rule of the Indian Government intact, although the executive power representing it was, comparatively speaking, feeble indeed. Positions possessing no real strategical qualities were made to assume formidable appearances, and the few hundreds of European troops were handled so ably in their distribution, as to give an idea of strength where nothing but weakness really existed. No one conceived, but Sir Henry Lawrence, or those who enjoyed his confidence, that danger lurked so imminently around Lucknow; for although the measures adopted were certainly precautionary ones, yet no undue haste or appearance of timidity was perceptible in their execution.

During all this parade and show of power, the real and necessary requirements for enduring a protracted state of siege, were not lost sight of. Grain and cattle poured into the Residency until there remained hardly any further available space for their stowage. The public treasure chests, as well as the monies and valuables of the ex-king of Oude, were brought in and kept in safe custody;

by which act the insurgents were disappointed of appropriating to themselves a good booty. The munitions of war were placed in the safe custody of the garrison, and all the materials of this nature that could not readily be transferred to the Residency, were destroyed, to prevent their being available for the purposes of the mutineers.

The demolition of the buildings which adjoined the garrison was began, and although hostilities ensued before this work was completed, yet what was effected in that respect proved advantageous to the interests of the garrison. Nothing that human skill or energy could devise was wanting in the arrangements that were made to meet the altered circumstances of the times; and that such measures did not prevent the investment of the Residency, was owing more to the want of a sufficient force to meet the exigencies of the case, than to defects in the arrangements themselves; for were it possible to have added but two more regiments to the force which existed at Lucknow at the time of the mutiny, we apprehend that not an angry shot would have been fired in or about that city. Although the public duties of Sir Henry Lawrence were such as to command most all his time in their performance, yet he was ever careful and considerate for the interests and comfort of all

classes, who were under his command; but for none more so than the soldier, who always experienced in him a kind and judicious friend. He erected and endowed a school, named the "Lawrence Asylum," where the children of soldiers were educated in scholastic knowledge, as well as trained to some useful occupation or pursuit, to fit them for the active duties of life.

The character of this great man was composed of many sterling virtues, which more than compensated for its defects and infirmities, for no human being is perfect. His memory is sweet to all who had the privilege of enjoying his kindness; and as charity stamped his actions in a marked degree, he was beloved by all classes of Indian society, to whom his name had become a household word; and, although he took a part in some of the acts of the late government, which have not gained the approbation of the English public, still the system was to blame, and not the man.

He proved himself a gallant soldier, and died the death of a brave man. His dust ere this has mingled with its kindred earth; but the memory of the just man never perishes; and although no grand public monument marks the site where a good and faithful man has fallen, still an enduring monument must be reared, to perpetuate

his memory in the pages of history; which will recount the perilous journey of the ship of our Indian Empire through a troubled sea, in which were engulphed men, women, and children; but none deserving more justly the grateful recollections of their country than the late Sir Henry Lawrence.

CHAPTER X.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

ABOUT the latter part of the month of May, 1857, the silence of the night was broken by the sounds of firing, which proceeded from the Sepoy quarters, and with which mingled soon the rattle of drums beating to arms, and the notes of the bugle sounding the alarm. The European troops, who were bivouacking on the plain, near the Sepoy huts, were quickly on the alert, to check any advance of the enemy against their position; and were therefore in no danger of being surprised by the suddenness of the attack, which, although it was anticipated from day to day, was nevertheless amongst the uncertainties of life, until the moment of the commencement of hostilities, when it changed its hue and passed into a matter of history.

The firing of the rebels, which had at the outset been desultory, soon increased in intensity, and the

bullets whistled ominously over the heads of our men, who were, however, directed to reserve their fire and to lay down upon the ground, until such time as the intentions of the enemy became more plainly developed in their character. Our Artillery opened fire upon the rebels, at the point where their firing was heaviest, and round upon round of grape and canister were hurled against them; and went crashing through trees and houses with a rapidity that must have astonished the weak nerves of John Sepoy, whom we opine seldom or ever heard such quick Artillery practice during the portion of his military career that had past. The Light Company of the 32nd Regiment was thrown out into skirmishing order; and the file firing which ensued was admirable indeed, and would have warmed the heart of an inspecting General Officer, could he have heard it repeated at a sham fight.

A bright look out was kept for the enemy's Cavalry, whom it was known had also mutinied; but they never made their appearance on the scene of action. From the smallness of our force engaged, it was not deemed advisable to do otherwise than act on the defensive; especially as the intentions of the enemy were unknown, with respect to whether their attack was merely a diversion to enable their main body to get clear of the station, or whether

they thought to overwhelm our troops by a combined attack of their entire force of Infantry and Cavalry.

At a time when the fire from both sides was heaviest, a Brigadier, the Colonel of one of the mutinous regiments, rode up to the spot where our guns were in position, and requested that their fire might be silenced for a time, that he might advance and make an appeal to the mutineers; whom he had not a doubt would listen to his entreaties, and lay down their arms. As no dissuasion could move his purpose, he accordingly pressed on to the spot where the enemy's fire was heaviest, and shouted out at the top of his voice to the malcontents to cease firing, whilst he addressed them. Their fire did perceptibly slacken for a short time; but as soon as his person became exposed to their view, a volley of musketry repaid him for his kind intentions by the loss of life, a bullet having passed through his body with fatal effect. Poor fellow! he could not endure the idea that his regiment should have broken its faith, and as he considered his life valueless by the disgrace which such faithlessness incurred upon him, he consequently risked all in his attempt to bring his men back to a sense of their duty. His exploit may be justly thought quixotic, but it has its redeeming features in the

exalted sense of honour and duty by which he was actuated in undertaking his dangerous mission; being willing rather to fall by the hands of his own men than to survive their disgrace.

His was not the only case where life was sacrificed to a sense of duty. Officers of Native Cavalry regiments cheerfully proceeded on detached duty with their men, having the knowledge that the chances were, they would never return alive. Almost in every instance these fears were verified, for the men turned upon their officers when they were clear of the station and murdered them. One painful case of this nature occurred. An officer of the Native Cavalry, who had been but recently married, was ordered on detached duty with his troop. Honour forbade that he should decline to obey from the sense of the danger attending the duty, nor could he well, under the circumstances, ask any of his fellow officers to take the post for him. He accordingly proceeded, and, after days of anxiety and agonizing suspense having been past by his poor wife, his corpse was brought into cantonment sadly mangled.

The Brigadier was the only casualty on this occasion, although a brisk fire was maintained by the enemy for upwards of three hours; however, as they fired from behind houses and trees, their aim

was too high to be effective, for nearly the whole of our force were laying down on the ground the whole time. This proved a wise measure indeed, for the entire number of our troops engaged was but just sufficient to protect our Artillery from being captured by the enemy. Any needless exposure to their fire would have resulted in a loss of men, without inflicting chastisement upon the mutineers, who were snugly ensconced behind houses and trees; and who could only be driven from their shelter at the point of the bayonet; which measure was not of easy execution on a dark night, when objects were not plainly discernible. When morning broke upon the scene, not a vestige of the rebels could be discovered. They had managed to get clear away, and to carry with them their dead and wounded.

A company was sent out, to reconnoitre the country, with a view to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy, and to pick up any stragglers. When the party returned, it reported all clear. The bodies of three officers were brought into our position, and presented a shocking appearance from the number of bullets, bayonet prods, and sabre cuts, which had been inflicted upon them. One of the murdered was an officer of the native cavalry, who had, but a few days previous to the fray, joined his regiment from England. On the night of the

mutiny he had retired to rest early, from feelings of indisposition, and was surprised and murdered in his room by a party of his men; who afterwards dragged his body outside the building, and there left it. Poor fellow! he had but a short acquaintanceship with Indian life as a soldier, before his career was cut short by those whose duty it was to have guarded him with their lives. A locket, containing a lock of hair and a portrait of a young lady, was found upon him.

Some hair-breadth escapes occurred on this occasion. An officer was on guard at some distance from our position, when the outbreak took place, and as he could not effect his escape without passing through the midst of the men of the guard, he very naturally concluded he was lost. But the serjeant of the native guard proved a devoted friend. He came to his superior, and told him the men intended to take his life, and that the only chance of escape lay in implicitly trusting his life in his hands, to which the officer agreed. The serjeant then took his quilt and carefully rolled up the officer in it, and throwing his burden over his shoulder, as if it were his bed, he watched his opportunity and managed to bring his living freight in safety to our lines. He was handsomely rewarded for this gallant act.

A woman and her children were saved, through the fidelity of the ayah, or native nurse. It appears that the Sepoys came to the house and asked for the maam sahib and her children; and were told by the nurse, that they had made their escape, for which, she said she was very sorry, as she should have liked to have seen them slain before her eyes, for she never liked the Europeans. She continued her abuse of the white faces, as only a female tongue could, until she wormed herself quite into the good graces of the would-be murderers. Her conduct was only assumed to distract the attention of the Sepoys, and to prevent their instituting a search; for she had secreted the family in an outhouse, where they remained in safety, until a fitting opportunity of escape presented itself, when they made their way to our position.

Among those who came from the city to hear the news of the past night's fray, and to view the bodies of the slain, was a gentleman, a creole by birth, who was loud in his utterances of the detestation and abhorrence which he felt against the perpetrators of such foul offences. He little apprehended, then, that he himself would form the next theme of conversation from a similar cause. He returned to his residence to dine, and, as is usual, was indulging in a nap after that meal, when he was attacked by his

servants, and despatched; not without having first offered a desperate resistance to his murderers, as evidenced by the tracks of blood traceable from room to room. At last, it was supposed, he became thoroughly exhausted, and was then murdered. This event cast a gloom over the community of English residents generally; and caused those individuals who had hitherto considered it safe to remain in their own houses, to seek the secure shelter of the Residency.

A few days after the occurrence of the outbreak, the body of a drummer of the 32nd Regiment was brought into the Residency, in a shocking mutilated condition. He was returning home, from visiting some friends in the country, and was met, a few miles from contonment, by the mutineers, who pulled him from the country cart in which he was riding, and after riddling his body with bullets, inflicted scores of bayonet prods upon it. Strange to relate, the native driver placed the remains of the murdered man in his conveyance, and brought his ghastly load to the Residency.

As parties of the rebels were constantly passing the suburbs of Lucknow on their way to Cawnpore, a force of ours was sent, from time to time, to endeavour to overhaul them; but owing to the want of Cavalry, this was never effected. The

volunteer Cavalry force we possessed was not sufficient for this duty, although their pluck was equal to any occasion of duty or danger. Things began again to assume an aspect of quietness, and the population of the city showed but few signs of disaffection towards the government, or otherwise evinced an intention to rise in insurrection.

The greatest source of danger to the safety of Lucknow existed at Fyzabad, and other out stations where the mutinous Sepoys were located; and who, it was known, were concerting measures for the investment of the city. Information respecting their movements reached the authorities, from time to time, through the agency of spies. One of their number brought the intelligence to Sir Henry Lawrence, of the approach of the vanguard of the enemy. On the receipt of this piece of news, arrangements were made, forthwith, to check the enemy's advance, and, if possible, to inflict upon them such a chastisement as would prove a deterrent to the advance of the main body. For this purpose, a force of about five hundred men, including Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry, and commanded by Brigadier General Sir Henry Lawrence in person, was dispatched against the supposed vanguard of the rebel army.

The start was not made at a very early hour,

which circumstance caused our troops to be subjected to much discomfort, owing to the powerful effects of a June sun. Nevertheless, each man stepped out cheerfully, and all were delighted at the anticipation of giving the rebels a good thrashing. A distance of seven or eight miles had been reached, when it was determined to make a halt at a place named Chinhut, to refresh the troops, who were glad enough of the opportunity afforded them to rest, after a fatiguing march under a hot sun and through miles of sandy roads. The meal was just about to begin, when our videttes, who had been thrown out by the volunteer Cavalry, rode in to report the enemy in sight, but in no great numbers. Instantly all was excitement, and the much-needed refreshment was forgotten in the stir and bustle that ensued.

Our forces were quickly on the move, and proceeded some little distance in order of battle. As if by magic, swarms of the enemy issued forth from the trees and other places where they had been hidden, and commenced a vigorous fire upon our party. Their Artillery also poured in shell and shot into our ranks with fatal precision, and many a gallant fellow bit the dust before he had an opportunity afforded him of exchanging a shot. Our Artillery quickly returned the enemy's fire, and the practice, especially of an eight-inch howitzer, was

particularly good, and made havoc in their well-filled ranks. Unfortunately many of the muskets of our men would not go off, owing to the time they had been loaded, which was some three or four days; and to add to this misfortune, treachery came to the aid of the rebels.

The gunners belonging to a native battery deliberately overturned their guns in a ditch, and cut the traces of the horses; and thus six guns were for the time rendered useless. The native Cavalry also behaved very badly and proved of no assistance, but were rather a source of apprehension lest they should make common cause with the enemy. Despite the overwhelming odds, and the treachery of the native soldiers, the Europeans presented a brave front, and kept the enemy at bay for some time. Lieutenant Colonel Case, who commanded H. M.'s 32nd Foot on this occasion, fell mortally wounded at the commencement of the engagement. His loss was deeply deplored by all classes of the regiment, and the service lost in him an able officer. The command now devolved on Captain Stevens, who met his death whilst animating his men. He was succeeded by Captain Mansfield. At this juncture, the position of affairs was such as to cause the Brigadier General to order a retreat, which was commenced under very adverse cir-

cumstances indeed. The scene which followed almost defies description. Men kept dropping by tens and twenties under the murderous fire which the enemy poured upon them.

Round shot, grape, shell, and musket balls flew about like hailstones, and men who had been under heavy fires in their day, when speaking about the fire on this occasion, said it was the most severe they had ever experienced. Many a poor fellow laid down on the roadside completely exhausted, and never rose again. All such were sabred by the enemy's Cavalry, who hovered in the rear and flanks of our retreating force. They were actually so close as to be heard urging on our fellows with the words "Chellow sahib," "chellow sahib," which means "Get on, sirs," "get on, sirs." Some of our men had not the strength to lift their muskets to fire upon the enemy, who were but a few yards off, so great was their physical prostration. Many a poor fellow would have given worlds for a drop of water, but could not get it. An anecdote was told of a group of our soldiers collecting round a well where an old woman was drawing water, when one of our Sikh soldiers, who was not so weary as they were, took the brass lotah out of her hands and commenced to draw water for his European comrades, although he was exposed to a heavy fire whilst thus

engaged. The members of our volunteer Cavalry rescued several of their comrades, by placing some of them astride their horses, and allowing others to cling to the stirrups for support. These noble fellows felt fully rewarded for their disinterested acts of bravery and devotion, by bringing their poor helpless fellow-soldiers in safety to our position.

Others were saved by clambering upon the limbers and ammunition waggons of our guns, and in some instances they impeded their fire. Thus these engines of destruction were converted into the means of saving, instead of destroying life, and many a wearied and exhausted soldier reached the Residency and Muchee Bhawn in safety through this means. About two hundred officers and men fell upon this occasion. That any escaped, was a wonder to those who took part in this engagement and the subsequent retreat, for, in addition to the terrific fire which was poured upon them in a continuous stream, the sun did its work of destruction, and struck down many a fine fellow along the line of retreat, which was continued for a distance of seven or eight miles.

Three guns fell into the enemy's hands. One was the eight-inch howitzer already alluded to. Subsequently this proved a very destructive weapon, when directed against the Residency.

During the progress of these events, the residents of the Muchee Bhawn and the Residency could hear the sounds of the firing in the distance, which they apprehended indicated a good thrashing to the enemy. But the disappointment was great, when the first horseman arrived, bringing with him a wounded comrade, and told to his eager listeners the story of the retreat of our party before thousands of the enemy. Volunteers were immediately called for to proceed to the Iron Bridge, to cover the retreat of our force, and check the further advance of the rebels.

About forty men responded to the call and cheerfully proceeded to the spot in question. Upon the way many a hearty salutation passed between them and their comrades, who were returning to the shelter of our positions. Upon reaching the bridge, the party took up its position in the centre of it. As the enemy did not show themselves, the officer commanding and two men proceeded to reconnoitre, without, however, discerning an advance or any disposition upon the part of the mutineers to attempt to cross. The party returned to the Residency with the loss of one man, which was occasioned by the fire of some sharpshooters, who had taken up a position in some houses near to the bridge.

The victors were apparently well satisfied with

the results they had achieved, and therefore did not follow up their advantage by an immediate attack upon the Residency, or the Muchee Bhawn. This was a most fortunate occurrence, for, owing to the confused and disorganized state of their respective garrisons, those places must have fallen an easy prey to any such attack.

After following our retreating force to the iron bridge, the rebel army appear to have made a detour; and to have crossed the river into the city by the bridge of boats. A few rebel field-pieces were brought to bear upon the Residency as soon as the city was entered, and their fire startled the ladies and their families, who were located in the three-storied building previously referred to. The round shot entered rather too freely to make things pleasant or a further stay agreeable. So, after a few screams, and a great deal of haste and bustle, the building was quickly vacated by the fair sex, who sought the shelter of some humbler dwelling, where they would be less likely to be hurt by the messengers sent by the enemy.

A telegraphic message was signalled to the garrison of the Muchee Bhawn, who were ordered to evacuate the place, after the measures for its destruction were fully matured, and to join the force at the Residency. As the retreat from this position

would have to be effected through the streets of the city, it was deemed to be a critical undertaking, and one fraught with great danger. This caused every one to be anxious respecting the accomplishment of the movement. It has been said "fortune favours the brave," and this old saw proved true in the present case.

The evacuation of the Muchee Bhawn, and the junction of its garrison with that of the Residency, was effected without the slightest opposition having been offered by the enemy, or a single shot having been fired by either party. This circumstance suggests the idea of the complete ignorance of the mutineers with respect to the stratagem which was executed so daringly by a portion of our force. The new arrivals had but just entered the gate of the Residency, when the heavens were illuminated as if it were day, and a sound was heard, as of distant thunder, which told the garrison that the Muchee Bhawn was a heap of ruins.

A soldier had a most providential escape from destruction at the time of the explosion. During the day he had partaken rather too freely of spirituous liquors, and had lain down in a nice sequestered spot, to sleep off the effects of his debauch. Upon the evacuation of the place, he was through ignorance left alone to his slumbers, which, however,

were doomed to a disagreeable awakenment. Happily, when the place blew up, the spot where he was reposing remained untouched, and, saving the rude shock to his slumbers and nerves, he was unhurt. After gathering up his wits, he skedaddled in haste to the Residency; which place he reached in safety, and astonished his hearers by the recital of his hair-breadth escape from a terrible death. He was severely reprimanded by his commanding officer for his conduct in having got drunk, thereby placing his life in jeopardy. The lesson ought certainly to have made him a total abstainer; but we are afraid he celebrated his lucky escape in a glass or so of grog.

The enemy soon showed they had not been idle since their arrival in the city. A brisk fire of musketry heralded the commencement of the siege of the Residency, on the morning following that of the Chinhut affair. Batteries were also quickly planted in advantageous positions, and shot and shell were freely poured into the garrison. Among the many roars of the enemy's cannon, the voice of an old friend could be plainly distinguished, This proved to be none other than the eight-inch howitzer. The fire of this gun proved very destructive in its results, and, indeed, no other piece possessed by the enemy could outvie it in that respect.

As the three-storied building was the target aimed at, every shell told with good effect, and soon increased the means of ventilation in a way, which could not have entered into the ideas of the architect who planned the structure originally. These impromptu air holes certainly did not improve the aspect of the place, nor did the process of boring, by which these openings were effected, prove agreeable to the inmates.

The sites chosen for the rebel batteries led to the inference that the selection was not made at hap-hazard, but that rather they were marked out long before the commencement of hostilities. The beleagured garrison soon found out, by the discomforts and dangers they experienced, that the rebel batteries were manned by skilful artillerists, who through the precision of their fire, upon all occasions, reflected great credit upon the excellent training imparted to them by their English tutors.

Our batteries were not slow in replying to the fire of the rebels, and numbers of shell were directed to the spot where the eight-inch howitzer was in position, to silence, if possible, its bark. The fellow proved incorrigible, and would not hold his tongue, but would speak his mind; which he did pretty often during both day and night. Our artillerists found excellent practice for the first day or so, in

taking cock shots at parties of the enemy, who were rash enough to venture across the various bridges. As the effect of each round could be plainly discerned by the numerous spectators, every telling *hit* elicited their applause. Once a round of cheers were given when a camel was knocked over, and its load of ammunition exploded.

On the evening of the first day of the siege, an exciting occurrence took place. A native cavalryman, who was a prisoner for having wounded one of his countrymen, broke away from the guard, and leaping the trenches had almost gained the low wall that marked the boundary of the Residency, when one of the men of the guard brought him down with a shot. No further notice was taken at the time of the circumstance, and the body of the supposed dead man was allowed to remain where it was. However, the next morning, when those acquainted with the affair looked for the body, it could not be seen. This circumstance pointed to one of two facts, that either the fellow was but slightly wounded, and during the cover of night had crept away; or else that the rebels, who must have seen the circumstance, had entered the compound over the wall and had carried off the body. The matter excited attention at the time, and increased the watchfulness of the garrison. It was

justly concluded, that if the enemy had ventured over the wall on one occasion, they would be likely to do so again, and, some dark night, try a surprise in the same direction.

Through some oversight on the part of the authorities, one of our magazines, which was stored with powder, was built outside our works. When hostilities commenced, great apprehension existed as to its safety at the hands of the enemy, to whom it would have proved a ready-made mine to be used against the defenders with fatal results, especially as its site was close against our defences. As may be naturally concluded, immediate steps were taken to prevent the possibility of such a serious calamity occurring. Fortunately, a more fitting night could not be, than the one selected for the removal of the powder from its dangerous situation. The rain descended pretty heavily and the wind was high, both of which causes proved highly favourable to the undertaking, as the noise caused by the removal was deadened thereby. The enemy were but distant from the spot, about one hundred and fifty yards, and therefore the entire absence of noise was imperatively necessary, to prevent their attention being drawn in that direction, as the fire which they could have brought to bear upon the working party could not have been otherwise than fatal in its results.

Happily every keg was brought in in safety, and without a single shot being fired during the whole time the men were engaged in their work.

The garrison were constantly harassed, for the first week or so, by a series of false alarms, which arose from the enemy having changed the regulation bugle sounds. The "advance" under the new rule meant the "retire," and vice versa. As this barbarous practice continued incessantly throughout the day and night, it kept the besieged party upon the alert. Things however soon fell into their proper places, and both the besiegers and the besieged went to work in a systematic manner, and stored their energies away for the proper moment instead of wasting them to no purpose, as both parties did at the outset.

Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable in his endeavours to cheer and encourage the different portions of the garrison, both by his presence and example. Not a bugle sound occurred but found him on the alert, and away to the point threatened by an attack. He could have had but little time for rest or refreshment, and no one who beheld his face could help observing that care and anxiety struggled hard with the desire to appear calm and cheerful.

A most melancholy occurrence happened about the

third or fourth day of the siege. The daughter of Colonel P—, of the Native Infantry, had one of her lower limbs shot away by a round shot, which penetrated through two walls. Amputation took place, and everything that human skill could devise was done for the poor sufferer, who however gradually sunk and fell asleep in Jesus. She was but a girl of seventeen or eighteen years, and possessed a very handsome face and prepossessing exterior. Her father, poor man, was dotingly fond of her, and had looked forward to the happiness of seeing her a bride. But the outbreak of the mutiny caused the anticipated marriage to be deferred. His grief for the loss he had sustained was poignant indeed. He had, however, the consolation afforded him which all believers possess under trials, and which enabled him to bear up under the afflictive stroke. Before the close of the seige, he endured another bereavement. His surviving daughter succumbed to the rigour of the occasion, and thus was he left almost childless in his old age. But he sorrowed not as one without hope, for he trusted in Him who is the resurrection and the life, and he, like David of old, knew his loved ones could not come back to him, but that he should join them above.

Shortly after this occurrence, the garrison was

thrown into a state of consternation and grief, by the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was mortally wounded by a splinter of a shell. He could be said to have almost courted death, for he obstinately refused to stir from the room in which he was, although the enemy's shells were daily thrown into the building, and, previous to the occasion on which he was wounded, several of these had burst at the very door of his room, and one had entered it.

It was stated at the time, that, as he was carried down the staircase and along the way to a safe spot, he kept murmuring "Poor fellows," "poor fellows," as if his sole thoughts were not about himself, but were occupied about the brave fellows he should leave behind.

His parting advice to all was that the garrison were to hold out to the last man, and not to attempt a capitulation with the enemy upon any terms. This counsel was tendered without a doubt, because he knew of the circumstances that attended the fate of the Cawnpore garrison. His death was hailed as an ill omen by all, and the event cast a gloom on the spirits of the defenders. The enemy were also aware of his death, and they celebrated the event in their own peculiar manner, by making an infernal row with tom toms, and other barbarous musical instruments.

He died a soldier's death, and his end was peace. Sir Henry Lawrence, before he expired, appointed Colonel Inglis to succeed him in military command; and Major Banks, formerly Commissioner of Lucknow, as Chief Civil authority.

CHAPTER XI.

COLONEL INGLIS, HER MAJESTY'S 32nd FOOT.

COLONEL INGLIS entered the 32nd Regiment as an ensign, and took an active part in the engagements in which his corps participated, both in Canada and India. On the exchange of Colonel B— to the Guards, the command of the 32nd Regiment devolved on him.

His subsequent acts did not in any way belie the expectations that had been formed of him, for he proved to be one of the best commanding officers that ever the service possessed. Although strict in matters of discipline, he nevertheless tempered all his actions with kindness. He invariably treated the men under his command, not as mere machines or automatons, but as beings of kindred flesh and blood, who knew how to appreciate a kind action, and who possessed sensibilities that called for consideration, and that ought not to be trampled out,

as some martinets apprehend they should be, because they militated against the interests of the service. His conduct in this and every other respect, proved that he was no disciple of the old school, who estimated that the soldier, in times of peace, should be drilled incessantly, use pipe-clay freely, and be flogged occasionally, to make him fit to be shot at in a time of war.

Colonel Inglis acted in a very different manner to the antiquated notions and barbarous principles just commented upon. He encouraged freely the use of athletic games and sports among the men of his corps, whom he often joined whilst thus engaged, particularly at cricket, of which game he was very fond. He was a true friend to all who, by their conduct and deportment as soldiers, proved themselves deserving of such an honorable title; but he was also a stern but discriminating punisher of those men who, by vice and other unsoldierly conduct, sought to bring disgrace upon an honorable profession. His sole wish and aim was to lead men, and not to drive them. It is a great pity that all commanding officers are not actuated by this kindly spirit towards the men of their regiments; for, by a judicious exercise of the almost absolute power invested in their hands, they could easily make themselves generally beloved and respected, when very

often they are feared and hated. Common sense points to the fact that something more is required of a commanding officer than the qualities of being a good disciplinarian.

Our greatest soldiers and naval commanders have proved themselves possessed of a heart as well as a head. The late Duke of Wellington, although a strict disciplinarian, and one of the old school, was not devoid of those softer qualities of heart, which prompted him to care for the welfare and comfort of those who helped him to achieve his greatness. England's great naval hero, Lord Nelson, was adored by his sailors; and, to this day, his memory is revered by that class of persons. The mere mention of his name in their presence is invariably met by a "God bless him." This is prompted, not so much because of patriotic pride, as of the traditional knowledge of his kindness, which his large-heartedness caused him to bestow upon his subordinates on all occasions. This generosity of conduct has rendered his name a household world, quite as much as does the fact that he was the hero of Trafalgar.

The late Lord Clyde, whose loss the nation has so recently mourned over, although possessed of high qualities as a soldier and commander, was nevertheless always most anxious about the interests and comfort of the men. They, in return, idolized

him; not merely because he so often led them to victory, but the feeling generated from the circumstance of his treating them, practically, as brethren in arms, of whom he was not ashamed.

Recent events have proved that military tyrants are incompetent generals. Instance Butler, of New Orleans notoriety, who was a perfect adept in the art of insulting unprotected women, and tyrannizing over men whose sole crime consisted in their being the representatives of an honorable and gallant nation; but he lacked the brains, and there is no doubt the courage, to have contrived and executed a military exploit, which would have honoured him as a noble-minded and able soldier. Our own Jeffries rose to an unenviable eminence by some such acts; and the close resemblance attaching to his actions and those of Butler, of America, would also extend to their fate, should the Confederates get their enemy within their grasp. Austria and Prussia, by their late proceedings on the continent, particularly at Sonderborg, have shown that the military chivalry of their armies has degenerated wofully. Their subsequent treatment of a vanquished but still braver and nobler nation than themselves, has cast an odium upon all classes of both countries, and blackens their history with a stain, which will indelibly mark their proceedings in connection with

their conduct towards Denmark, as infamous, and unworthy of countries that not very long ago experienced what it was to drink to the dregs the cup which Napoleon filled for them.

Such dear-bought experience ought to have led them to extend mercy to their poor little neighbour in the day of her humiliation. For if their wrongs at the hands of a great military despot, helped to bring upon him and his country the united vengeance of Europe, so assuredly will the wrongs they have in their turn inflicted upon Denmark, bring down vengeance on themselves at no far distant time. Justice deferred is not justice defeated, and we trust that this homely truth will be illustrated and brought home to their experience in a manner which will bring them, as aggressors, to a just sense of the unwarrantable wrongs they have heaped upon a state which has always stood high in the estimation of the civilized world.

Colonel Inglis proved the very right man in the right place, when conducting the defence of the Residency. He possessed daring, and every good and soldierly quality, to which was added the rare virtue of patience, and self-control, and the art of encouraging those under his command by the example of a cheerful and calm demeanour. It may perhaps be apprehended by some persons, that a

general, or commander, appears to greater advantage whilst executing a series of brilliant manœuvres against an enemy, than when engaged in superintending the operations of the defence of a fortress or position. It must be admitted that the contrast is in favour, so far as appearances weigh, of the brilliant exploits; but upon well considering the qualities requisite in a commander who is entrusted with the defence of a fortress, the high standard of their merits will abundantly prove that as much, if not more, of true sterling military genius attaches to them, as to the more showy qualities of brilliant generalship in the field.

Professional skill, personal bravery, and readiness of wit to circumvent the enemy, a talent for stratagem, unflinching fortitude, patience, endurance of privations and sufferings, and the art of infusing new life and renewed hope into the members of the garrison worn out by the toil of watching and by desperate conflict, are qualities of no mean order. All these were possessed by him, who has been styled the "Hero of Lucknow." No commander ever had greater difficulties to contend against than he had. With, at the outset, but a handful of men, whose numbers were daily thinned by the fire of the enemy and by disease, he and his garrison were pitted against an enemy who

could be numbered by thousands, and who possessed neither a sense of honour, or feeling of humanity. Yet in spite of drawbacks, he persevered, night and day, in concerting measures to counteract the devices and artifices of the rebels. No one appeared more cheerful and at ease than did he; and whilst sharing, in common with all classes, the privations and rigours of the occasion, he had more concern than many in seeing a wife and children, who hitherto had not known want, compelled to forego almost the common necessaries of life. No one's voice was more cheering or kind when speaking to the wounded, sick, and dying, in the hospital, and no one was more ready to share with them the scanty stock of comforts than himself. Many a heart has been made glad by receiving from him a cigar, which at the time was a noble gift, for tobacco was not to be had at any price.

These traits of character speak volumes in favour of the man, who, although he had the weight and responsibility of a command upon his hands, in which was involved the safety and lives of hundreds, yet found time to attend to those who were suffering, and in need of sympathy. On occasions, when attacks were made by the enemy, he was to be seen flitting about from post to post, encouraging the defenders, and telling them to use their

bayonets freely if the foe attempted too close an acquaintanceship.

The presence and example of a commander in times of danger, has always had an acknowledged influence for good upon his troops; and the animating voice of such an one, is worth almost a battalion of men. Such a commander Colonel Inglis approved himself. He was eminently fortunate in having for his helpmate one who, by her truly Christian and womanly sympathy, proved of incalculable value to him under his trying position and responsibilities. His health, which remained tolerably good until Havelock's arrival failed from that time; and no wonder that it did, for his circumstances were enough to try the nerves and constitution of a person possessed of a frame of iron.

It often happens through life, that health and strength, which continue so long as an emergent or critical time of one's life, lasts, desert the person when the period is past; the reaction which follows proves too much for the system, debilitating and otherwise shattering the constitution. This proved true in the case of Colonel Inglis, and though he rallied somewhat on his arrival in England, yet his subsequent return to India caused a relapse of his old disorder, and rendered another voyage to England imperatively necessary.

A grateful country marked its sense of the services performed by him on its behalf, by the award of a Major-Generalship, and the honour of Knighthood, to which was added the Colonelcy of the 32nd Foot, with whose members he had shared great dangers, and reaped glorious laurels. His active temperament did not permit his remaining idle, whilst there existed an opportunity of employing his time and services usefully for his country: and at a time when prudence ought to have dictated repose for a shattered constitution, he was found at his post in command of the station at Corfu. Grim death, whom he had so often faced, but never feared, seized upon him as he was seeking restored health by travel, and a good man and gallant soldier entered into rest.

His success in life was owing to the trust which he reposed upon the arm of the mighty One; and the sense of His protection enabled him to exercise those high qualities which stamped him as a thorough soldier, a gallant gentleman, and a true Christian.

The example afforded by his success in life, teaches a lesson to all classes; but particularly to those who are following the soldierly profession, and who, by pursuing the same track, and by relying for their success upon that great Being, who raised

Colonel Inglis to an eminence which his many good and amiable qualities so fitly adorned, will not be disappointed in their aims of life. His ashes repose in a quiet cemetery in Germany; but if ever man deserved a monument in Westminster Abbey, as a memento of respect at the hands of a grateful country, for his past and glorious services, that man is the late Sir John Inglis. His name has become associated in history with the recent eventful period of the Indian Mutiny, and will be handed down to posterity in conjunction with that of a Lawrence, a Havelock, a Clyde, and an Outram; all true-hearted men, who have, by their deeds, shed an additional lustre upon the accumulated glories of centuries of old England.

CHAPTER XII.

INMATES OF THE RESIDENCY.

HAVING fairly introduced the reader to the leading events of the "Defence," let us now take a glance at the inmates of the garrison, and mark how they are situated. Of course, the ladies have the first claim on our attention, as they assuredly ought to have upon our protection. Their numbers were made up from among those of the officers', and civilians' and soldiers' wives, who were resident at Lucknow when the mutiny occurred, and were further greatly augmented by numbers who flocked in from the surrounding out-stations. Of this latter class a portion of it had sought the shelter of the Residency from the anticipated violence of the rebels, and in thus acting were fortunate indeed, for they managed to bring with them their moveables and sundry comforts, which proved very acceptable when the siege

actually commenced. The other portion had remained at various out-stations until driven in for shelter by the outbreak of the rebellion, and then their flight was necessarily so hurried and unpremeditated, that life was their sole consideration.

On their arrival at the Residency, they were so utterly destitute of every necessary, that they were entirely dependent upon the charity of their neighbours to supply their wants. Some of these fugitives had the saddened recollection of the fate those dear to them had met with at the hands of the mutinous Sepoys; and their sadness and grief touched the hearts of those upon whom no such calamities had as yet come. The numerous party of ladies were quartered in the various buildings of the Residency, and though the limited space necessarily allotted to each caused much inconvenience, and some discomfort to many, yet all endeavoured to practise the wisdom of that old adage, "what can't be cured must be endured." And a great deal had to be endured.

Let those who now possess the comforts of life, with perhaps a good share of its luxuries, picture to themselves what their feelings would be were they deprived of the domestic comforts of home, and of that privacy which in England is looked upon as being an indispensable ingredient in the cup of life,

and further to be unable to breathe the pure fresh air of Heaven, which God has so bountifully provided for both rich and poor. After having done so, they will, perhaps, apprehend what the nature and extent of the privations and sufferings were of those of the gentler sex, who experienced them, and to whom it is usual to assign the comforts and luxuries of life in a greater degree than to men.

That but few casualties occurred among the women portion of the garrison, is a pleasing fact to record, although, on the arrival of Havelock, they freely issued from their fastnesses and promenaded one of the squares to the merry sound of the bagpipes, which had for an accompaniment the whistling of bullets and the forte sounds of round shot and shell. One or two children were slightly wounded by musket balls. In one such instance, a little boy of from two to three years of age was playing about the grounds of the Residency, when a bullet passed through the calf of his leg, happily without in any way splintering the bone. He was taken to the hospital, to have his hurt attended to, and sundry lumps of sugar were given him, at which he sucked vigorously, regardless of the pain or smart which must have arisen from the dressing and probing of the wound.

Having introduced the reader to the ladies, we

now continue the introduction to the defenders of the Residency. H. M.'s 32nd Regiment formed the chief portion of the numerical strength of the defenders of the garrison. Its numbers, after deducting the Cawnpore and Chinhut casualties, amounted to between five and six hundred persons of all ranks. A small force of European Artillery formed a portion of the garrison, but its numbers were quite inadequate for the duties of the position. This want was made up by men from the Infantry, who had been trained, before the commencement of the siege, as artillerists, and whose services proved invaluable during the time of the defensive operations. A private of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment was so far competent, that he was entrusted with the sole charge of a mortar.

One company of H. M.'s 84th Foot reinforced the garrison a short time previous to the outbreak of hostilities, and the augmentation they made to the number of defenders was highly acceptable indeed; although there would have been greater cause for gratitude had the reinforcement proved to be the entire corps, instead of a company of it. The officers of the various mutinous corps, who had effected their escape to the Residency, cheerfully offered their services, which were gladly accepted, and which proved of value at a time when brave and

true hearts were so urgently required. The non-commissioned staff, also, emulated their officers in proffering their services, and they also proved good and zealous soldiers in the discharge of their duties. Numerous civilian gentlemen, and the gentlemen of the uncovenanted service, took an active part in the defensive operations, and were much esteemed by all classes for the brave and manly qualities they displayed throughout the "Defence."

Such Sepoys as proved faithful to their salt, joined the garrison when their several regiments mutinied, and their services proved of value. Throughout the defence they displayed qualities, that even the British soldier need not have been ashamed of and, although the enemy endeavoured to corrupt them from their fidelity, they proved staunch adherents of the British cause. Last, but not least in the ranks of the defenders, were the boys of the Martineere school; who although unable to shoulder a musket, yet by their duties in the hospital, allowed strong men to be available for duty in the trenches.

At the commencement of the defence, all hands expended more energy than was needed, but as day followed day, an organized system was adopted; and thus, a portion of the defenders were enabled to be off duty in the day time. During these respites

from trench duties, each one amused himself as best he could. Some played at cards or dominoes, but were often interrupted by the missiles of the enemy. It was oftentimes both amusing and instructive to witness the intense eagerness of the players, as the game or hand of cards was nearly played out; and then to see the tables suddenly turned by the entrance of a shell. Both players and spectators would forget all about the game and their anticipated winnings in the skedaddle that ensued to get out of harm's way.

Afer the explosion occurred, the game would be resumed with as much unconcern as if they were in some fashionable hell, instead of a hell upon earth, where destruction was going on all around them; and where death was constantly intruding. Upon several occasions, one or more of the players would be trumped out, and the game of forfeits or speculation, or cribbage, or all fours, would terminate in a melancholy manner by the forfeit of the life of some of their number.

On one occasion, a card party was completely buried under the ruins of a portion of the three-storied building, and but one of the illfated number was got out alive. The injuries he sustained left him with a shattered constitution ever afterwards. Others would read, or dose away their time, or watch

the practice made by our guns against the enemy. And really these artillery duels were exciting to the spectator, for a deal of cunning was exercised by the duellists. The rebels were extremely shy of showing themselves, and had a practice of pulling their gun away from the embrasure after firing, thus presenting no mark for our fire. But our artillerists were not to be outwitted by the niggers. The gun would be trained to bear upon the enemy's piece, and a looker out, who was stationed in a tower close by, would give the signal to our fellows, when the enemy ran his gun out. An eighteen-pound shot would then speed away, in many cases with such true aim, as to silence for a time the rebel fire by capsizing, or otherwise damaging their gun. Some would visit the hospital, to see a sick or wounded comrade, to retail to him the news, or perform some friendly office for him.

The pastime of smoking could not be indulged in, as *tobacco* was scarcer than *gold*. It was thought a great favour for such as had a small supply of the precious weed, to dispose of a portion of it at an exorbitant price. Four pounds in English currency was the charge for as much tobacco as in England would fetch but nine pence, or at the most a shilling. When tobacco was not to be had, habitual smokers, rather than be deprived of the luxury of blowing a

cloud, substituted for it raw tea leaves, and cooked ones too; and leaves of trees, those of the lime tree being preferred to all others. Even old rags, when a change or variety was needed, were not despised. Provisions were not to say scarce until the arrival of Havelock's force, although some articles, such as tea and sugar, ran short before that time. For tea was substituted a villanous compound, dubbed "Buck, buck," which only the necessity for partaking of something warm after being exposed all night in the trenches, made palateable. It was prepared from burnt wheat in the same manner as coffee, and, as there was no sugar to sweeten it, it proved an insipid compound indeed; and its use in a short time induced dysentry.

Fortunately, grain or wheat was plentiful enough, and may be said to have formed the staple food of the Residency. Cakes were prepared from it, and as the allowance to each person was barely sufficient to supply the wants of hunger, it can be easily imagined that no portion of the golden grain was wasted. Husks and flour figured alike in the primitive kind of bread which was prepared from it. To persons whose appetites were not pampered with over much food, but were rather sharpened by the stint and the fresh air, this rude fare was acceptable enough, quality being no object. Nearly all would

have been guilty of following the example of Oliver Twist, and have asked for more to have satisfied the cravings of their but half-filled stomachs, did they not already know that there was a morrow to come, with perhaps a good many more to its back.

Meat was never too abundant, from the outset of the defence; and as the stock began to diminish from day to day, it was thought advisable to curtail a portion of the rations, even before the arrival of Havelock's force. On his arrival, it was further reduced to very small proportions indeed.

The scarcity of salt was a great inconvenience indeed, and the small quantity served out from day to day, was so unpalateable from containing so much saltpetre in it, that many persons could not make use of it. The native name for this stuff was black salt, and they invariably used it to physic cattle with. It cannot be wondered at that many preferred to take Shakespeare's advice to "Throw physic to the dogs," instead of dosing themselves daily with a nauseous drug.

The daily issue, however, of both rum and porter more than compensated the generality of persons for the coarse and scanty ration of food. Doubtlessly these tended to preserve the health and strength of the men, to whom as stimulants they were a positive luxury, and otherwise cheered them

and invigorated their frames after exposure to all kinds of weather in the trenches.

Soap was a luxury, the use of which was known to but few. At a public auction, a cake of Windsor soap fetched the high price of either a pound or thirty shillings; whilst a small ham was knocked down to the tune of seven pounds, English currency. The utmost cordiality prevailed among all classes of the garrison, and every exertion was made by all ranks of those engaged in the defence, to keep out the enemy.

The unanimous determination was to die sword in hand, rather than capitulate with the rebels upon any terms. Unfortunately for himself, there was one dissenting voice; but a good flogging, which he so justly merited, brought him to reason. A tall muscular half-caste objected to take his fair share of the duties of the place, and disputed the right or authority of the Brigadier Commanding, or any other officer, to compel him to do duty in the trenches. He had no objection, however, to be fed at the public expense, and to be further defended at the risk of the lives of his comrades. The castigation he received soon taught him that, although he was a civilian, he was, through the force of circumstances, amenable to martial law. The lesson it inculcated was a salutary one, and

caused him to amend his ways, as he subsequently proved as willing to assist in the duties of the position, as he was formerly unwilling.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENEMY.

S we have introduced the reader to the "Defenders," it is but fair that he should also be introduced to the enemy. At the outset of the siege of Lucknow, the rebel army was composed almost exclusively of Sepoys. Its numbers could not have been less than twenty thousand men, as the entire Native Army stationed in the Oude district had joined the standard of revolt. In point of discipline and equipment, we apprehend that this force was no mean adversary to be pitted against a government; and it is premised that history furnishes no parallel in this respect, for the many revolutions of past ages were almost in each case conducted by a decided majority of the civil members of the nation which had taken up arms against its rulers. The Sepoy is prepared for the duties of a soldier in precisely the same manner as our own recruit is. The entire training

of the native force in British India was carried out, in every respect, in the same manner to that observed in the training of the British army.

The Sepoy is not an unapt pupil, and notwithstanding the difficulty he has to overcome in mastering the English of the various words of command, he acquires the details of his drill in a short space of time. It is perfectly laughable to hear the raw Sepoy recruits endeavouring to pronounce the English words of command after their drill instructor, who, himself, pronounces them very imperfectly. On the command, Right-about-face, being given, it is taken up by a chorus of sometimes a hundred voices; and the jumble made of the words, and the movement too, is ludicrous in the extreme; the poor fellows get quite bewildered through the double lesson to be learnt, and make some horrible attempts at the Queen's English. The Sepoy is, generally speaking, proud of his profession, and is looked upon with no small share of respect by his fellow countrymen. When on duty, he is extremely strict in the performance of his orders, which he will enforce at the hands of every person. An anecdote is related of a Sepoy sentry, who was posted over a dead-house during the prevalence of an epidemic among a regiment of ours. A person was placed in the dead-house, who was merely in a

state of trance. During the night he revived, and not liking his lodging, or the company of his fellow lodgers, he became anxious to leave. He accordingly commenced a vigorous rapping and thumping against the door, which was locked from the outside, to thereby attract attention to his case.

The Sepoy sentry, in nowise alarmed at the noise, went through the usual form of challenge of "Who comes there?" which, by him, as is customary with all his class, was abbreviated into the simple word "Dhurr." On the poor fellow, who was so disagreeably fixed, replying that he wished to be liberated, the Sepoy coolly replied "No, ucom; box not come yet," which being interpreted, means, "I have no orders to let you out; and besides, your coffin is not come yet." Sticking to his text, he paced up and down his post, regardless of the noisy demonstrations of his prisoner, who had a decided objection to await the arrival of his coffin. At length, the noise brought some of the nurses to the spot, and, as may be expected, they were for instantly releasing the poor fellow; but the Sepoy sentry would not hear of such a proceeding taking place without the orders of the sergeant of his guard, who was accordingly brought, and the prisoner liberated.

The superiority of the British over native troops

proceeds not so much from the excellency of their discipline, as from the possession of powers of endurance, and the individual bravery of the men who form our ranks. Nor does this comparison extend only to the Sepoys, but we apprehend that the proved military superiority of our countrymen over the troops of any country that have been pitted against them, is attributable to the existence of the qualities referred to. In olden times, when battles were wont to be decided by hand to hand combat, the English knight and footman proved an overmatch for their foes, who in most instances were forced to acknowledge the prowess of those stout arms and brave hearts as being invincible. Our ancestors fought as if the issue of the contest depended upon their individual efforts. This feeling of self-reliance nerved their arms to deeds of valour, in which each emulated his fellow, and thereby reaped for his country and its cause, glorious laurels.

An army composed of such stuff must always be victorious, and render neither numerical superiority or other obstacles insurmountable in their path to victory. Cromwell's Ironsides were invincible, simply because each of their number dealt such vigorous blows on his own account. This peculiarity invariably made their foes to dread a personal en-

counter with them, and caused their very names to be surrounded by such a prestige, that this circumstance alone was half a victory before the battle began. And although in modern times, when skilful generalship, aided by the efforts of science in arming the soldier, is looked to to accomplish much through their instrumentality, the British soldier preserves the glorious prestige imparted to our army by his ancestors, not merely by displaying great skill in the use of his weapons, as witnessed by Todleben, in his account of the Crimean war, but also in the ruder shock of battle, when hurled against the ranks of the foe to decide an issue at the bayonet's point.

The Sepoy had work to perform when investing the Residency that suited him extremely well. They could indulge in the "pegging away" system to their hearts' content, from behind a pretty safe cover; doubtlessly "Old Abe" borrowed his ideas from the Sepoy when he counselled the dis-united states to keep pegging away at the Southerners; he himself feeling pretty safe under cover of the sanctity of his office as President.

As the rebellion gained additional ground each day, so were numbers added to its ranks. The population of the city, and of the province of Oude generally, joined the mutinous Sepoys. Every

petty zemindar brought his matchlock men, and gingall, or diminutive cannon, to aid in the destruction of the Residency and its garrison. Their command of men rendered the task of conducting the operations of the siege an easy one indeed, and exposed their numbers to but slight losses, except on the occasion of an attack on our position. They seemed to act on the principle of good men being scarce, and therefore risked their lives as little as possible.

Ammunition they had in plenty, and spare time to expend it, and they were therefore pretty lavish in their outlay upon the garrison, whose members, however, objected to follow the extravagant example set them, but preserved their fire for times when their philanthropic efforts for the suppression of nuisances would be likely to be attended with beneficial results both to their country and themselves.

The Artillery of the rebels proved an efficient arm indeed, and gave convincing proof of the accuracy of their aim, in the ruinous condition of mostly all the buildings of the Residency, which was assailed, at all points, by the fire of their guns.

When shell began to fail them, they attempted to manufacture this missile for themselves, using as materials both brass, glass, and stone, with, how-

ever, but partial success; none of these shells inflicted any damage worth speaking about. It was not an unfrequent occurrence for the fuze to drop out of many of the shells thus manufactured. These were dubbed "Whistling Dicks," from the peculiar sound they emitted during their progress through the air; and as they signalled their own approach, they were easily avoided by the inmates of the garrison.

Another favourite amusement of the enemy consisted in the throwing of blocks of wood. This was done with a view of killing or disabling the horses, which, they were aware, were picketted throughout the Residency. The attempt proved unsuccessful in this respect; and, indeed, the only casualty through this novel invention in the missiles of warfare was a native groom, who, whilst trying to avoid the *block*, came in for the *stroke*, which almost severed his head from his body. Our fellows used to warn each other when the block of wood was descending, by shouting out, "Look out, boys, here comes a cook house." The native cooks were obliged to the enemy for supplying a want which began to make itself felt, and the fire-wood began to look up again, owing to their liberality. Had the enemy but shown as much courage as they did inventiveness, it is to be feared that the seqnel

to the "defence" of Lucknow would have proved a mournful one indeed.

On the defeat of the Nena's army by Havelock, what remained of it most probably effected a junction with the insurgent force at Lucknow. That this occurred seems pretty clear, for, shortly after that reverse, it was perceived that the rebels brought more guns than usual to bombard the Residency. This addition arose, no doubt, from the junction of the two forces.

As time wore on, and reinforcements failed to arrive for our beleagured party, and as the success of the rebel party against the European garrison at Cawnpore was made known throughout the land by proclamation, these facts, coupled with the delay in the reduction of Delhi by our forces, induced many who had hitherto contented themselves with watching the course of events, to take an active part in the rebellion; and as Lucknow possessed more attractions and less dangers than Delhi, it soon became the very hot-bed of the mutiny in India. At Lucknow, the Residency was known to contain the treasure chests of the government, as well as a goodly portion of the riches of the ex-king of Oude. The only barrier to obtaining this rich booty consisted in a few hundred English soldiers. Thus a rich reward was to be obtained at a very slight risk.

The knowledge of the approach of the force under Havelock, could not in itself have caused any serious apprehensions to exist among the enemy, or that the anticipated prize would be snatched away from their grasp by his army, whose numbers were few indeed in comparison to theirs.

The province of Oude produced an abundance of food for the insurgent army, and this circumstance also tended to cause Lucknow to be favourably viewed by those natives who were anxious to select as good a market for their services on behalf of the rebellion as could be met with. At Delhi, the general aspect of things, when contrasted with Lucknow, possessed but few attractions. The European force besieging it, although but small, nevertheless gave ample proof of its ability in time to capture it.

As time wore on, and the North West Provinces continued quiet, whilst the Sikhs generally displayed a willing eagerness to assist the British in suppressing the insurrection, the cause of the Delhi mutineers assumed a downward tendency. This doubtlessly deterred many recruits from joining their ranks. Lucknow was thus rendered the magnet of attraction to by far the greatest portion of those who had thrown off their allegiance to the Indian government; and at the time when Havelock

joined the garrison of the Residency, the total strength of the rebels, from all sources, could not have amouuted to much less than sixty-thousand men. Doubtlessly the defenders owed their safety at this critical period to the fact that, for some time before they were relieved, the majority of this enormous army was engaged in checking the advance of the relieving force. In the anxiety of the rebels to effect this desirable result, the fall of the Residency became only a matter of secondary importance. Had Havelock's force been signally repulsed, nothing could have saved the garrison of Lucknow from falling into the hands of the victorious enemy. This would have enabled them to concentrate their entire force for the achievement of such a consummation; and although the defenders might delay for a short time such a result, through a determined resistance to them, yet their mere numerical superiority must eventually have crowned their undertaking with success.

Death had been busy from the outset of the defence among the ranks of the garrison. The losses thus incurred, if averaged at but three men per diem, for the ninety days previous to Havelock's arrival, would give a total of two hundred and seventy deaths; this number, subtracted from the original strength of the defenders, which was some-

where approaching to eight hundred, would leave a remainder of five hundred and thirty men to conduct the defensive operations against a force numbering some sixty thousand men. And even allowing it to be possible for each defender to have slain his half hundred before he himself fell, there would still remain of the enemy an army of three thousand five hundred men, which in itself ought to be sufficient to accomplish a military exploit of no mean order. It will be remembered, from a statement made in the House of Commons, that only about thirty thousand British troops would have been available had our country arbitrated in favour of Denmark.

The avowed intention of the enemy, from the outset, was to starve the members of the garrison into submission; but whilst intent upon pursuing the "Banting system," they nevertheless tried what virtue there would be in an occasional vigorous attack. There is an old saw which states that an Englishman fights best on a full stomach: from personal observation one can say that this holds good with Irishmen and Scotchmen too. Acting on the supposed truth of the proverb, the enemy supposed that hungry stomachs would take all fight out of the defenders, and that the low diet system would make them quietly submit to the surgical

operations they intended to perform on their persons, the effect of which would be to render them past fighting and eating too.

Among the other bad qualities of the rebels, can be classed that of being midnight disturbers of the peace: they were not content with making a respectable noise, which our party could have returned in kind, but they must needs make a horribly discordant noise at the witching hour of night by blowing upon a horn, that produced, under a good pair of lungs, the most unearthly sounds imaginable. Our men generally tried to silence this midnight serenader, not by coppers to induce him to go to the next street, but by lead to send him to no man's land. Their virtuous efforts, in this respect, were for a time unsuccessful. The happy night arrived at last, when this soloist was cut short, in one of his most touching solos, with variations. A well-directed bullet, from the musket of one of our fellows, silenced him. He was deservedly proud of his exploit, and certainly deserved the decoration of the "Victoria Cross," which he, however, through some mischance, never received. But virtue is its own reward, and in virtue of the soundness of this truism, he feels to this day, if alive, as much complacency as does Messrs. Punch and Bass in being instrumental in

the suppression of street music, for which laudable action those gentlemen deserve the best thanks of all Britishers.

For a short time previous to the arrival of Havelock's force, the mutineers each morning trooped or reviewed the guard, according to the usual military custom on such occasions. During its progress, the inmates of the Residency could hear the strains of martial music, which invariably ended with "God save the Queen." A clever bit of satire, this, to murder the Queen's loyal subjects, and then, by way of a requiem, to tootle, for it could not be termed playing, the National Anthem. How all who heard this well-known and sacred strain, wished it were possible to send some loyal messengers, in the shape of eight-inch shell, to scatter truly loyal sentiments among those who had forgotten their duty to our beloved Queen and her loving subjects.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HOSPITAL.

WE next request our readers to be kind enough to accompany us to the Hospital of the Residency. The building appropriated for the use of the sick, was the one already noticed as the Assembly Rooms. When the Residency was first garrisoned by our troops, only the upper storey of the building was used as sick wards; but on the commencement of the defence, or shortly afterwards, this part was rendered untenable by the enemy's fire, and the sick and wounded were transferred to the basement storey; which was rendered safe, or nearly so, from the effects of the missiles of the enemy, by every window, door, and crevice being barricaded, to prevent the intrusion of unwelcome visitors. This measure, whilst it was almost effectual in excluding shot and shell, was quite effectual in excluding fresh air and

light, two elements so indispensably necessary in aiding the recovery of the sick.

Let the reader picture to himself an overcrowded building, containing for the most part wounded men, the remaining portion being sick cases, without the means of ventilation during the hottest months of the year, in a tropical climate; and let him further imagine what the sickening effluvium must have been which arose from the constant suppuration of the wounds, and from the breathings of persons suffering from cholera, fever, and dysentry, and other minor complaints. He will thus be enabled to form some idea of the fearful state of these poor fellows; who were suffering from inconveniences, that we trust no human being will ever have again to undergo. Why, every breath of air one inhaled was poisoned, and rendered unfit for human use, and, as if this pestilential atmosphere was insufficient in itself to cause discomfort and sufferings, there remained yet another cause to add fresh fuel to the disgusting stench already quite unbearable. In the compound or enclosure adjoining the hospital, were the carcasses of buffaloes; which had been killed by the bullets of the enemy, and as they could not be removed without imminent danger to life, they were allowed to lay and putrify. When the wind blew in the direction of the hospital building, as it

did sometimes for more than a week at a time, the stench from these decomposing bodies pervaded every part of the building.

The poor fellows in the inner wards were by far the worst situated, for they had not the remotest chance of breathing a breath of pure air, as the room was environed by the walls of the anterooms on either side, and thus the atmosphere was stifling in the extreme. A very near approach in this respect was made to the famed black hole of Calcutta. The situation of affairs in the hospital would have defied even the experienced efforts of a Florence Nightingale to impart to it a better aspect. Sanitary commissioners would have stared aghast at the spectacle presented to their view, and philanthropic individuals would be induced to petition Parliament that England should join the Geneva Conference, had one existed in the year 1857. Fumigation was freely resorted to, but did not remedy the evil to any great extent, owing to the absence of a copious supply of that great disinfectant, viz, pure fresh air. Indeed, we question whether these artificial means did not retard the free respiration of many a poor fellow, who was fast approaching his end.

The sufferers, who were overcrowded in these dens, presented a heart-rending spectacle, and evoked

the sympathy of all persons; for the presence of dangers and the daily sight of suffering and anguish, did not render their hearts callous to the calls of humanity hereby made upon them. How could any one do otherwise than sympathise with those poor fellows, who were stricken down in the prime of manhood. Look upon that form, which but a short time back was full of manly vigour, but now lies prostrate, and suffers intense pain. Mark the dew of death settling upon his forehead, and watch how he anxiously turns his head from side to side, as if half expecting to see the well-known face of some loved one; but, alas! he is far away from all those who could have smoothed his pillow with the hand of affection and love, and have uttered words of sympathy that would have refreshed his very soul. He breathes his last amidst the sounds of sorrowing and suffering humanity.

Look again! Here is a man placed on the landing of the stairs, because he should be as far away as practicable from the other patients. His is a case of Asiatic cholera, and he is passing away fast to another world without the attendance of any person at his bed side, for his condition is hopeless, and the services of the nurses are urgently required elsewhere. Stay a while at the bedside of this young officer, who lays almost perfectly motionless,

and evinces but faint signs of life. He is wounded in the head. The doctors almost despair of saving him, for the bullet is lodged in or near the brain; yet they persevere, and endeavour, by the use of nourishment, which at first was administered by wetting the lips of the sufferer by means of a quill or feather, to sustain life. Success crowns their efforts at last, and his recovery is viewed by all who knew the particulars of his case, as something little short of a miracle. The doctors, however, warned him that too much exertion would be sure to end fatally for him.

Here are two non-commissioned officers, who fell victims to an undue fit of curiosity. The enemy contrived a plan of wrapping their shell in a bag of powder. This of course exploded when the fuze reached it, and almost immediately afterwards the shell itself burst. This ruse, when it was first adopted, took every one by surprise, for no *live* shell that ever *existed* was known to have a double explosion. The two unfortunate fellows just alluded to were in company together, and safe under cover, when a shell dropped close beside the spot where they were. Explosion number one took place, on which the pair, urged alike by a desire to see the fragments of the shell, immediately rushed out, when they were met by explosion number two, and

each received a frightful wound from pieces of the shell in their right shoulders. One of them died shortly afterwards in terrible agonies, biting the very flesh from his fingers. He was the last of a family of five who perished during the mutiny; three of that number at Cawnpore, and himself and brother at Lucknow. The other victim to curiosity was a husband, and a father of three children. He also died of his wound, but not in the agonies experienced by his fellow sufferer.

The case of this young officer is a very sad one indeed. He is dying from a wound inflicted by the hand of a friend. He was one of a reconnoitering party, headed by the Brigadier himself, which was bent upon discovering the intentions of the enemy in a certain quarter. On their return to the garrison, one of our own sentinels, who mistook them for a party of the enemy, fired, and mortally wounded the officer in question. His sisters and brother gathered around his bedside, and endeavoured to soothe his last moments. And although they were anxious not to disturb him with expressions of their grief, yet they could not altogether restrain the heart-bursting sobs that would from time to time escape from breasts overburdened with sorrow. Their parents fell victims, at the outset of the rebellion, to the treachery of the

Sepoys, of a regiment of which the father was Colonel. They themselves had to escape for their lives, and were exposed to great dangers before they reached the Residency. And now, yet another was to be added to the number of their slain ones, through a fatality that none had dreamed or thought of.

On this bed lays a murderer, who has courted death for some time, and has at last fallen into its embrace. A trifling dispute, which arose between his wife and the wife of his victim, caused recriminations to arise. In a fit of ungovernable passion he seized a loaded pistol, and firing, took the life of one who had been to him a comrade. Both were non-commissioned officers in a Native Cavalry regiment, and both were equally respected by their officers. The murder was committed a short time previous to the defence, and, owing to the unsettled state of things, the murderer could not be arraigned for his crime. On the commencement of the siege, although still considered to be a prisoner, he was permitted, at his own request, to take a part in the defence. To judge from the reckless manner in which he risked his life, he sought for death at the hands of the enemy, to avoid the possibility of paying the penalty of his awful crime at the hands of the law. At last he was wounded, which

rendered amputation necessary. He expired in a truly-penitent frame of mind, and we trust that that forgiveness which he appeared earnestly to seek, was not denied him above.

A true minister of the gospel met his death in the hospital. He was recovering from the effects of a wound, when he was attacked by cholera, to which he fell a victim. His loss was regretted by many to whom he had endeared himself by his many amiable qualities. He left a widow to mourn his untimely loss. She, however, from this time forward devoted her whole time and attention to the sick and wounded of the garrison.

Among the many cases of amputation which occurred during the defence, it is a strange fact to relate that not one single person who had lost a leg recovered; although several who had lost an arm, fully recovered their health and strength. The case of one poor fellow who lost a leg, deserves notice. At the outset of the defence, he was wounded about the ankle bone. Amputation was not then considered necessary. The wound kept open for a considerable time, and splinters of bone worked their way through very frequently. The suppuration which took place daily reduced the sufferer to such a complete state of exhaustion and weakness, that at last it was considered necessary

to amputate the disabled limb, to save his life. When the operation took place, the poor fellow was so reduced that he was a perfect skeleton; and it is no exaggeration to state that but a few drops of blood resulted from the using of the knife.

As has been stated, the hospital was barricaded at every point, yet bullets from the enemy found their way into the wards on several occasions, and two persons fell victims. The one was a patient, and the other a person who was paying a visit to a comrade. Round shot and shell entered occasionally. In one instance, the bricks which were displaced by the passage through of a round shot, fell upon the arm of a person who had suffered amputation above the elbow joint. The anguish caused thereby proved his death.

The hospital was the scene of many a solemn and striking event; but none proved more so than the midnight reading of the prayers for the sick and dying. The impressive prayers of the Church of England were rendered more impressive still by the passing events which attended the occasion. The groans of the wounded and dying, and the ravings of some who were delirious through fever, together with the arrival of some fresh-wounded case, who sometimes entreated to be laid down anywhere, that he might die, were interruptions

that not unfrequently took place during the reading of the prayers. The roar of our own cannon, the dull thud of a round shot striking the building, and the noisy explosion of the enemy's shell, mingled with the touching accents of supplication which ascended to that Great Being of the Universe, from a spot where those whom he had created were madly striving their utmost to destroy each other.

Hard indeed must have been the heart that remained unimpressed with the awful solemnity attending such an occasion, which furnished at the same time such a saddening, but true picture, of the dreadful effects of war.

Many a sorrowful parting took place under the roof of this hospital between husband and wife, and father and children, between brother and sister, and friend and comrade. And if the spot was hallowed by naught else, it was certainly by that grief with which a stranger intermeddleth not.

The bodies of those who died from day to day were sewn up in some article of bedding and interred in one common grave. The Chaplain read the burial service, and the uninterrupted presence of round shot, shell, and bullets, during the ceremony, was no unapt accompaniment or requiem over the grave of many a gallant soldier.

CHAPTER XV.

Mrs. POLEHAMPTON.

THE presence of women at the bedside of suffering, whether it proceeds from bodily or mental causes, has been always acknowledged to impart a soothingness, and a gentle charm and quiet to the sick room, that nothing else can impart. Her noiseless tread, the almost-caressingly-affectionate tones of the voice, and the aptness displayed to perform sundry little offices at precisely the right moment, are elements that no one wishes to see separated from the chamber of suffering. If this be acknowledged as a great boon at all ordinary times, it surely possesses a treble value at a time when the rudest shocks that man as a human being is called upon to endure, are being endured.

The presence of Mrs. Polehampton, the widow of the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, proved a boon to many who were laid upon beds of sickness and pain,

in the hospital of the Residency. Her self-imposed task was undertaken at a time when her widowed heart was so much in need of that sympathy, which she so freely lavished upon others. The death of her husband bereft her of a friend and comforter, during the progress of events which were big with perils and dangers. Her gentle voice soothed many a poor fellow who was suffering pain. With her own hand she fanned many a fevered brow, and evinced as gentle a solicitude for the comfort of all sufferers, as if they were related to her by ties of consanguinity. From her own scanty store of delicacies came many a dainty morsel for her sick friends. She was only absent from the post which she had herself selected, at such times when nature imperatively demanded repose for her wearied frame.

Kind words and kind actions are amongst the golden and sunny things of life, and wherever they are found aiding the daily businesses and pursuits of life, they shed a blissful influence around that creates, in a measure, a very earthly paradise. Kindness must at all times bring forth the better feelings of our nature, and hard must be the nature which it fails to act upon for good. The rough soldier, who had been trained in a school that not unfrequently blunts the better feelings of his nature, yet acted the part of a perfect gentleman towards

this sister of mercy. The roughest voice and manner would be modulated and toned down, when she was near attending to his comfort.

Querulousness invariably accompanies many stages of sickness, yet even the luxury of indulging this infirmity was foregone by many, who, when not awed by the presence of a woman, and that woman a lady, would give vent to their feelings in words that would shock the moral sensitiveness of many even of their own class. Devotedness on the part of a wife to a husband, and her family, we can all readily understand; but when this is bestowed upon all alike, who are in need of sympathy, it partakes of the Divine origin of Him who bore the sorrows of all, and sympathised and still sympathises with the meanest of His creatures. It is raised above the earthiness of earth, and assumes a semblance, in part, of that unselfish love which will actuate all who will inhabit a better land throughout eternity. The sacredness of that higher nature attaches itself to all the actions of those who are engaged in alleviating the sorrows and sufferings of humanity.

Among the many noble-hearted women of modern days, Florence Nightingale stands in the foremost rank. She has earned for herself, by her devotedness to the cause of the sufferers of human kind, the

thanks of her country, and of the whole civilized world. Her name has, for time, become a household word with the British army; and amidst all the glorious exploits of the Crimean war, her exploits excel all others, in the great good she performed in saving life, when the aim of thousands was to destroy life. In pursuing her philanthropic course she doubtlessly encountered many discouragements and drawbacks. But of this she was assured, that she possessed the warm sympathy of the people of England to encourage her in the accomplishment of a glorious task; and her own efforts were aided by the assistance of a well-trained staff of subordinates.

Mrs. Polehampton gave to a similar cause equal devotedness of purpose as did Miss Nightingale. Both are true types of England's daughters. Both were actuated by pure and disinterested motives in undertaking their work for the alleviation of suffering. Mrs. Polehampton was not entrusted with the management of the arrangements for the comfort of the patients of the Residency hospital, nor did she desire the post; but she acted on the impulse of her generous heart, and from a desire to be useful to her fellow creatures at a time when every man was required to confront the foe. Her place in the hospital was doubly productive of blessing, for she

not only nursed the sick and wounded, but she rendered the services of men nurses in some degree unnecessary. And thus she may be said to have added her quota to the defence of the Residency.

No stores of medical comforts were at hand, from which to distribute to the necessities of those whom she so kindly tended, but every bestowal by her of some creature comfort or delicacy was made from her slight stock. Thus did this noble woman not only freely give her time, but also her goods, for the benefit of her sick friends. To further appreciate her services, it must be remembered that the hospital was, of all the places in the garrison, the least desirable to pass the greater portion of one's time in. The atmosphere of the building was almost unbearable to a person in health, and the sights and sounds to be there seen and heard, were such that only a true sister of mercy could endure. The risk to life was greater, also, than in most other positions of the garrison; and the necessity there was for her to pass, several times a day, along points where the enemy's fire was very heavy, increased this risk of her life in a tenfold degree. That she did not work for a reward, was apparent, for at the time when she entered upon her self-imposed duties, the prospects of a speedy deliverance from the hands of the enemy were remote indeed;

and the chances were not improbable that her disinterestedness would never be known to the world.

The conduct of Mrs. Polehampton, we apprehend, cannot be too highly eulogised; nor ought such services to be overlooked by the country, for such instances of devotedness are rare indeed, and call for encouragement; more especially so, when the heroine is a modest, gentle, and retiring lady, who has not trumpeted her doings to encompass a well-merited reward. Of one thing we are quite certain, which is, that the history of the defence of Lucknow will be incomplete, if it does not contain the mention of the services of the noble-hearted woman, Mrs. Polehampton.

With her, and her work of mercy, are associated the names of the following ladies, Mesdames Birch, Barbor, and Gall, all of whom merit for their deeds of love and mercy to the wounded and dying, unqualified praises and admiration.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

THE doctors deserve a nook in the temple of fame for the able manner in which, each of them carried out the trying duties of their profession, under circumstances discouraging in the extreme. It may, perhaps, appear invidious to particularize only two of the many doctors who bore the heat and burden of the day; but we do so, not from any such motive, but because those two were the most prominent in the management of the affairs of the hospital.

Dr. Scott, who was the senior Medical Officer of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, was a very worthy man, and in the performance of the responsible duties of his position, he gained the respect and esteem of both the officers and men of his corps. At the outset of the defence, he was prostrated through sickness, and indeed his life was despaired of. But, happily, he rallied, and as soon as his strength

sufficiently returned, he resumed his duties in the hospital, where the benefit of his experienced skill proved invaluable.

He was looked upon by all the patients, as an old friend who could be relied on, and his kind heart prompted him to cheer and animate the poor sufferers. He particularly disliked a patient to be too demonstrative under the knife. If any showed such symptoms, he would put the query, "Eh, mon, do I hurt you?" in his canny Scotch way; but, to those who could grin and bear the operation, he was particularly partial, and rewarded their stoicism by the present of a cheroot and an approving nod.

Dr. Boyd, his colleague, was at the time the second medical officer of the 32nd regiment, and, owing to the illness of his senior, the chief direction of the affairs of the hospital devolved on him. He performed nearly all the operations of amputation, and proved extremely skilful in this branch of his profession. It was really surprising to witness the amount of work he performed daily, yet he never seemed tired of doing, but was available both by night and day, to attend upon the numerous cases brought under his practice. Nature had gifted him with a stalwart frame, which he did not in any way spare where duty or danger was concerned. In fact, had his strength depended

upon a less robust constitution, his untiring energy would have utterly prostrated his physical powers. His many good qualities made him a general favourite with all classes.

Whatever his theory was about physic, his practice, as far as he himself was concerned, could be summed up in the words of Shakspeare, "Throw physic to the dogs," for no one could behold his jolly and good-natured countenance, and suppose for a moment that *physic* had anything to do with producing such results. Occasionally he was to be seen scampering off to the mess-room with a brother officer who was a cripple. And a very good pick-a-back he made too.

The other members of the Medical staff were also very zealous in the performance of their duties, and their united efforts added materially to the well-doing of the numerous patients placed under their charge.

Persons acquainted with the practical value of the services of the members of the army medical profession, must have been thoroughly disgusted with the recent controversy upon the question of the position and standing of these gentlemen. The professional qualifications of the army doctor are indisputably of the highest order, as vouched for by the examination which they undergo before

entering upon their position in the service. Their personal daring and devotedness have been also indisputably proved on many a bloody field and campaign.

Those who cavil at these hard-working sons of Galen, ought to have been at Lucknow during the period of the defence, and have required the amputation of a limb, or a bullet extracted, or a broken limb set, or some such friendly service, to demonstrate the practical efficiency and skill of those whom they contemn. They would have soon learned to respect a class of gentlemen, who in their sphere acquire as much glory, and well-merited glory, too, as falls to the lot of combatant officers. Ask the opinion of the rank and file about their doctors, and their true value will be ascertained from lips that have not the bias of caste to make them pronounce gentlemen to be *snobs*. Our advice to the members of the medical profession is, to bring their detractors to a sense of their duty to themselves by administering to them a dose which would remove the bile from their composition.

The apothecaries, also, deserve special mention for their untiring endeavours to promote the comfort and welfare of the sick and wounded.

Mr. Thompson always had a cheerful smile for every one, and was obliging to a fault.

Mr. Higgins was also cheerful and obliging, and indefatigable in his efforts to add to the comforts of the men; and those of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, when about to return to England, presented him with a valuable testimonial, to mark their appreciation of his services during the defence.

A Mr. Dellacour, who had been reared in H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, and who was generally respected, met a most singular and melancholy end. While asleep in a small ante-room of the hospital, which was considered pretty secure from the inroads of the enemy's shot, a cannon ball, as it was passing the door, split in halves. One half, after entering, struck the poor fellow about the extremity of the spine, and literally ripped his body up. After suffering for a time, great agony, he expired, leaving a widowed mother to mourn his untimely death.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE OFFICERS.

THE Officers of the garrison proved, on the occasion of the defence, that they had not deteriorated in the slightest degree from the example of their fellows, who, in past ages, by their deeds of bravery, covered the martial annals of Great Britain with glory, and rendered the name of a British Officer deservedly respected, both as a soldier and a gentleman. The perfect understanding which existed among themselves, as a class, coupled with the mutual respect which they and their men had for each other, was productive of beneficial results, and gave a heartiness and zeal to every action performed for the safety of the position, and of the community generally.

An old soldier has very shrewdly observed, that a true officer proves himself to be such in times of danger, when, instead of lagging in the rear, and saying, "Go along, boys," he keeps his place in front,

and says "Come along, boys. It can be truly stated that "Come along, boys" was the motto of each officer assisting in the defence. Mr. Punch's caricature on the Northerners at the battle of Bull's Run, which describes a Yankee officer as urging his men to expend their ammunition, and then cut; but being himself lame, he would cut at once; although of the "Come along" type, did not lead where glory waited, and proves that there are two sides to every question. But, however, we apprehend that the North has redeemed its character in this respect since then; for although the South has often seen its *back*, yet before this took place, a good *front* has generally been shown.

Captain Lowe, the commanding officer of the 32nd Foot, proved himself to be as zealous and active an officer as the service possessed: although exposed to great dangers throughout the defence, he luckily escaped with but a slight wound or two. Captain Mansfield, a very worthy officer, fell a victim to the cholera. Captain Bassano, who was dangerously wounded in the foot by a grape-shot at the battle of Chinhut, was thereby unfitted for active duty for a lengthened period; but on his recovery he made up amply for lost time. Poor Captain Power was wounded at an early stage of the defence; and, although he lingered for a time,

yet he eventually succumbed to the severity of it. Captain Mc Cabe, who was better known among the men of his corps under the name of Barney Mc Cabe, was mortally wounded. At his death it could truly be stated that the service lost thereby as brave an officer as ever drew sword in its ranks. He had risen from the ranks to a commission, in consequence of the great bravery he displayed during an engagement in India; he was greatly beloved and respected, both by his fellow officers and the men of his corps. Lieutenant Lawrence luckily escaped without being wounded, although he led several sorties; and for his conduct on one of these occasions, he was subsequently decorated with the Victoria Cross. Lieutenant Foster, the Acting Adjutant, proved an able officer; he was dangerously wounded, but happily recovered from its effects. Lieutenant Edmondston received several wounds, one of which was of a very dangerous character: he commanded the body of volunteers who defended the iron bridge against the advance of the enemy, after the disastrous affair at Chinhut. In the discharge of this duty he displayed both great bravery and ability. Lieutenant Harmar received a dangerous fracture of the bone of his leg: the injury was inflicted by the leg of a table, which a round shot had set in motion, and which, it may be supposed through sympathetic

motives, sought to do as it was done by, in its endeavours to make another leg less. Lieut. Brown did good service on several occasions, in leading a party to spike the enemy's guns, which proved troublesome to our position; and although this duty was attended with great personal risk to both life and limb, he nevertheless escaped with but few hurts. Lieut. Clery, although fortunate enough to escape being wounded, was, towards the close of the defence, prostrated by a severe illness, from which, happily, he recovered. Poor Lieut. Webb lost his life through a round shot, which nearly cut him asunder; he was a promising officer, and his loss was deeply deplored. Lieut. Cook also proved fortunate in escaping without serious injury, and did good service. Ensign Studdy, a most promising young officer, was suddenly cut short in his military career by death, which ensued from the effects of an amputated arm. Ensign Charlton was dangerously wounded in the head; this case has already been noticed in the chapter upon the hospital. Paymaster Giddings and Quartermaster Stribling gained themselves the good-will and respect of all classes. Captain O'Brien, 84th Foot, and Lieutenant Macgrath, proved zealous officers; they were both fortunate enough to escape with but slight injuries. Captain Alexander, and his cousin,

second Lieutenant Alexander, both proved invaluable as Artillerists, and taught the enemy many a practical lesson in the art of gunnery by the splendid practice which they made at all times. The former of the two was particularly unfortunate in contracting injuries. On one occasion, whilst superintending the cleansing of a mortar, the powder exploded in his face, and all but blinded him. Towards the close of the defence, he had the misfortune to lose both his legs, which were swept from under him by a round shot. The severe nature of the injuries caused his death. His cousin, happily, survived all the dangers of the occasion. Lieut. Lewis, a young Artillery officer, who was looked upon as an officer of great promise, fell a victim to the murderous fire which, at the outset of the defence, swept the Cawnpore battery at all points. Lieut. Mc. Farlane, another Artillery officer, received what he considered a slight scalp wound, but which eventually nearly cost him his life, through exposure to the sun whilst wounded in such a dangerous part. He possessed as great coolness of manner when under fire as ever, we apprehend, could be evinced by any person. Capt. Evans, of the Native Infantry, proved an excellent aid as an Artillerist, and did good service in this capacity during the defence. Lieutenant Warner, of

the Native Cavalry, proved himself an efficient officer in every respect.

The personal staff of the Brigadier Commanding gained the respect of all classes by the zealous manner in which each officer performed his duties, and by the courtesy which invariably attended their every action. The Chief Engineer officer deserves most honourable mention for the able manner in which he performed the perplexing and arduous duties of his profession. He was kept well supplied with work, as the enemy displayed a decided propensity for *undermining* their neighbours; and had this mischievous quality remained unchecked, the result would have been the loss of *position*, if not of character, to all the inmates of the Residency. He accordingly met the foe with their own weapons, and proved in numerous instances the best master of fence of the two, by completely frustrating their knavish tricks, and making their own mines do their work of destruction upon themselves. He brought *high* qualities to bear upon his endeavours to reach a *low* position; and although he was fond of *boring*, yet his friends never found him a *bore*, for this troublesome and low propensity, together with his *shafts*, not of irony, were specially destined for the enemy, whom he was particularly fond of *blowing up*.

As the names of other officers who took a part in the defence are unknown to the writer, he cannot bear special testimony to the high qualities possessed by each, but must be satisfied with recording a faithful testimony to their collective efforts in defence of the Residency being of a noble character indeed, and meriting the highest praise.

It will be remembered that the official dispatch of the late Sir John Inglis bore ample testimony to the fact of all having nobly performed their share of the duties of the defence, and having uncomplainingly encountered the dangers and hardships attending the occasion: we are humbly desirous to endorse this statement by the testimony of these pages.

The officers of the 32nd Regiment possessed a pretty good stock of mess comforts, in the shape of wines and spirits, and other little et ceteras, which they freely shared, for a considerable time, with their less fortunate brethren of the Native Infantry, who, unfortunately, possessed no mess of their own, although they were led into a pretty *mess* by their rebellious regiments. The officers' mess was the largest room in the three-storied building, and, taking exception to the intrusive shot and shell, the place proved very comfortable quarters. As the enemy were aware that the officers assembled in this building, the place was assailed pretty freely

by their missiles, and this was particularly the case about the hours of meal times.

The dishes were conveyed from the cook-house to the mess-room by the native bearers, and although the distance thus traversed was about three hundred yards, yet not a single casualty occurred among them; neither can it be remembered that any mishap befel the viands they were carrying. This is a singular fact, for the road to the mess-room was exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy at all hours of the day and night.

One morning, a party of officers had just seated themselves at breakfast, and were commencing an onslaught on the good things of the table, when they were joined by a *carcase*, which, however, proved too fiery to be palatable. In forcing an entrance, this unceremonious visitor pierced through two walls, and *wound up* the existence of a clock in a *striking* manner. It then traversed the whole length of the room, passing over the mess-table, and after butting the opposite wall, took up its position, in a very demonstrative manner, at the side of worthy Dr. Boyd. He, however, soon parted company with his blustering new acquaintance, and skedaddled in all haste to his patients. The mess-room was soon emptied of all its occupants, who sought shelter in an adjoining ante-

room. These persons, however, did their early visitor an injustice, by taking him for a *mere shell*, instead of a *full carcass*, and he accordingly avenged himself for this unpardonable offence of mistaken identity by firing up in a furious manner, and putting himself in a *flaming* passion.

The members of the disturbed party then commenced a game of bo-peep. One of the number would take a hasty peep round the corner of the door, and seeing what he considered to be the burning fuze of the supposed shell, would tell the others that the danger was not yet over. After a short pause, observations would again be taken with a like result; and thus a full quarter of an hour was expended whilst awaiting the anticipated explosion. At last the truth began to dawn upon the minds of some, that they had to do not with a shell, but with a carcass. It was astonishing how the countenances of all brightened when this truth was fully ascertained. Each person greeted his neighbour with a hearty laugh, at the ludicrous situation they had all been assuming. Fortunately the room was bare of inflammable materials, or otherwise the whole building would have been set on fire by this visitor, who had been left alone so long to his *incendiary* meditations. It was of

no use attempting to duck him, or to cool his ardour, as he was a perfect Salamander in that respect; but his wind was stopped by rolling him up in blankets, which measure soon silenced his fiery eloquence and left him the mere *shell* of a *carcass*. The defunct monster was then rolled into a corner, and every one felt thankful that so little damage had been inflicted; and though some grumbled a trifle at the loss of a breakfast, for the article said to be used in adulterating Cayenne pepper, viz. brick dust, covered the chops and steaks, and other items of the breakfast; yet they consoled themselves with the knowledge that it would soon be dinner time, and that an empty stomach was far preferable to a broken head, or broken bones. The aforesaid carcass was subsequently refilled and returned to the enemy, with the compliments of the garrison, and with the hope that he would make their personal acquaintance, and chaw them up considerably.

This disagreeable episode caused the transfer of the mess to a room which adjoined the old one, where, however, the first morning or so following the exchange, a round shot entered and knocked the tables and chairs about, the splinters from which seriously injured one of the officers. A return was

quickly made to the old quarters; but they subsequently went to the room over the Tykana, which had been occupied by ladies, and where Miss Palmer lost her life, and where they remained until the relief. The old mess-room was subsequently used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of General Havelock's army.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RANK AND FILE, AND CIVILIANS.

THE men were not a whit behind their officers, in upholding the old standard of merit of the British army. Many of them displayed unusual bravery, and performed deeds of valour. One man of the band, named Cooney, proved himself a hero, afraid of no danger, or averse to share in any undertaking which promised the infliction of a summary chastisement upon the enemy. This spirit led him to head several sorties to spike the enemy's guns; and with a party of kindred spirits, numbering at times four or five, and at others but three, they sallied out upon the foe, and invariably carried out the project they had in view. One of the number spiked the gun, while the others defended him from an attack during the exploit. At times the party escaped without one of its number having been injured by the enemy; who, if

time allowed, usually fled and left their guns in the hand of our adventurous party. When pounced upon suddenly and driven into a corner, a hand-to-hand encounter ensued, which however was invariably decided in favour of our men. Cooney received a wound through the hand, whilst spiking a gun, which disabled him for a time.

On the arrival of Havelock's force, although he was a cripple and had to wear his hand in a sling, he yet accompanied the several parties on sortie duty, and was foremost at all times in confronting danger, and inciting others to deeds of daring. Unfortunately, during one of such occasions, he received a mortal wound, which speedily ended his existence.

A companion of his, named Smith, who invariably shared in his dashing exploits, also fell mortally wounded on the same occasion; and these two brave men, who in life braved perils and dangers together, lay side by side in death. Brigadier Inglis was much moved on hearing of their deaths, and on viewing the remains of these lion-hearted men, he exclaimed, "There lie two of the bravest men that ever wore a red coat." There is not a doubt that, had Cooney survived the defence, he would have received a commission, as a suitable reward for his gallantry. As it was, he had con-

ferred upon him the badge of a Corporal, and both he and Smith received a gratuity in money from the Brigadier, and were further recommended for the Victoria Cross.

A youth, named Boyd, a drummer, and whose height was about four feet two inches, surprised every one by his daring and courage. Armed with a sergeant's fusee, he assisted in the defence of the Residency, and proved a good marksman indeed. He accompanied the parties on sortie duty, and brought down his man in a soldierlike manner. On one of these occasions, he had a prisoner committed to his charge to bring into garrison. The disparity between the size of the prisoner and his guard amounted to something like that of Goliah and David. After proceeding a short distance on their journey, Boyd pretended to be moved with compassion towards the prisoner, and told him he might take to his heels. As may be conceived, the advice was quickly followed. The young imp, however, after allowing him to gain a distance of some twenty or thirty yards, took a deliberate aim and put a stop to his earthly career, by sending a bullet through him. On Boyd's being asked for his prisoner, he coolly replied that he had lost him. This closely resembles the answer of the Confederates of America, when taxed about the

whereabouts of their negro prisoners. The whole proceedings had, however, been observed by a party; who purposely set themselves to watch, as they had anticipated what Boyd would do, and as no prisoners were supposed to be taken, he was purposely entrusted with the Sepoy by way of a joke; for whom, however, it proved no joking matter. The young scamp was quite proud of his achievement, and the matter amused all who heard about it. His case was brought to the notice of the General Commanding, as a candidate for the Victoria Cross, as he on one occasion saved the life of a comrade. Rumour had it, that General Outram was so pleased with the lad's appearance, and the bravery he had displayed, that he meant to purchase his discharge from the army, and take him as his page. Death, however, gave him a free discharge. The poor little fellow was shot through the head whilst prowling about the outposts.

A youth of the band, whose mother and father had been massacred at Cawnpore, felt towards the rebels, generally, such an intense hatred that he took every opportunity of revenging their cruel murder upon all he could lay hands upon. The last sortie he attended, brought his party upon a group of the enemy, among whom was a woman, whom he slew in a moment of passionate revenge.

On returning from this adventure, he sought repose by throwing himself upon the ground to sleep. Close by the spot where he lay, a quantity of loose powder lay strewed about; among which the ignited portion of a cartridge paper fell, and exploded it, and burnt the sleeper in a dreadful manner. He was taken to the hospital, where he died in fearful agonies. He was regretted by his sisters and brothers, and by all the men of the 32nd Regiment, to whom he had endeared himself by his manliness and amiable qualities. And were it not for tne cruel wrongs of his parents, we are certain that he would have been the last to raise his hand against a woman, which act appears to have called down a retributive justice on his head.

A mad-brained fellow, during one of his foraging expeditions, came suddenly upon a guard of the enemy, numbering between twenty and thirty men. They mistaking his appearance for one of a party bent on surprising them, took to their heels and skedaddled in fine style, to the no small astonishment of the seeker for tobacco; who forthwith proceeded to ransack the place for some of the much coveted weed. His search was rewarded, as he returned with a quantity of dried tobacco leaves; and recounted his exploit to a delighted audience of his comrades, who took care, however, whilst

applauding the hero of the hour, to ask him for a share of his booty.

A sergeant, named Day, did some good service by aiding the Engineer officer in the mining operations. His efficiency in this respect caused him to be entrusted by his superior with the sole conduct of sinking and preparing the several mines; which service he performed in the ablest manner. His natural ability and sagacity, coupled with the experience he had as a miner prior to his servitude, made him to prove the right man in the right place. In fact, he was as good as a ferret in scenting the exact situation of the mines of the enemy. This instinct saved the garrison from many a disaster, by the counter-mines whereby he circumvented them. He made the danger to recoil on their own heads. Under his directions, our miners, on one or two occasions, have broken into the enemy's mines, when it was reported that their shareholders experienced a personal loss, as these gentry were *picked* by our fellows, which caused the mining speculation to be a failure, and no doubt caused mining shares to go down, if not in the market, at least in the earth. On other occasions, the opportunity has been awaited to get the opposite parties at their work, and then to spring our countermine, when, of course, the enemy's ex-

cavators were *ruined*. On the arrival of Havelock's force, he was appointed to a local rank of trust, to which was attached a handsome salary. But, unfortunately, the state of one of his legs, which festered badly, through an injury he received, prevented his services from being further available. This at the time proved a serious drawback to the interest of the service, and to his own also, as he was obliged to resign the appointment, which he had so hardly earned.

A corporal, Gately, proved too much for the prize agent, who suspected him of being possessed of some valuables belonging to the ex-king of Oude. The answer he invariably received, when he accosted the non-commissioned officer about them, was worthy of a cute Yankee, for he said he had received them as presents from persons who were either dead, or gone to Delhi. The subject became a standing joke amongst the men of the corps, and the pert evasion quite non-plussed the official.

A sergeant major, Pinder, of the Native Infantry, proved conspicuous for his daring and gallantry, and as he was a capital marksman and fond of prowling round the enemy's outposts, he made good use of his talent. Unfortunately, the enemy shot him through the body as he was making tracks through some long grass, and put an end to his

usefulness. He was much respected by every one, and left a wife and three children to mourn his untimely fate.

A rather amusing scene took place one morning, when a man named Tom Carroll was guilty of a very daring, but fool-hardy trick. A young calf had some how or other strayed into the compound, and taken up its position near the earthworks adjoining the hospital. As the possession of the animal was much coveted by the aforesaid Tom Carroll and sundry others, he determined to bring it into garrison at all hazards. He accordingly lowered himself by means of a rope, by which the animal was drawn up; and long Tom quickly followed, without having received a scratch, although the enemy's sharpshooters were but some sixty yards off. The calf furnished him and his friends with many a savoury meal, and he and his exploit furnished the entire garrison with a cause for merriment.

An old soldier, named Massey, was one day doing a little mending to his clothes, and whilst thus engaged, he was, in the way of conversation, drawing a picture of what he intended to do when he left the army and received his pension. A bullet cut short his anticipations and his life *too*, and the poor old soldier was, we trust, ushered into the possession of greater joys than earth can afford.

The following anecdote will illustrate the accuracy of the enemy's sharpshooters. A youth, named Alcock, was on sentry near a stockade, and being curious to ascertain if he could perceive any of the enemy's sharpshooters, he peeped through a very slight crevice in the wood work. He was observed, and one of them sent a bullet through, what would have been thought an almost imperceptible opening. He was struck about the windpipe, and was heard to exclaim "O my God!" when he immediately expired. This proved a caution to all, and no one hazarded another peep through the hole; which had as fatal a penalty attaching to it, as had the famous room of Blue Beard of horrid memory.

The civilian portion of the garrison, also, cheerfully took their part in the defensive measures of the time. An ex-officer of the French army, who left his country from political motives, emigrated to India and set up as a merchant in the city of Lucknow. On the outbreak of the mutiny, he was driven for shelter into the Residency, and lost nearly all his stores. His past services with the French army in Africa, had given him some experience in the art of war, and as he was a crack shot with the rifle, and a good swordsman, and possessed of great personal bravery, these qualities,

as may be conceived, rendered his aid very acceptable. He accompanied nearly all the parties on sortie duty, and on these occasions he gained the respect of his comrades by the daring and bravery he displayed. He was desperately wounded on one occasion. A bullet shattered his jaw and tore away a portion of his tongue. Previous to this, he received a wound in the arm.

Another worthy civilian gentleman, named Sinclair, was conspicous for his daring. He was severely wounded on one or two occasions.

A gentleman of the uncovenanted service, named Rees, also took a prominent part on several occasions of attack, and both he and other members of his profession gained the respect of all classes by the soldierly conduct which they displayed on all occasions.

Several Native bandsmen and drummers, who could not endure the rigours of the siege, and the deprivation of their wonted comforts, in the shape of opium and tobacco, deserted from the Residency. It was subsequently reported, that these gentry of fastidious tastes fell into the clutches of the enemy, who put them to a shocking and cruel death.

A portion of the defenders consisted of Sepoys, both Sikhs and Bengalees, who had remained faithful to their salt. These by their conduct, unwavering

fidelity, and their uncomplaining endurance of hardships and want, gained the confidence and respect of all classes. The Sikhs are generally a fine intelligent race of men, and make capital soldiers. They are naturally of a buoyant disposition, and in their qualities of bravery and endurance of hardships approach nearer than does any other class of Native soldiers to the standard of English troops, with whom they willingly fraternize and form friendships. They are almost as fond of athletic sports as our men are, and prove no mean opponents in feats of strength. Their predilection for rum is almost equal to that of their white brethren. They were as embittered against the mutineers as were the Europeans, and proved, on all occasions, their determined enemy. This hatred was reciprocated by the mutineers, who out of revenge for the part the Sikhs took against the rebellion, treated any of their nation who fell into their hands with marked cruelty.

For instance, a number of women, the wives of Sikh soldiers, who were residing at Cawnpore during the absence of their husbands, were brutally treated by these ruffians, who cut off their tongues, ears, and noses, and otherwise disfigured their persons, and left them in this pitiable condition for their husbands to see. For such atrocities they paid

dearly, whenever any of their class got into the clutches of the Sikhs, who invariably put them to the cruelest death they could invent or think of. Nor could they be induced to act otherwise towards these demons in human shape. But to their credit be it stated that they were never known to retaliate the inhuman acts committed on their women, upon the wives or daughters of the enemy. In respecting the helplessness of the female sex, they are honourably akin to ourselves. This trait of the manliness of their character was displayed on all occasions during the progress of the late Sikh war.

The Sikh nation, as a body, are immeasurably superior to the remaining population of India, and, indeed, they consider themselves insulted if classed with their contemporaries of the soil, with whom they repudiate the idea of connection in any way. There is an openness and frankness about their character, which you in vain look for in the Bengalee. Their very mien and tread are commanding, and bespeak manly self-respect and self-reliance; and these qualities, as well as others of a high standard which they possess, when aided and developed by a free intercourse with the nations of the civilized world, for whose pursuits they evince a decided predilection, must make them in time, a great nation, and one whose friendship we do well to assiduously cultivate at all times.

Not one word can be uttered in disparagement of the Bengalee Sepoys, who aided in the defence of the Residency. Theirs was not an enviable position in any respect. They must have apprehended that their every movement would be watched with a jealous eye, and that the remainder of the garrison would be suspicious about their fidelity. And although they were not made to feel by any act that this feeling had an existence, yet they must have had an intuitive knowledge that such was the case. The position which was assigned them to defend, did not bring them in contact with the Europeans of the garrison. Their post was exposed to a galling fire from the enemy, which tried their courage and endurance very much; yet they flinched not, or either by complaint or murmur evinced the slightest sign of dissatisfaction or wavering. They too were necessarily deprived of many comforts, and this loss occasioned as great discomfort as did the absence of the more refined luxuries of the Europeans. The rebels endeavoured to cajole them by promises, and to intimidate them with threats, but both species of arguments were alike lost upon our friends. They could have given no greater proof of their fidelity to the English cause, than the one given daily by the circumstance of their maintaining day by day a deadly strife with those who were

wont to be their comrades in arms; and who were followers of the same religious faith, and bound to them in many cases by the ties of consanguinity.

It must be no easy task to meet those in warfare who previously held a place in our esteem and affection, and to sever one's self from a popular and national cause, having for its avowed object the preservation and defence of that religion, which at times proves dearer than life itself. This task requires a Spartan fortitude to fulfil, and to those who achieved it the highest honour is due.

They proved honourable men indeed, and have by their actions redeemed the Sepoy character from being consigned to a never-to-be-forgotten infamy. In every account of the heroic defence made by the garrison of Lucknow, must the conduct of the few Sepoys, who remained faithful to the Indian government, be honourably mentioned. And their indomitable courage and firmness, must point all to the conclusion that, as they displayed such high soldierly qualities under circumstances so disadvantageous, so would these qualities be enhanced when called into active operation under more favourable auspices.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHAPLAINS.

ON the death of the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, the duties devolved solely on the Reverend Mr. Harris, who performed them in a truly Christian spirit. The office of a minister of the gospel, when properly exercised, is truly felt to possess an influence for good, and especially so when threatening dangers and present afflictions constrain people to think of another and a better world.

On the occasion of which we write, this influence was really and truly exerted by one, who felt the deep responsibility of his position, not knowing the moment when he himself should be called upon to give an account of his stewardship. The continued and daily spectacle of suffering and anguish, made him, as a Christian minister, anxious to relieve those so suffering by imparting to them the strong

consolations of religion. And thus the bond of sympathy between him and the suffering members, at least of his flock, was cemented by the presence of Christian affection on the one hand, and of gratitude on the other. He invariably treated his *soldier* friends in a spirit of gentleness and Christian charity, and thus won their affections to himself.

We have known a military chaplain, who whilst delivering his sermon used such a dictatorial and commanding-officer-like style of speech, that his hearers must have been disagreeably impressed, and have fancied themselves on a muster parade, with the articles of war dinging in their ears, instead of in the house of God with the blessings of a gospel of peace being offered for their acceptance. Such preaching would have suited the Cromwellian age, rather than the enlightened nineteenth century, when soldiers like to hear something different from the pulpit, than they are in the habit of hearing on a parade ground. A red coat does not inhumanize a man, or render him unfit to receive words of gracious import in a style befitting the message of love and mercy. In the army of Cromwell, religion meant discipline, and discipline meant religion, for the two were so blended as to be indistinguishable. And no doubt the medley worked very well when people were made religious by

martial law, and when hard blows and hard measures were not wanting to enforce spiritual doctrines, and to compel the nation, generally, to conform to the views of the *Military Church* of Great Britain. But it is a pleasing fact to relate, that the foregoing trait is the exception, and not the rule of military chaplains as a body. But still, perhaps, there exists a little more stiffness than is necessary in the performance of their ministerial duties. This is caused, no doubt, by notions respecting their relative military rank, and the respect due to the same from those beneath them. Where this feeling exists, it must necessarily operate upon the rank and file of their flock, in a manner otherwise than conducive of that sympathy between the minister and his people, which alone can produce spiritual good.

It is again a pleasing fact to relate, that there are many military chaplains, who forget their military rank and position in the exercise of their true calling, as Ministers of Christ. A noble example is set in this respect by the Chaplain General of the forces. Towards such men the affections, rude though they may be, of the soldier, are displayed, and they listen to their voices with respect and attention, not because they are addressed by

military superiors, who by the rules of the service can give them a homily at all times, but from a sense, on their part, that their ministers are yearning to accomplish their happiness and eternal welfare from truly Christian principles.

The Reverend Mr. Harris was respected from such a cause, and deservedly so too. He was to be found at the bedside of the dying, sick, and wounded, administering religious consolation in tones which plainly bespoke his heart was in the work, and that he felt for those who were on the eve of departing, and who were labouring on a bed of sickness. Many a tear bedewed his cheek, as a tribute of sympathy for those who were struck down in the performance of a sacred and a patriotic duty. His voice was to be heard at noon, as well as at midnight, engaged in prayer with those who were seeking to prepare for eternity. The solemn but beautiful language of the prayers for the sick, was often uttered by him in true accents of supplication, and not merely as a formula.

It is apprehended, that on such an occasion was preached a more eloquent and touching sermon than is ordinarily heard. Everything tended toward this end: the passing events of the hour, whose minutes were accompanied by the elements of death;

the sight of suffering humanity, which gave vent to its feelings in groans and cries of pain and anguish; the angel of death ever near, crying give, give; and the voice of one speaking as a dying man to dying men, contained truths for a sermon that such scenes alone could furnish, and which conveyed grander and more impressive as well as practical lessons in forcible language, because the occasion was divested of all artificiality, and abounded in simple truthfulness and awful and solemn warnings.

A portion of the duties of the Reverend Mr. Harris was of a dangerous kind. Each evening, the whole of those who died during the day were consigned to a common grave, and the rites for the burial of the dead were pronounced. The words of our beautiful and impressive burial service were rendered more impressive still amidst the thunderings of cannon, the bursting of shell, and the whir of bullets. These sounds possessed no import for those who were calmly sleeping, awaiting the great judgement summons. Although this duty was one of danger, yet he escaped unscathed.

We are convinced that persons of all religious denominations, who comprised the members of the garrison, would, if they were called upon, join in

expressing their gratitude to the Reverend Mr. Harris, as to one who commanded their respect and esteem, and who performed his duties in a manner so as to commend his religion to the hearts and consciences of all.

CHAPTER XX.

EVENTS OF THE DEFENCE.

THE fire of the enemy, at some points, proved so galling and fatal in its tendencies, that, at last, the patience and powers of endurance of the defenders were exhausted. This circumstance caused measures to be devised to stay the leaden stream which flowed so copiously from the barrels of the enemy's muskets, and so teach them a lesson of economy in dealing with the ammunition which rightfully was the property of our government. The vicinity of the Cawnpore Battery, and the side of the hospital which faced in that direction, were spots rendered particularly uncomfortable, and to be avoided by all not intent upon committing suicide. To expose oneself at either of those places was extremely suicidal, for the enemy managed to *pop* the question of life and death very quickly on such occasions. And the "To be, or not to be," generally found an affirmative

in the rash adventurer being launched on the unfathomable ocean of eternity.

It was currently reported, and generally believed, that an eunuch, of a purely philosophical turn of mind, and who was desirous of solving the problem whether the properties of nature, scientifically applied, did not conduce to shorten human life, or, in plainer language, to find out whether a man's head or an ounce of lead was the hardest, was pleasantly occupied in prosecuting his *practical* pursuit of the truth of the foregoing *theory*, under circumstances extremely advantageous to himself as an experimentor, for, seated in an easy chair, he drank his coffee and smoked his pipe in perfect security, whilst he carried on his rifle practice, during which he made decidedly good hits, as many a poor fellow who was his aim found to his cost; for he usually made an *upper* by sending his bullet through the head of his human target.

As has been before stated, several men fell victims to this fellow's prowess, and indeed he rendered the battery a complete failure in every respect. As may be conceived, people fought shy of this spot. Our fellows kept him occasionally employed by lifting up a sponge-staff, to test the accuracy of his aim. He never declined the challenge, but sent his bullet true to the mark, and shattered the wood,

which the defenders considered much better than having their own pates shattered; and as the practice pleased him, and did not hurt them, a little innocent mirth was created.

Eventually, it was determined to stop this fellow's pranks, by *ruining* his practice and *lowering* his position in the world. To effect these desirable results, a party was deputed to make a sortie, to blow up the eunuch, together with his philosophy and study, by placing a good sized bag of gunpowder against the building, and exploding it. Accordingly, those entrusted with the execution of this project, sallied forth early one morning, and accomplished their task without the loss of a single man. Great was the joy of the garrison when it was known that their sable friend had vanished from the scene of his operations, in company with the darkness of night, to that land whither his hand had already consigned many of their comrades.

This event broke into the monotony attending a state of protracted siege. It was quickly followed by a vigorous attack on the garrison by the enemy, who had hitherto contented themselves with keeping up a fire from favourable positions, to distract the attention of the garrison from the real point which threatened danger to its security, and to make it appear as if they were intent upon a system

of piecemeal destruction, rather than upon making a grand swoop upon their prey. The attack was the culminating point of their labours, which had been progressing under the very nose of the garrison. About eight o'clock, on a rather cloudy morning in July, the defenders were disagreeably apprised of the commencement of the attack on the part of the enemy, by the springing of a mine, which they intended should destroy the "Redan" Battery and the "Water" Gate. This explosion was a signal for the commencement of a furious fire of shell, shot, and bullets, from all points; and really such a storm of these missiles ensued as baffles description. The air was literally filled with the messengers of death, and the noise of the bullets as they coursed through the air, as well as their splash against the different points of the position, made the whole place vocal with sounds, which, however, were too near to be agreeable, and too sharp, and above concert pitch, to be pleasing to the ears of the auditors, for whose especial benefit this entertainment was got up. The enemy, who had formed up behind cover adjoining the Residency, rushed across the road to the low wall which skirted one side of the defences, and from thence poured in a terrific fire of musquetry upon the defenders. They, however, coolly reserved their fire until it

could be effectually bestowed upon the disturbers of their peace.

The failure of the mine to effect the destruction of our most formidable battery, seemed to dispirit the valiant heroes who had planned the little affair, and who doubtlessly intended to have gained a comparatively-speaking easy entrance over the ruins which they contemplated effecting. A numerous attacking force, which had formed up near the vicinity of the battery in question, rushed towards it the moment the mine exploded, but were warmly received by the trusty guns of the position, the destruction of which they so much coveted. This reception must have afforded them incontestable proof that the battery was unimpaired, and that its defenders were alive and kicking. The obstinate determination of the gate to retain its integrity and uprightness, also thwarted the enemy of their anticipated rush whereby to effect a thorough surprise upon the garrison.

During the confusion and smoke caused by the mine, at the outset of the attack, a few of the rebels managed to clamber over the enclosure wall; but they were met by such a withering fire from our fellows, as to deter their being joined by others, who preferred a brick wall between themselves and the defenders. The green banner of the Mahom-

medans could be seen at many points, and one of the few rebels who had ventured over the wall, had one of these emblems of the Mahommedan faith with him; but although he carried the sacred banner, his fellows declined playing at the game of follow-the-leader, as they had no wish, for the time being, of joining their prophet in paradise, and therefore wisely declined the proffered honour.

Our mortars supplied the party at this particular spot with plenty of shell, and the shouts of the rebels, when our missiles got amongst them, were perfectly frightful. Yells and screams of terror fell like sweet music upon the ears of the defenders, who were delighted to be of service to their dark-skinned friends. The effects of our shells could almost invariably be guessed at by the sounds which arose from the spot where they alighted, and which sounds, when near enough to be distinguished, resolved themselves into the words "Bobbery wallah! bobbery wallah!" which, by interpretation, means a troublesome and noisy fellow, and one prone to do mischief. These words were not inaptly applied to our shells, which were certainly guilty of great rudeness when in company with their non-admirers.

On this occasion the rebels showed themselves with great temerity at one of the outposts of the

garrison termed "Ennis's Post." They assailed the defenders of this position, not only with a fire of musketry, but with brick-bats and hard names, which were returned in kind. A youth of the band, named Connor, received a mortal wound whilst pelting the mutineers with brick-bats. As he himself afterwards declared, he had the satisfaction of seeing the fellow who had shot him fall by the hand of one of his comrades. It was stated by those who defended "Ennis's Post," that the rebels declared it to be their fixed intention to starve the garrison into submission, and they seemingly exulted at the idea of effectually carrying out this project.

Whilst the foregoing events were transpiring, the neighbourhood of the "Cawnpore" battery was the scene of a great display upon the part of the mutineers. They could be plainly discerned, marshalled in battle array, with scaling ladders all ready for use. This plainly bespoke an inclination on their part to storm the defences at this point. A sharp musketry fire was concentrated upon the defenders, assisted in a measure by a cannonade to cover the advance of a "forlorn hope," which had been detached from the main body to storm the position. The precision of the aim of our men, soon caused this party to become "all forlorn," and to skedad-

dle in great haste; nor could their officers, who seemed at the outset to possess more courage than their men, prevail upon this band of heroes to stay their flight. They applied the flats of their swords pretty sharply to their backs, which measure seemed only to urge them on in their flight as much as if the point of the weapon had been applied a little lower down. Arguments and entreaties were of no avail, and although another fanatical fellow, who doubtlessly had partaken of "bang" pretty freely, managed to reach a position in close proximity to the battery, from whence he waved his green flag, and gesticulated and vociferated immensely, yet this failed to inspire courage in the breasts of the rebels. This daring adventurer lost his life, for a bullet cooled his courage, and prostrated both himself and his banner in the dust. Had it been possible for the enemy to have screwed their courage up to what is termed the sticking point, our fellows would have shown them that they were equally wound up to the sticking point. They were determined to give intruders plenty of cold steel. There is no doubt that a greater part of the Sepoy force had a traditionary knowledge of the manner in which the British soldier could use his bayonet, and therefore this knowledge caused them to decline too close an acquaintanceship on the present occasion with the defenders of the Residency.

The attacking force at this point were also liberally supplied with shell, of which, thank goodness, there was no lack; and as the mutineers were mustered at this spot in great numbers, the havoc caused amongst their ranks by these missiles must have been great indeed.

After the repulse they met with at the outset, the would-be storming party cooled down into their old habits, and contented themselves with pegging away from behind houses and walls. Hand-grenades, a species of shell, were effectually used against the enemy on this occasion. A young officer had a marvellous escape from being killed by one of the grenades. It dropped from the hands of a person who was about to throw it, and exploded close by the officer, cutting away a portion of his trousers, and otherwise riddling his clothing, without, however, inflicting a scratch upon his person. Unfortunately for himself, one of the men fared badly, for he held the grenade in his hand until it exploded, when it shattered his hand, rendering amputation necessary. It requires a more than ordinary amount of nerve to handle a live shell, for the fall of it from the hand, or the retaining it a moment too long, usually inflicts injurious results to either life or limb.

"Gubbins's" battery sustained its share of the

attack upon the present occasion, but here the rebels' fire was of a desultory character. The enemy were wise enough to refrain from attempting to storm the Iron Gate. Had they done so, they would have been warmly and cordially received, for every necessary arrangement had been made to receive them with becoming honours. They were not far off from the spot, however, for they kept up a well-sustained and vigorous fire of musketry, from a position adjoining the "Bailie guard." The houses commanding a safe view of the attacking operations, were crowded with the wives and families of the rebels, who were doubtlessly led to believe that they would soon see the heroes of their race in possession of the Residency. The anticipation of this desirable climax no doubt made them look upon the approaching contest with great joy, as it boded evil towards the detestable Faringhee. We wonder whether the proprietors of the said houses were alive to the English system of letting out their dwellings upon hire, on grand occasions; if so, they must have realised a goodly sum, by imitating the manners and customs of the English.

The attack, which, as already stated, commenced about nine o'clock in the morning, lasted until about four in the afternoon. By the word attack being

appended to the whole of the time, it must not be understood that the enemy, on this occasion, made repeated, though unsuccessful, onslaughts upon the Residency. It means, merely, that they displayed a more then usual energy, and expended an extraordinary amount of ammunition. The whole affair would have passed off admirably as a sham fight, for, in this respect, the mutineers did the thing pretty respectably. But when the event is viewed as one of actual warfare, and when they possessed an immensely numerical superiority over the defenders, the summing-up can amount to nothing short of a verdict that they displayed the most arrant cowardice. Imperfectly armed mobs have been known, at times, to evince a courage, which was induced by the mere force of numbers, and by which they achieved results most unexpected over disciplined troops. Yet the rebels failed to accomplish anything worthy of soldiers, although, professionally speaking, all things were favourable to them. Flushed, as they must have been, with the easy victory they had but recently gained over a mere handful of our troops at Chinhut, yet even this prestige failed to impart the least spark of heroism or bravery to their numbers. And although cupidity is one of the strongest points in the Native character, which passion could have been amply gratified

by the possession of the riches to be obtained in the Residency, yet the fear of the bayonet's point proved as great a deterrent to obtaining the pelf, as did the fabulous dragons or serpents of ancient legends, which were usually assigned the post of guardians to some hidden treasure. The garrison contained the public treasure chest, and a goodly portion of the riches of the ex-king of Oude. The rebels were intimately acquainted with the strength and resources of the defenders, and could contrast their own colossal strength, and almost unbounded resources, with the puny possessions of our force; yet, in spite of this known superiority on their part, they preferred staying ignominiously behind walls and houses, to facing the cannons' mouth, or the determined front presented by a few devoted and heroic men.

The signal failure of the attack by the enemy eased the minds of the garrison greatly, inasmuch as the real weakness of the rebels, through cowardice, was rendered apparent. They had not gained the slightest advantage, nor had their feet pressed the sod where our brave little band stood so firmly in an attitude of defence. They had, on the contrary, sustained a signal repulse, and were taught a lesson not easy to be forgotten. This lesson they could have had repeated, for their

especial edification, as often as they personally applied at the Residency. It is to be hoped that none of the defenders, or the other inmates of the garrison, forgot their duty of thanks to God, who had fought so successfully for them, and had put fear into hearts where no fear was, and had said to murderous ruffians, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no further."

The casualties on this occasion numbered about a dozen, killed and wounded. This number was small, considering the terrific fire which swept over the Residency for about eight hours. The enemy, however, sustained severe losses during the period of the attack, for our fellows liberally supplied them with every description of known missile, which must have caused fearful havoc amongst the masses of their troops engaged on the occasion. The defenders also gave the rebels the benefit of their experience in ball practice, and there is not a doubt but that the figure of merit of each individual stood pretty high.

The excitement of this attack had hardly subsided, when rumours circulated throughout the garrison of the approach of a relieving force. Indeed, a fixed date was named for its arrival at the Residency. As may be expected, each heart beat with joy and hope at this intelligence, which proved to be derived

from a trustworthy source. One of our spies had brought a message from General Havelock himself, to the effect that he was approaching to the relief of the beleaguered garrison, and that by such a date he would join it. This message was conveyed, not in the form of a letter or dispatch, but the aforesaid spy had the precious words of this momentous document rolled up in his ear. The size of the paper containing the welcome intelligence corresponded with that of a shilling, upon both faces of which the words were minutely and briefly written. In this form did the first official dispatch, which promised life and liberty to hundreds of human beings, reach its destination: and it may be safely stated that no voluminous or pithy document, which ever emanated from the pen of statesman or soldier, gave more intense satisfaction than did the few scratches of Gen. Havelock's pen to the defenders of Lucknow.

From the date of this official dispatch, each day seemed a year, until the happy time arrived when its promises would be fulfilled. Each day, as the time neared for the arrival of Havelock's force, all ears were itching to catch the sound of distant cannonading from the direction of Cawnpore. The roof of the highest building in the garrison was daily the spot selected by dozens of anxious watchers

who listened, to catch the first intimation of the glad sounds of approaching deliverance. In this respect, they were not unlike the watchers on board some weather-beaten vessel, who were on the look-out for some haven, which they expected soon to reach, and whose eager glances strained through even the darkness of the night to catch the first glimpse of land, where they would be enabled to have a respite from the storms and dangers of the ocean.

At length, the patient watchers on the house top caught the sound of distant cannonading. Instantly, the intelligence spread like wildfire throughout the garrison, that, at last, General Havelock's force was near at hand. Great was the joy felt by all, at the anticipated release from a dangerous position. Eyes sparkled with pleasure, and lips gave vent to joyous expressions. Women and children partook of the joy of the moment, and congratulations passed freely from mouth to mouth, upon the approaching prospect of a speedy deliverance. There lacked not, however, a few wise-acres, who disbelieved the universal belief, that the distant cannonading proceeded from Havelock's force. First, because the spot from whence it came was wide of the Cawnpore route, and next because the time was somewhat in advance of

the day named by General Havelock himself for his arrival. As may be expected, these sceptics were sneered at, and looked upon as misanthropes, who wished to throw cold water down the backs of the joyous portion of the garrison. Even the rebels themselves caught the excitement of the moment, and allowed their fire to slacken, whilst they too listened to the distant sounds of firing.

Both besiegers and besieged seemed intent upon a common speculation, instead of, as was usual, watching each other as a cat watches a mouse. But whilst the excitement of the time was at its height, the firing in the distance ceased suddenly, and although its resumption was anxiously and painfully listened for, yet all were disappointed in this respect.

The enemy themselves very soon supplied the solution of the late mysterious occurrence, by shouting out, to our most advanced posts, that the firing had been in honour of a king, whose accession had that day taken place. Of course, all were speedily down in the dumps, at such a wretched termination to such a joyful beginning. The enemy celebrated the happy event the same night by the beat of tom toms, the blowing of horns, and divers other sweet sounds of street music. Their fire, which had slackened for the time, was renewed

with increased vigour, as if to make up for lost time; whilst they forestalled General Grant's recent eccentricity, by firing many salutes from shotted guns, to mark their sense of the glories of the occasion.

The defenders determined to take part in the festivities which were progressing at the time; which they accordingly did, assuming a conspicuous part in the row, by sending lots of missiles, inclusive of not a few shells, in the direction where the mirth appeared most boisterous.

At length the eventful day named by General Havelock for his arrival, arrived without him. As may be naturally inferred, great disappointment was felt at such an untoward event. But General Havelock's want of punctuality in fulfilling his engagement, was charitably attributed to some more pressing engagement with the enemy having prevented his keeping his appointment with the inmates of the Residency. He was allowed a week's grace to redeem his promise. But, alas! that week passed, and another; and yet others were added to the past, but no relieving force came to hand. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," is an old proverb, and a very true one too. Disappointment could be read on every face, which but a short time previously beamed with hope.

The sense of disappointment was heightened as each day passed away without bringing the fulfilment of promised help. The hopes of the garrison, however, were not allowed to droop altogether, for various messages of encouragement and condolence from General Havelock, reached them from time to time; which waifs from the wreck of disappointed hopes in the past, the inmates of the Residency seized upon and treasured up as an earnest of good times to come. Whilst the alternations of hope and fear were checkering the existence of the defenders, the enemy were not remiss in their endeavours to annoy, or, if possible, to overcome them.

Having tried what virtue existed in an attack upon the Residency by day, they were equally anxious to try the effect of an attack by night. Accordingly, a pitchy, dark night was selected as being most favourable for effecting a night surprise. About ten o'clock, the enemy gave unmistakeable signs that they contemplated something of an unusual character. The firing of their sharpshooters slackened perceptibly, whilst a confused hum of voices met the ears of the garrison. This plainly intimated, that a force of the rebels was meditating mischief, and were then drawn up in near proximity to the Residency.

The night's frolic was commenced by the enemy, who opened with a smart fire from all arms. The defenders immediately replied to this vigorous attack, in such a manner as to make the midnight disturbers of their peace aware that they were not to be caught napping. All hands were in the habit of indulging in a "Fox's sleep," which animal is said to indulge in a nap, with one eye open and the other shut. The enemy were noisy enough in their demonstrations on this occasion, for not only were their *arms* kept going, but so were their tongues also. The scene presented by this night attack was imposing in the extreme. The darkness, which was intense, was illuminated by the flashes of the continuous roll of musketry. The sheets of flame which issued from the mortars and cannons, also further relieved the blackness of night.

Our shells caused a meteoric appearance in the air, and created quite a sensation amongst the enemy, who, as was usual, saluted them with the apt term of Bobbery wallah! Grape and cannister sped on their errands of destruction, and the ominous clatter of the former on the walls and roads, foreboded evil to any who were unfortunate enough to be within reach of this shower of iron hail. Our shells alighted so near to our position, that when they burst fragments from them came

buzzing back, like armies of bees, to the Residency. An officer was wounded in the hand by one of such pieces. Pandemonium was here not unfitly represented. Darkness was over the scene. Strife abounded on all sides, whilst destruction and suffering were imminent to all the actors of this drama. The varied sounds which struck upon the air, were those of evil import. The passions of the human breast were fully aroused into action, and man sought to slay his fellow man, and to thus deface the image of their common Maker. The howls of terror which broke from the rebels, as often as our shells dropped in amongst them, heightened the Babel of noisy confusion; and the imagination could lay hold upon these cries of anguish and dismay, to picture the condition of those whose wailings never cease.

The casualties amongst our ranks on this occasion were few indeed. This was owing to the particularly high aim of the rebels. Their shot went completely over the Residency, and must have caused more mischief to their own party on the opposite side, than to the inmates of the garrison. These dark-skinned midnight serenaders, however, must have suffered severely in killed and wounded, for both our Infantry and Artillery sustained a well-directed and effective fire during the

whole time of the performance. When the firing resumed its wonted routine, every one who could were glad enough to resume their slumbers, which had been so mischievously broken in upon by the enemy's pranks.

Napoleon 1st, it is said, used the following words to express his opinion of the obstinate bravery of British soldiers, "They never know when they are beaten." The mutineers must have felt keenly that the British soldier was not a whit less obstinate in defending the little bit of freehold, yclept the Residency, than he was obstinately determined not to succumb to superior numbers on the field of Waterloo, or to own himself beaten, because it appeared he was beaten by all the rules of war.

A mere handful contested for liberty and their lives, against thousands who were eager for their overthrow, but who had not the courage to accomplish it by deeds of valour. Cooped up, as the defenders were, within the limits of half a mile of ground, and depending, as they were compelled to, on such stores of provisions and munitions as were provided before the outbreak of hostilities, yet they never once applied to the rebels for terms of capitulation, or evinced the slightest hesitancy in meeting their most determined attacks by a still more determined and heroic resistance.

Doubtlessly they apprehended that the real weakness of the garrison lay in the horrible fate which awaited the defenceless women and children, should the place fall into their hands by assault. And this apprehension, it may be presumed, together with the probability of the scarcity of provisions, gave them a hope that overtures would be made to them for an honourable surrender of the Residency into their hands.

As month succeeded month, without giving to them the slighest advantage over the daily lessening force they were besieging, they must have learnt a truth that had, long ere that, forced itself upon the conviction of many a nation, and which is,—that British valour and patient endurance rise superior to the most untoward circumstances of life.

Towards the month of September, it became apparent that the attention of the enemy was distracted from the Residency, and that a goodly portion of their large force was engaged elsewhere. Spies brought intelligence that Havelock was again advancing, and that the enemy were opposing his advance with a large army. One of these spies very ingeniously conveyed the fact of the approach, with Havelock's force, of a party of Highlanders, by stating that the musicians played upon beesthy bags, a skin used to carry water in, which they

carried under their arms. No one was at a loss to conjecture what this pantomimic narrator wished to convey to his hearers, and it quickly spread throughout the garrison, that a party of Highlanders were amongst the approaching relieving force.

About the middle of September, a vigilant watch was ordered to be kept, and no person was to leave his post, except under very pressing circumstances. This increased watchfulness was considered necessary by the Commander of the garrison, Colonel Inglis, who wisely and prudently surmised that the enemy might, when driven into the city by Havelock's force, make a desperate attack upon the Residency, and endeavour to negative his success by the capture of that place; which, if effected, would have frustrated his efforts for its relief, and have placed his own little army in a very dangerous position.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

ON the 25th September, a day memorable in the history of the Indian mutiny, the firing of the guns of General Havelock's force was plainly distinguished by the inmates of the beleagured garrison. And we venture to state that no mortal beings ever heard sounds which carried greater joy and pleasure to the heart, than did the booming of the cannon, in the suburbs of Lucknow, to the hearts of those who had for about two months past been waiting to hear such sounds, which spoke to them of deliverance from captivity and from death. Joy irradiated each countenance, and that day must have appeared to all to be the most auspicious of their lives.

The blissful moments then experienced very rarely fall to the lot of human beings, and the arrival of the approaching succour at a moment

when the garrison was very much reduced in numbers, and when provisions were becoming scarce, enhanced the ecstatic feeling of joy. The near approach of a friendly sail to a party of shipwrecked persons, could not have awakened greater emotions of joy and happiness, than were awakened in the hearts of the garrison by the near approach of Havelock's force.

As the enemy were being driven into the city by the relieving force, their sharpshooters, who were stationed near the Residency, made off from behind cover, and were to be seen running in every direction, to escape out of harm's way. These skedaddlers, as may be supposed, were saluted by our men with many a parting shot, for old acquaintance sake. Many of these runaways crossed the river by means of chatties, a species of earthenware vessel, which, when turned bottom upwards, are extremely buoyant, and are generally used by the natives to ferry themselves over rivers and streams.

A stringent order was issued by the Commander of the garrison, that no man was to leave his place; but that every individual was to be on the alert, to prevent a sudden rush on the part of the enemy, who it was thought might be inclined to attempt a surprise. But this order was disregarded, for as soon as the firing outside approached nearer

and nearer to the Iron Gate of the Residency, every one made towards that direction, to behold and welcome their deliverers. This gate was thrown open, and, amidst bursts of cheering, which mingled oddly enough with the surrounding noise of a terrific musketry fire, the gallant band under Havelock made a triumphant entry into the garrison of Lucknow. Cheer upon cheer rent the air, as the rescued and the rescuers met. Hands were warmly grasped, and blessings were reciprocated. Women and children were amongst the welcomers of those brave fellows, who had achieved such great and heroic deeds for them. They ventured out from their hiding places, notwithstanding the terrific fire of musketry which the enemy were keeping up upon the entrance to the garrison; for joy served as an antidote against fear, and danger vanished at the presence of that jubilant happiness, which animated all hearts. The news soon reached the sick, wounded, and dying, that brave Havelock's band had come, and eyes glistened, and hearts beat faster, as prayers of thankfulness ascended to Him, who alone had done such great things for them.

One poor wounded fellow, who was daily wasting away through the effects of a severe wound, and who was heard to express an oft-repeated wish, that he might be spared to see the day when succour

would have arrived, after which he would be content to die, had the wish of his heart fulfilled. He looked upon the faces of those who had brought deliverance; and when, but a few days after this event, he was summoned to depart this life, he did so with joy, for he had seen that his comrades were delivered from great dangers, and he was content to go the way of all flesh, rejoicing in the happy event.

Many of the defenders had hoarded a portion of their daily ration of grog, for some days previous to the arrival of the relieving force, and now that their long-looked-for comrades had arrived, they brought out this precious store, and treated them as far as the contents of their dram bottles would permit. Nothing that could be possibly given to the arrivals in the shape of creature comforts, were withheld, and it was only regretted, at the time, that the store of good things possessed by the garrison was so scanty. As it was, a ration of porter and rum were issued to the new comers, and a very welcome treat it must have proved, after the severe fighting and toil of the past day.

Much has been said and written about a certain Jessie Brown's having distinguished the sound of the bagpipes some time ere the arrival of Havelock's force within the walls of the Residency. It is very doubtful, however, that such a person was amongst

the beleagured ones. Browns, Joneses, Smiths and Robinsons, there undoubtedly were; for amongst what community are such distinguished names not to be found? but Jessie Brown was a creature of imagination, who has, however, done as good service in providing a sensational charm to a certain class of literature, and to the drama, as if she had been a veritable creature of flesh and blood.

That same night, a certain piper, of the 78th Highlanders, took up a position in the verandah of the building in use as a hospital, and poured forth in rapid succession a series of Scotch and Irish melodies, consisting mainly of reels, jigs, and horn-pipes. Many a foot tripped it merrily on the occasion, to the rude but inspiring tones of the bagpipes; and this season of mirth was prolonged far into the morning ere the musician and his admirers sought repose. The garrison had a decided advantage on that night, over the enemy, for its members had music, whilst their opponents were too badly beaten and crestfallen, to blow their own trumpet on the occasion.

Alas! human joy is never without alloy. The happiness of the brave fellows who had relieved the inmates of the Residency, became overclouded by the untimely death of one of their brave chiefs, named Neill. He fell mortally wounded whilst

about to enter the gate. Poor man! his cup of happiness ere this must have been full. He had achieved many deeds of bravery, and had shared prominently in the many brilliant exploits of his Commander, General Havelock.

The name of Brigadier General Neill was upon the tongue of each officer and soldier of the force, as one deserving of the highest praise and honours, not only for his soldierly qualities, but also for the generous qualities of his heart. He felt a true sympathy for his comrades in arms, and treated them all with uniform kindness and manly consideration. It is hard to comprehend why such men are called away, when, in the judgement of their fellow men, their services appear to be so much required upon earth. But, undoubtedly, He who doeth all things well, gave the summons which in His unerring wisdom and mercy called a brave and skilful soldier away from earth, to participate, we trust, in the joys of heaven, where wars and tumults cease, and unabated happiness exists.

Brigadier General Neill proved to Sir Henry Havelock, what Stonewall Jackson proved to Lee. The parallel between these distinguished modern soldiers, is great. Both were, so to speak, the unfailing executors of the orders of their chiefs. Both were, also, the life and soul of their men, and possessed their fullest confidence and esteem.

Both cheerfully exposed their lives and shared the fatigues and dangers of the occasion, in common with the men under their command. Both successfully carried out every exploit with which they were entrusted with almost unparalleled brilliancy of execution, although their respective forces seemed utterly inadequate to accomplish the object they had in view.

When commanders can command the affections of their men, the bond of sympathy between them is so great, that it leads all to the achievement of great deeds. On the contrary, when the men of an army do not possess this sympathy with their commanders, the very absence of this bond has a demoralizing tendency, and counteracts, by its pernicious effects, their martial qualities of discipline, training, and equipment; and thus paves the way for defeat and disasters.

General Bragg and his army of Southerners illustrated but very recently the baneful effects of the presence of discord among its ranks; and the want of confidence of the men in their general, frustrated the plans of a not-unskilful tactician, and gave a decided advantage to their opponents, the Northerners. Undoubtedly, General Stonewall Jackson's unvaried successes in the field were mainly owing to the love which his men had for him, and which

bore them up under fatigue and danger, and crowned their every effort with success. Their devotion thus resembled the type of the devotion which was said to exist at one time between the Scottish Clans and their chiefs, and which disinterested friendship has been so beautifully portrayed by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of "The Fair Maid of Perth."

Brigadier General Neill, in like manner, inspired his men with this feeling of devotedness, and they, in their turn, inspired him with confidence in themselves, knowing that no human effort would be wanting on their part to ensure success to his measures. Tears rolled down manly cheeks, at the sight of the lifeless body of him who had so often led them to victory, and many a half-choked sob testified to the great love wherewith they loved him who had departed. They could be said to have taken up the plaintive cry of the Hebrews of old, and exclaimed, "Alas! our brother!" For as a brother he was esteemed by them.

Among the rejoicing hearts of those who joyed over their deliverance, and who had, in a figure, passed from death unto life, were many who felt sad when they thought on some loved one who was lying in the silent grave, with whom they would like to be enjoying the triumph of the moment.

Husbands thought of wives, wives of husbands, and brave men of those comrades who had fallen in the strife. And sure are we that not a few thought of him, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had fallen at such an early period of the struggle, and whose heart, were it then throbbing, would have reciprocated their joy to the full.

CHAPTER XXII.

MAJOR GENERAL HAVELOCK.

IN no portion of modern history do the exploits of a General stand more prominently forward, and recommend themselves more to the admiration of mankind in general, than in the case of the late General Sir Henry Havelock. The contest lately raging in America furnishes many admirable points for military criticism, with respect to the abilities of those Generals who, from time to time, have figured on the boards of that vast amphitheatre of war.

The Northern Generals, without an exception, have had opportunities afforded them for a brilliant display of generalship. Yet, through their want of military genius, these opportunities have passed away, leaving them but a tarnished glory, and laurels which have faded from their grasp. The personal energy of Mc Clellan, and his popularity

with the men of his army, were advantages that were more than counterbalanced by his inaptitude to cope in strategy with one, who not only checkmated his every effort, and repulsed his every attack, but who also dealt similar treatment to those who succeeded him in his command. Truly, the adulation heaped upon him by his country, generally, amounted almost to idolatry; but even this hero worship failed to inspire him to achieve aught worthy of more than a passing notice.

He quietly gave place to others, who in their turn proved even more incapable than did he, of striking a formidable blow to the enemies of the Union.

Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, each in his turn came before the public, only to retire from command, without accomplishing a single success during their term of office. Hooker, and his bulletins, have served to amuse all who heard of the man and read his productions. He is no bad type of the American of the present age.

The nation, as well as their Generals, have promised too much and performed too little. The famous ninety-days' promise is an example in point, for it was found to be incapable of fulfilment. The Herculean and almost-hopeless task of subjugating the South, and restoring the Union, next devolved on General Grant, of Vicksburg notoriety. And if

hecatombs of dead be a criterion of good generalship, certainly he has performed great exploits. One can hardly speak with praise of a commander, who, to gratify an inherent stubbornness of purpose and will, wantonly sacrifices thousands of lives, in an effort to reach a point, which could have been reached without the loss of hardly a single man of his army. War is no teacher of gentleness, nor does it imbue the actors in its scenes with a sentimental consideration for the loss of life. But although it does cast an obtusity over the feelings of our common nature, yet no General or Commander can be considered otherwise than reprehensible in playing with human life as if his stake were merely a matter of yellow dollars, the loss of which could easily be replaced by *greenbacks.*

The Confederacy has developed as much, if not more, true military genius than has usually fallen to the lot of a nation battling for an existence Lee was, during the war, the good genius of the South, which it is apprehended can never clear off the debt of gratitude which it owes to this eminent soldier, who accomplished such great things from such a small beginning, and who wove a web of strength round the capital of his native land, which for a time defied the efforts of the North to break through.

Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet, Bragg, Beauregard, Johnson, Hood, Early, and others, are names that must always stand high in the history of their country, for having battled for its independence, and whose bravery and skill have been seconded by the patriotic and heroic conduct of all the sons of the South.

Although in the memory of the living of the present age, many brilliant exploits are remembered, yet it may be fairly urged that none such have outvied the remarkable and glorious exploits of General Havelock, and his brave band of heroes. With an army whose numbers were few indeed, when compared with the giant proportions of the army to which he was opposed, General Havelock coped successfully against fearful odds, at a time when the cause of the British in India seemed on the decline.

The mutineers were well equipped, and the aggregate portion of them, which consisted of Sepoys, had the advantage of being disciplined and trained to their calling as soldiers, under the English system. Beside these equal advantages, to say the least of them, they had that which must have proved of incalculable benefit to them, the sympathy and support of the generality of the native population of Bengal, who cheerfully

and willingly aided them to the full extent of their resources and power. The entire communications between the upper and lower provinces had been intercepted by them, and they were thus enabled for a considerable time to retain undisputed possession of the central part of India.

Prestige decidedly favoured their arms, for within a short period of the commencement of the mutiny, they had completely annihilated the garrison of Cawnpore, and after having gained a complete and easy victory over our forces at Lucknow, had compelled the Europeans of that place to endure a close and protracted siege. Such a combination of lucky events, ought to have inspired them with courage, and have enabled them to offer a determined and resolute front to an adversary, who resembled, when pitted against themselves, the condition of David with his sling and stone, doing battle with the heavily-armed giant of Biblical history.

However, notwithstanding these serious disadvantages to the success of the enterprise which he had undertaken, General Havelock and the men whom he commanded, undauntedly went through with a task, which was deemed sacred in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his soldiers. After leaving Allahabad, en route for Cawnpore, the enemy gave him battle, and opposed to his advance

a stubborn resistance, which nothing but brilliant generalship, combined with the matchless heroism of his soldiers, proved effectual in overcoming. In one of these encounters, it has been stated that an entire Sepoy regiment suffered themselves to be cut up to a man, rather than retire before our troops, and withstood unflinchingly the world-famed power of the British bayonet charge. In numerous instances, both Native and English soldiers were found impaled upon each other's bayonets.

When he and his army entered Cawnpore, it was only to find themselves just too late to prevent the horrible massacre which took place the day previously, and at the time when they were dealing a summary chastisement to a dastard foe. This disappointment was acutely felt by both commander and men; but the hellish deed itself caused all to swear solemnly, that the victims of it would be fully avenged, and spurred all on to a fresh determination to prevent, if possible, a like catastrophe happening at Lucknow, although the way to that place would have to be paved with the carcasses of the enemy.

Accordingly, after a short rest for his wearied forces, who enjoyed a respite from the fatigues and danger of battle in a position selected by Havelock, close to the banks of the river, the brave little

band made an onward march to Lucknow. It was at this period that General Havelock forwarded to the garrison of Lucknow his message. The circumstance of he and his army having fought desperately day by day, with overpowering numbers, is well known to the British public and the world at large. The want of provisions, as well as the loss inflicted by encounters with the enemy, caused him to retrace his steps to Cawnpore, there to recruit his men and wait the arrival of reinforcements.

The advance would be again resumed, and fighting prove as desperate as before, only to repeat the retreat of the former occasion on Cawnpore. During one of these unsuccessful efforts, General Havelock and his party managed to advance to within about eighteen miles of Lucknow. Such a series of disappointments must have dispirited both general and army. But this feeling proved but momentary, and passed quickly away before the consideration that fellow countrymen, and women, and children, were daily expecting to be relieved from a position which each successive day but made more critical.

The memory of the Cawnpore tragedy, doubtlessly, also nerved their arm afresh, and imparted renewed determination to those whose powers of

endurance had been already taxed almost to the extreme limit. It was well for the country that she possessed, at this critical juncture, a commander who was not only skilful, but who also possessed nerves of iron and an inflexibility of purpose, which determined him to carry out his project at all hazards, and despite a series of disadvantages which scarcely find a parallel in the annals of history.

The late Duke of Wellington was, from his firmness of character and his inflexible resolve, dubbed the "Iron Duke." But we doubt whether any of the series of circumstances which occured in his most eventful career called forth a greater manifestation of those qualities, than was displayed by the late Sir Henry Havelock, at the time of which we are now writing. He was possessed of characteristics which marked him as the right man in the right place.

Military genius of the highest order, personal bravery of an extraordinary character, together with firmness of purpose and energy of will, stamped him as a man of no common order, and one well fitted to grapple successfully with extraordinary dangers and difficulties. The absence of a single one of these ingredients of character, would have been likely to imperil success. Even the unsuccessful advances already alluded to were not unproductive

of beneficial results. The garrison of Lucknow was indirectly relieved thereby, through the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the enemy's forces from before that place, to meet the advance of his (Havelock's) army.

Eventually, his army was sufficiently reinforced to enable him to make another advance, in company with General Outram, towards Lucknow. The ground now retraversed had already become historical, in consequence of the recent desperate engagements, and the fall of many a brave comrade tended to render it sacred. Desperate fighting was the order of the day, and the little band of advancing heroes had at times to engage the enemy twice or three times the same day. They continued to bring fresh troops on the scene of action, and were thus enabled to present a continuous front to the advance of our troops. But, nothing daunted, General Havelock hurled his lion-hearted troops against the ranks of the enemy, who were forced to succumb to their desperate valour, for they advanced shoulder to shoulder and foot to foot, and drove their foe before them.

Napier, accomplished great things at Meanee, where he, with a mere handful of troops, drove thousands of an enemy before him, and without a doubt he subsequently proved himself to be a daring

and skilful general. Yet those whom he conquered on that occasion were Scindians, who, although possessed of courage, were nevertheless but ill-equipped and undisciplined soldiers, when compared with the well-equipped and disciplined Sepoys of our Native army. Havelock, with a force of from two to three thousand men, overcame from thirty to forty thousand of an enemy who were principally Sepoys, and who were commanded by officers who understood the rules of modern warfare, and were further well provided with artillery, and with skilful artillerists, as well as with an abundance of Cavalry.

The relief of the garrison of Lucknow by General Havelock has been very justly classed among the greatest and most brilliant achievements of modern times. The fact of both himself and his army being besieged by the enemy, after the relief of the garrison, very plainly points to the desperate nature of the undertaking which they had achieved, and it also clearly points to the vast resources possessed by the mutineers, as regards every essential requisite for the prosecution of the struggle. Granted that Havelock's force inflicted upon them a series of defeats; yet the very force of their numbers, and the abundance of their supplies, prevented these reverses from militating to any great extent against them.

All the civilised world must have been amazed, and struck with admiration at the success of an enterprise, which can safely be said to have inflicted the first decisive blow to the Indian mutiny. The opportuneness of the blow thus dealt to the rebellion stands complete; for the check imposed upon its spread, occured at a period when, doubtlessly, numbers were awaiting the decision of the events then pending at Lucknow, whereby to shape their conduct in casting in their lot, or otherwise, with the malecontents. The fall of the garrison of Lucknow into the hands of the insurgents, would undoubtedly have strengthened their cause, as did the fall of Cawnpore; which circumstance created at the time a favourable turn in the minds of the population of the central provinces towards making common cause with the mutineers.

But, happily for all concerned, such an unwished-for catastrophe was averted, through the extraordinary efforts made by General Havelock, and his army. His work ended not with the relief of Lucknow, for he, in conjunction with General Outram, conducted the vigorous siege operations which served to extend the position of the garrison greatly, and thereby placed a goodly portion of the city within our possession.

The incessant fatigue and hardships which he

underwent, together with the anxiety and care produced by his command, made sad inroads upon his constitution, and caused him eventually to succumb to their baneful effects. He was, however, spared to see the victorious columns of General Campbell perfecting the work which he himself began. Dysentery seized upon him, under which malady he gradually sank. He was conveyed for greater security to the Dil Koosha, where he received every attention that human skill could bestow upon his case.

During the short space which intervened from his illness to the time of his demise, he made a glorious testimony to the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. He was heard to exclaim, speaking of his approaching end, "This is an event which I have been endeavouring to prepare for, for the last forty years." His language to his son was, "Come, and see how a Christian can die." Notwithstanding the efforts made for his recovery, he sank gradually and peaceably, and passed into eternity leaning upon his Saviour, and exchanged the troubled scenes of mortal life for those of a blessed immortality.

History must award to him, above all others, the palm for having accomplished the noblest exploit which has marked the passages of the Indian

mutiny. His memory is to the present day gratefully embalmed in the hearts of many of his countrymen and women, whom he so nobly delivered from a terrible fate. Our country and his country has marked its sense of his services in a manner befitting their merits; and posterity will perpetuate the recollections of one who nobly performed his duty, and who died at his post on ground which his deeds have immortalized.

General Havelock, the General, the Hero, the Deliverer, the Patriot, and the Christian, will continue to the end of time to live in the recollections of a grateful country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RETROSPECT OF GENERAL HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE.

THE advance of General Havelock's force from Cawnpore to Lucknow, was, as has already been stated, a most hazardous and daring feat. The last and successful advance was attended with great dangers, for the enemy were fully on the alert, and had strengthened positions which lay in the line of route, and made them really formidable barriers. Lucknow was drained of nearly all the insurgent force, and every disposition was made to fortify that place, and to render its streets of houses, situate in the Cawnpore route, so many miniature fortresses.

The previous advances made by our force had convinced the rebels that their own mere numerical superiority was no guarantee for the safety of their position; whilst the determined and obstinate courage by which each advance was marked, must

have aroused them to a sense of the danger which awaited them, when General Havelock would be enabled, through being reinforced, to again take the field against them.

We again call attention to the fact that the rebel army consisted of disciplined and well-trained soldiers, and that each arm of the service was therein fully and ably represented. It must not be forgotten that the Sepoy element, which abounded throughout the ranks of the mutiny, had done some good service for the State in times past. Khelat, Ghuznee, and Cabul, were victories won by their aid. Meanee, that chef d'œuvre of Napier's, as well as his other and brilliant exploits, also witnessed to their bravery. The more recent Sikh campaign was not fought without them. The instances in which our Sepoys figured on the field of battle are so numerous, that they cannot be well enumerated in these pages. But suffice it to state that on every such occasion they elicited the praises of their officers, and gained for themselves the plaudits of their European comrades.

The recent mutiny, as is well known, was almost entirely of a military character, And although it cannot be denied that the civil portion of the population took an active part in the outbreak, yet its chief strength was derived from the mutinous

Sepoys, who flocked to the standard of revolt in immense numbers, and who formed a decided majority.

When the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, and raised the standard of rebellion, those who flocked around it were persons most of whom had before that occasion never handled a weapon. His raw levees had therefore no chance when pitted against the disciplined troops of our army. The rebellion in Ireland was carried on by men who were self taught in the art of war, which rude discipline, even when aided by determined bravery, failed them in the contest against well-trained and disciplined soldiers. In both these instances, the armies of the malecontents possessed no force of artillery worth mentioning, which want gave their opponents a decided advantage over them, for they were well supplied with this useful and indispensable arm for conducting the operations of modern warfare. The same remark applies to the want of Cavalry on their part, which was also in itself a serious drawback.

The rebel army of India had none of these drawbacks to contend against; but, on the contrary, they possessed more advantages then did their opponents. When opposed to Havelock, the rebels chose their own positions, from whence to attack his army and

their knowledge of the construction of field works gave them ample opportunities to make each of those positions as formidable as possible. Their dispositions for attack and defence were admitted, by military critics of Havelock's army, to have been made with excellent judgement and military skill and aptness, and in accordance with the approved rules of modern warfare. Each part of the country was well known to them, and every village was by them transformed into a fortress. To an active and determined enemy, this intimate acquaintance with the topography of the country through which their opponents must pass, is a point of vast importance, and would be by such an enemy used to great advantage. The Confederates of America used their topographical knowledge as a means whereby to inflict defeat and discomforture upon their foe. Witness the exploits of Stonewall Jackson, and of General Lee and others, at the commencement of the recent American war.

The mutineers, also, possessed boundless resources, and the entire population of the Oude territory and the adjoining district of Cawnpore were favourable to their cause. No army that ever took the field can be said to have possessed greater advantages, on the whole, than were possessed by the rebel army of India; on the other hand, but few armies

have taken the field under greater disadvantages, in all respects but one, than did General Havelock's army. The minie rifle proved of immense value to the army of Havelock, whose sharpshooters, armed with this formidable weapon, completely demoralized the enemy, and silenced their Artillery on every occasion. This superiority enabled our men to harass and destroy the enemy with impunity. The old Brown Bess, with which the Sepoys were armed, was entirely useless against our men on this occasion.

General Todleben has, in his recent work on the campaign in the Crimea, adverted in strong terms of praise to the proficiency of the English sharpshooters, and to the destructive and demoralizing effects of their fire upon the ranks of the Russians. The apprehension almost forces itself upon the mind, that as a nation England displays a great aptness for the use of the rifle. Our brave and gallant volunteers have made such a rapid progress in the use of this weapon, as to point to the fact that the talent in this respect is inherent. In warlike deeds and manly sports, the English nation has always stood unequalled, from the most remote date; and, indeed, one cannot withhold a feeling of admiration upon reading of the exploits of the English archers of yore, who gave their enemies

practical proofs of what a brave heart, a strong arm, and a true eye, could do.

The men of Havelock's army also proved that the qualities possessed by their ancestors had also descended to them. Scores of rebels bit the dust at the bidding of the weapon which they so ably handled. The possession of the minie rifle was therefore a decided advantage possessed by them over the enemy. The extensive range of this weapon enabled them to open fire upon the foe, without their being able to return it. It requires great nerve and wonderful self-possession, to enable men to continue steady under a fire which commits great havoc amongst their ranks, but to which fire they are unable to reply. Old veterans have oftentimes said that they have been goaded almost to madness, upon seeing comrades falling upon their right hand, and upon their left hand, without, for the time, being able to avenge them or retaliate upon the enemy. Such an occasion tries to the utmost the temper and discipline of troops. The Sepoys invariably succumbed before the withering fire poured upon their ranks, without having an opportunity given them of returning it to advantage.

Our Artillery also proved too much for the rebels, for the rapidity and precision of its fire dealt

crushing blows. One artillery officer, in particular, who was dubbed "Mad Jack," by the men, proved a terrible thorn in the enemy's side. He whirled the guns of his battery to within point blank range of the rebels, and from thence poured in, in rapid succession rounds of shot and grape, to their no small astonishment and discomfiture. In fact, he was never so well pleased as at the time when his battery was engaging the enemy's artillery almost muzzle to muzzle. The hardihood of these exploits was the theme and comment of all, who loved to express their admiration of the deeds of their favourite "Mad Jack." Many a brilliant charge decided a knotty point at issue between the contending parties, when the bayonets of our men invariably solved the difficulty to their own advantage.

The enemy's Cavalry hovered around, to pick off stragglers, but they carefully avoided being brought into collision with our volunteer Cavalry. A piper, of the 78th Highlanders, who had straggled some little distance to the rear on an occasion, was observed by one of the native Cavalry men, who charged down upon him. Beyond his sword, the piper had nothing else in the shape of a weapon, and, as may be anticipated, the sight of the advancing enemy presented anything but a pleasant

prospect to look upon. In this dilemma, he, fortunately for himself, thought of the pipes hanging by his side. Seizing them, he brought them to his shoulder, and deliberately covered the advancing foeman; who seeing such a formidable-looking weapon pointed at him, at once beat a precipitate retreat, to the great amusement and delight of the piper. He rejoined his corps without loss of time, and we should apprehend never straggled again, for fear his piping propensities would not stand him in such good need on another occasion.

The fact of the rebels having deserted several fortified places without attempting a stand, inclines one to be of opinion that they placed great reliance upon being able to effectually check Havelock's advance upon his arrival in the city. Be this as it may, these continued retreats proved of benefit to our advancing force, who vigorously pushed on after the enemy. Upon arriving at the bridge of Bonney, our men were glad to find that the enemy had not destroyed it. This would have been an easy task for them to have performed, and would necessarily have retarded our advance. The army next reached the Alum Baugh, which is situated just on the confines of the city of Lucknow, and there bivouacked.

The advance from this point proved dangerous

in the extreme. The enemy had, as has been already stated, taken the precaution of transforming every house into a miniature fortress, by loopholing, and by breaking through the partition wall of each house, that, if driven from one place, they might easily retreat to the next, and continue this movement along the whole length of the several streets. They further planted cannon in advantageous positions in the several streets and approaches to the city, and were thus enabled to pour forth a vigorous fire from these guns, as well as from the muskets of their infantry, who were stationed in the several houses that had been loopholed. One gun, in particular, proved very troublesome. It was planted in such a position, as to command the road approaching it, and yet itself to be secure from the rifles of our men.

Shower upon shower of grape swept the road in advance of this piece, and for a time checked our advance. For a time, our sharpshooters were completely nonplussed how to act. To advance along the road in the face of such a terrific fire, was but to go to certain death. Again, to attempt to flank the gun in question was equally as dangerous, for before they could bring their fire to bear upon it, they would have to cross a wide and deep nullah, or ditch, when they would be exposed to the

furious musketry fire of the enemy, who lay snugly ensconced on the other side of it. At this juncture, young Havelock, the son of the General, called for volunteers, and under his guidance they contrived to creep along a very shallow ditch, that skirted the road. Upon arriving in the immediate vicinity of the troublesome gun, they quietly awaited the next discharge, after which they sprang out into the middle of the road, and made a brillant charge, and fortunately captured the piece in time to prevent another volley of grape. The gun was immediately turned round upon the enemy, who themselves received the benefit of its contents.

Upon entering the streets of the city, our party were assailed, from all quarters, with a furious musketry fire by the enemy. To stand still under these circumstances was extremely dangerous, consequently our men had to sustain a running fight. The minie rifle, which hitherto had proved an excellent weapon, now proved utterly worthless. This arose from the fouling of the grooves, which prevented the piece being loaded except by great exertions, and as, from the nature of street fighting, especially upon the occasion in question, the loading of the rifle or musket has to be performed upon the double, it will be easily perceived that it was a task rendered almost impossible. The old musket was

easily loaded, and as the enemy were equipped with it, they fired from three to four shots to our men's one.

In military circles, there has been, but very recently, a controversy upon the relative merits of the muzzle and breech-loading principle, for service in the field. Fortunately, the matter has been taken up by the Secretary of State for War; and our men will have placed in their hands a rifle upon the breech-loading principle. The men of Havelock's force would have been delighted to have had breech-loading rifles, when they were struggling in the streets of the city of Lucknow, instead of the muzzle loaders they possessed, which proved utterly unsuited to the occasion. A weapon combining the advantages of a long range and quickness in being loaded, must prove of great service when placed in the hands of trained troops, and, as of late, science is taking a foremost place in aiding and abetting the art of war, it behoves us, as a nation, to place in the hands of our troops the most formidable weapon obtainable, and to keep pace with the various improvements that are taking place, from time to time, in the equipment of the armies of our trans-Atlantic and Continental neighbours.

At last, our party under Havelock managed to

wriggle themselves into the Residency. How they effected this desirable result, under the extraordinary disadvantages which attended the occasion, was a mystery to themselves. The brothers Davenport are equally mystified in their achievements; but it remains to be seen whether they will run the gauntlet of public opinion, as successfully as did Havelock's force the gauntlet of the enemy's fire in the streets of Lucknow. It is very probable that their mystification will turn out an hocus pocus affair, and that both science and the law will not deal as gently with them as they themselves requested they might be dealt with on first making their appeal to the enlightened British public.

That Havelock's force accomplished an extraordinary feat, has passed into history, and this fact will continue to illuminate its pages, when all the actors in this remarkable period of Indian events have passed away from earth. Among the many stragglers who lost their way, on the occasion of Havelock's entry into the city of Lucknow, was a certain Irishman, who found himself benighted and in a strange locality. Being unusually tired with the fatigues of the past day, and knowing that, owing to the darkness, it would be fruitless to endeavour to discover the Residency, he at once made up his mind to pass the night in one of the

many houses around him. Pat, with true taste, pitched upon a good-sized dwelling, which fortunately proved to be unoccupied, and, throwing himself upon the floor, he sought that rest which he so much needed. Daylight broke in upon his slumbers, and his first thought, upon arousing himself, was to rejoin his comrades as quickly as possible. But what was his astonishment and dismay when, on looking down on the courtyard of the building, he discovered it to be tenanted with a dozen or more of the enemy. Pat gave a long whew to himself, to express his apprehension of finding himself in a tarnation fix. To make matters worse, there was no back way by which to cut his disagreeable acquaintances, nor was there a window at the back of the house from which he could drop into the street below.

The party of rebels continued meanwhile to smoke and chat, and showed no disposition whatever to move off; but on the contrary, they squatted on their hunkers, and continued the conversation, much to the disgust of honest Pat, who in his own mind cursed them for a lot of naygers. The desperate situation of affairs, at last, nerved him to make an effort to effect his liberation. He accordingly loaded his rifle in as quiet a manner as possible, and taking aim, he fired at the group of

squatters below him, when one of their number bit the dust. As may be imagined, this unlooked-for event caused the hookahs, or Indian pipes, to drop from the mouths of the astonished smokers, who were for the moment completely paralized. After his first shot, Pat loaded again as quickly as possible, during the progess of which operation he kept shouting out in a stentorian tone of voice, "Come along, boys! Come along, boys! Here they are," at the same time kicking down several earthenware jars, which act materially aided the "ruction." The rebels, hearing the tones of honest Pat's voice, and the accompanying row created by the smashing of the earthenware, took it for granted that a party of our force had broken in upon them, which apprehension caused them to skedaddle in great haste. But their retreat was not executed before our friend Pat again levelled his rifle, which again levelled a rebel. He was not long before he left the scene of his dangerous adventure, and taking to his heels he ran in the direction of the distant firing, and fortunately joined his comrades without further mishap or molestation, and to whom he related his recent exploit in his own inimitable manner and seasoned with his rich brogue, which caused his hearers to roar with laughter, and to reward him for his wit in escaping

from such a dilemma, with words of admiration and praise.

Unfortunately, a party of wounded men, who were being conveyed in doolies, were borne by their native bearers within the enemy's lines. This unfortunate mishap was no doubt occasioned purely through mistake, and was not the result of design upon the part of the native dooley-bearers, who doubtlessly, owing to the darkness, mistook their road and wandered into the dangerous locality already referred to. The enemy, with an inhumanity befitting savages, put the poor wounded fellows to a cruel death. Their charred remains were discovered when our position was extended, which circumstance indicated the torture which had been inflicted upon them by burning them alive as they lay in a perfectly helpless condition. A more fiendish act was hardly ever perpetrated, and its discovery by our men whetted their appetites for revenge upon the brutes who had committed such atrocities.

A remarkable act of gallantry was performed by one of the men of Havelock's force. He had charge of some wounded comrades, who were being conveyed in doolies to the Residency. He and his party also lost their road, but, notwithstanding this drawback, he would not leave his comrades, nor did

he permit any of the dooley-bearers to leave their post. During the night he caused the doolies to be placed in the most sheltered spot available, and made the native bearers to sleep beside them, whilst he himself kept a vigilant watch, lest any of them should attempt to escape. At daybreak, he resumed the march, and, by dint of coaxings and threatenings, he managed to keep the natives up to their work, until at length he gained the Residency, after having wandered up and down the streets of the city for a considerable time. Were it not for the devotedness which he displayed throughout this trying period, no doubt the poor wounded fellows would have shared the same fate which befel their unfortunate comrades who were burnt alive.

The Commissariat supplies attached to General Havelock's army failed to join him at the Residency, and his force was therefore rendered entirely dependent upon the store of provisions, et cetera, possessed by the garrison of Lucknow. A very slight addition was made to the live stock by the gun bullocks of General Havelock's army, a few of these animals having been used by the commissariat. The circumstance would have caused uneasiness to exist, but that the supplies of the garrison proved almost sufficient to meet the increased and unexpected demands made upon them.

The sagacity and foresight of Sir Henry Lawrence, in having provisioned the garrison so amply, was at this juncture doubly appreciable. Had there been a scarcity of provisions, the situation of both the relieved and relieving force would have proved pitiable indeed. There was no chance of replenishing the stock of provisions, even by the old expedient of foraging parties. The supplies of the enemy were kept well out of sight, thereby making any attempt to capture them an extremely perilous undertaking; for, before they could be reached, the enemy would have had to be driven from position to position, owing to the vast extent of ground which they occupied in and about the city.

Had the scarcity of provisions made it imperative on the part of the garrison to have attempted a retreat, this movement would have been attended with perilous consequences indeed, even had the garrison consisted only of men. The presence of the women and children, together with the number of sick and wounded, would have sadly hampered the attempt, and have left the retreating party open to harassing attacks by the enemy. Allowing it to have been possible for the enemy to have favoured the progress of the retreat, by abstaining from all acts of molestation during the movement, yet the inability to procure transport

for the conveyance of the non-combatant and helpless portion of the retreating force, would have made it an almost impracticable undertaking. To Sir Henry Lawrence is due, therefore, the credit of having averted a most critical situation.

Upon the relief of the garrison of Lucknow having been fully effected by Sir Henry Havelock, the command of the entire force of the place was assumed by General Outram, who in doing so issued a general order, eulogizing the bravery and patient endurance of the little band of heros, who for such a lengthened period had defended a not very formidable position against fearful odds. The exploit, he said, was almost unparalleled in the annals of history. To General Havelock, and his brave army, he gave the highest praise for having accomplished an exploit which for daring and brilliancy stood unsurpassed.

The command of the Residency was continued to Colonel Inglis, its old Commander, who was deservedly and highly spoken of by General Outram, for having displayed remarkable qualities as a commander. No time was lost in inaugurating a series of vigorous attacks upon the enemy, with a view to extending the position of the garrison. Hardly a day passed from the time of the arrival of Havelock's force, without being marked by some

decisive advantage over the enemy. They were slowly but surely driven from position to position, until at last the ground captured from them was of such extent as to relieve the occupants of the old position of the Residency from molestation by the enemy. With the exception of a few stray shot and shell, which failed to inflict much mischief, the place, which was at one time the scene of constant danger from the missiles of the rebels, was now almost free from the presence of such dangerous visitors.

The daily struggle with the enemy, inflicted a serious loss of life upon our force. But the enemy suffered more in this respect than did we. The 32nd Regiment took a most prominent part in these measures, and the daily loss of some of its but small number, caused the corps to muster but very few over a hundred men. Many a poor fellow who fell during these frays had a rough funeral accorded him. If time permitted, his comrades dug a shallow grave with their bayonets, and placed him therein. Many were even denied any such rite, and their bodies were allowed to lay where they had fallen, because the spot had to be given up to the enemy.

During the journey through life, one meets some curious people, who manage at all times to look out

for self, or, what is more generally termed "number one." A few of these canny mortals were with the army at Lucknow. One of them kept himself in shoe leather, by stripping, when practicable, the boots from off the feet of a dead comrade, if they happened to be a good pair and about his own fit.

During one of the numerous sorties that were made, a party of ours were reconnoitreing, in a direction that had been visited some four or five days previously by another of our sortie parties. Some of the party observed a person in the distance, who appeared to be making signs to attract their attention. At first, it was thought that this was a mere ruse on the part of the enemy to allure them into an ambush, and they were therefore rather cautious in approaching the spot. Upon a nearer approach, however, they discovered that the pantomimist was an European, who speedily joined them. Of course, all were anxious to know how he came to be placed in such a situation. The poor fellow, who appeared to be sadly exhausted, told how that himself and two others of his corps became detached from their party by some mischance, and found themselves in the neighbourhood of an outpost of the Sepoys, without a chance of effecting their retreat unobserved.

They accordingly hid themselves in some long

grass. Near to the spot where they lay hidden, they chanced to discover a dry well, and as its depth was not great, they determined, for the time being, to descend into it, as it offered a safer retreat than did the grass. At night they ascended, and being very hungry and thirsty, they endeavoured to assuage both by chewing the grass, which was well moistened by the dew. One of their number, finding the confinement to prove rather irksome, determined to effect his escape, which he attempted, but, unfortunately, owing to the night being moonlight, he was observed by the enemy as he crept through the grass, and shot.

The unfortunate termination to this attempt, deterred the remaining two from renewing it. They continued to hide themselves in the well by day, and to ascend by night to chew the grass, to keep life in them. About the third day of their confinement, one of the remaining two happened to fall down the well, owing to the darkness, and broke his neck. The survivor chanced to be on the alert, about the time of the approach of our party, and, despite the danger he ran, he signalled to them, and was, as has been related, fortunate enough to attract their attention.

Upon rejoining his corps, he was welcomed by his comrades as one from the dead. After allaying

his hunger, his first inquiry was for the orderly corporal, whose duty it was to attend to the rationing of the men of his company. Upon finding him, he demanded from the astonished corporal, his rations for the time of his absence, which was four days, and upon finding that they were not forthcoming, as he was considered to be dead, he flew into quite a rage, and threatened to report the circumstance to his commanding officer. Poor fellow! his long abstinence had made him anxious for the means to make a feast, and great was the disappointment which he sustained at being deprived of his anticipated hoard of back rations.

Many personal encounters occurred between our men and the rebels, who in general fought shy of a direct collision; but, when surprised, they fought desperately enough. On such occasions, the bayonet usually decided the combat in favour of our men.

During one of the sorties, a soldier of our force wandered from his party in search of booty. In one of the houses which he entered, he found a Sepoy, who was armed with a sword, and who upon seeing him immediately stood upon his defence. Unfortunately, our fellow was not loaded at the time, nor had he his bayonet fixed. The Sepoy gave him no time to attempt to load or fix his

bayonet, before he attacked him. The encounter was conducted on both sides with extreme caution, each being intent upon parrying the blows of the other. At last, our fellow, after parrying a blow aimed at him by the Sepoy, dropped his musket, and made a sudden rush upon his antagonist, and grappled with him.

The Sepoy, who was by this manœuvre, rendered powerless to use his sword, dropped it, and entered upon a wrestling match. The struggle continued for a time without advantage to either, when, as if by mutual consent, both loosed their hold of each other and grasped the weapon nearest at hand. The European thus became possessed of the sword, and the Sepoy of the rifle. This was rather an awkward change for both parties, as neither of them could make an efficient use of his weapon. However, they made up for their want of practice in their use, by earnestly setting about doing the best they could under the circumstanccs.

This second feat of arms ended as did the other, by both the combatants resuming the wrestling match. During the scuffle which ensued, the party to which the European belonged happéned to be passing, and, being attracted by the noise, entered the building from whence it proceeded. The issue of the contest was speedily settled, by one of the

new comers putting a bullet through the Sepoy, who it appears was getting the better of his white-faced antagonist. And had it not been for this lucky interference in his behalf, he would have, probably, met the fate which befel his foe.

One morning rather early, the ears of the garrison were assailed by the sounds of music, and upon turning out to see what it meant, a novel spectacle met the view. The musicians consisted of a party of amateurs, who during their raid that morning had made a capture of a couple of trombones and a bass drum, upon which they managed to make a most horrid row. To add to their appearance, they had invested their persons in silken dresses, both male and female, which they had found, the style of which garments made their wearers look extremely ludicrous.

This triumphal entry created much merriment among the lookers on, by whom it was considered capital fun. Soldiers and sailors are, it may be said, the lightest-hearted creatures under the sun, and they evince this quality under the most depressing circumstances. It is well for them that they seize upon every little passing incident, to sip what honey they can from it, to sweeten the bitterness of the cup of life, when the saddening shadows of war overshadows their lives, and the

cruel privations they undergo render existence almost unbearable. Anything that distracts their thoughts from dwelling too freely on the cheerlessness of their situation, must be therefore productive of good.

The women and children issued from their hiding places, and enjoyed the fresh air and sunshine. The gambols of the little ones showed they were highly delighted with the change, which released them from a confinement that must have proved irksome to them indeed. The pipers of the 78th Highlanders cheered the inmates of the garrison, by discoursing some martial music every evening, for about a fortnight, in one of the squares of the Residency. The fair sex enjoyed such occasions amazingly, and promenaded freely to the refreshing and inspiriting strains of the bagpipes. No wonder all enjoyed the treat thus afforded them; for the sounds stood out in delightful contrast to the noises caused by the missiles of the enemy, which for a lengthened period was the only music, except the horrid street music of the enemy, which broke upon the otherwise gloomy silence of the Residency.

Unfortunately, these evening parties were discontinued, in consequence of the apprehension that the enemy might be induced to throw some shells, to break in upon the harmony of the occasion, with

disagreeable results. There certainly existed just cause for such an apprehension, as a few shells alighted in rather too close proximity to the scene of the musical performances. This circumstance almost implied that the enemy were aware of these little social gatherings, and took this mode of showing their disapprobation of the proceedings there enacted.

A rather unusual spectacle was to be seen at each gate of the Residency, which consisted of bonfires fed by silk. Silken quilts, silken attire, and rolls of silk, were thus consumed. This novel proceeding was the result of an order issued by the chief in command, to stay the accumulation of those articles of booty. Hardly a sortie party returned without being loaded with silks, and as this was a daily occurence, the stock of this material was rapidly increasing and was likely to prove a nuisance in more ways than one. As many of these articles had been used by their late owners, there was danger of infectious diseases being introduced into the garrison. On the other hand, were each person desirous of conveying their spoils with them, in the event of the army evacuating the place on the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, the transport required for this purpose would exceed all bounds.

Many a man, before this order was generally known, marched boldly to the gate, his arms filled with silk stuffs, only to be disappointed by having his booty taken from him by the agents of the Provost Marshal, and burnt under his very nose. Expostulation was useless and dangerous. Some took the spoiling of their goods in good part, and laughed at their disappointment; whilst others chafed and fumed, and heaped anything but compliments upon the heads of all those concerned in their despoilment.

About the middle of the month of November, news reached the garrison of the approach of General Sir Colin Campbell, with a force which, it was thought would prove amply sufficient for the complete release of the besieged party at Lucknow. This was indeed welcome intelligence, at a time when provisions were but scanty, for all had been placed on half-rations. The porter was completely out, and the issue of rum was confined to but one dram daily. Tea there was none, except for the patients in hospital. The stores of medical comforts for the sick, had lasted pretty well up to about this time, when they also failed.

The camp followers, who arrived with Havelock's force, were put to great straits indeed for food. Many of them begged portions of the raw hides of

the bullocks which were slain for consumption, and broiled these over the embers of a wood fire. The smell emitted was not of a savory kind, but rather reminded one of burnt leather. This made not the slightest difference, however, to the half-famished wretches who partook of the dish, and who seemed to relish the joint exceedingly.

The privations of the occasion were cheerfully endured by all classes, for the good news received buoyed all up to forget present suffering, in the anticipation of future happiness in being released from an irksome position.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, K.C.B.

MAJOR General Sir James Outram, who was Chief in command of the forces at Lucknow, has earned for himself, by his noble disinterestedness, the admiration of all who admire true greatness of soul in their fellow beings. If there is one quality to be admired above another, we apprehend it is that of unselfishness. The man who is guided in the performance of his public and private duties by this golden but rarely-practised rule, must prove a benefactor to his fellow men.

General Outram, upon his arrival at Cawnpore, previous to the final advance made by Havelock's force on Lucknow, very generously abstained from assuming the command over General Havelock, although, by the rules of the service, he would have been justified in doing so, for he was the senior of the two. This perfect abnegation of self, at a

time when the inherent selfishness of human nature could have been indulged without fear of public stricture, stamps this act as one of the noblest of its sort on record. The temptation to have acted otherwise was great. The eyes of the nation were watching with eager interest the struggle at Lucknow, and the highest honours undoubtedly awaited the Commander who would achieve the relief of the garrison. The interest was further deepened by the knowledge that ineffectual attemps had been made to encompass such a result, and that the force which was still bent upon relieving Lucknow, were outnumbered by thousands of the enemy,

Thus the intense interest displayed by all classes of Great Britain, and, it may be stated, of the whole of the civilized world, in the issue of the struggle then pending, would have been seized upon by an ambitious and unscrupulous man to advance his own interests. The soldier who performed this noble act of disinterestedness, was one whose whole previous public career was in keeping with the honorable deed of the present. This unvaried integrity and honesty of character had caused him to be styled the "Indian Bayard;" for his actions proved that he knew of no road to fame or ambition, but that which could be trod by honest and high-souled men.

His talents were of a rare order, for he shone forth as a soldier, a politician, and a man of letters. His manly straightforwardness and undeviating rectitude of purpose cast an additional halo around those talents. The great men of the world have ofttimes displayed great weaknesses or infirmities. Very rarely does history record, or do we in our time find men whose qualities of heart and distinguished talents act in concert to ennoble, each through its own medium, their possessor.

Distinguished soldiers have in all ages of our country's history added to her glory, by achieving deeds that have eclipsed by their brilliancy those recorded of contemporaries. Oliver Cromwell found his country degraded in the eyes of Christendom, but he left her covered with military glory, and caused her to be respected and feared by her neighbours far and near. But, alas! these qualities were marred by his bigotry, fanaticism, and cruelty. Talents in his case were unaided by goodness of heart. His picture possessed bold and striking outlines, which however, required toning down and mellowing by the softer touches of genial nature and Christian principles.

The Duke of Marlborough achieved great deeds for his country, which have covered his memory with military glory. But if history be true, he was

cursed in heart by the possession of one of the lowest traits of character which could have fallen to the lot of man. It is recorded that he was a miser. He heaped up riches, without knowing their true value, or the use for which such things were designed. Generous impulses were obstructed by gold, which, like a cankerworm, ate away slowly and surely all the better part of his nature, leaving nothing of the beautiful to soften the ruggedness of the mere animal propensities of his and our common nature. Talents, in this case also, were unaided by goodness of heart.

The Great Napoleon doubtlessly commenced his martial career imbued with patriotism, and a desire to aid in rescuing his country from impending degradation. The patriot was lost in the Emperor, and the all-absorbing lust for conquest and dominion caused his great and rare talents to prove a curse instead of a blessing both to his own country and to humanity generally. In his case, also, talents were unaided by goodness of heart.

Other instances could be cited of great soldiers of our own and other countries, whose brilliant talents were dimned by deformities of character. But if this be true, it is also true that many have existed, and do now exist, whose talents have been and are now aided by true goodness of heart. If our history

gives us cause to regret the moral blurs of character in a Cromwell, a Marlborough, and others, it also furnishes us with cause for feeling an honest pride in being fellow countrymen of many illustrious soldiers, statesmen, philosophers, men of letters, judges, and others, of remote times; and this feeling is enhanced by the knowledge that the age we ourselves live in has produced men whose varied talents and virtues have shed, and are now shedding, an halo around our history as a nation.

The brightest surfaces soonest show the minutest speck of rust or dirt, and so do the shining and often dazzling qualities of great men exhibit to the gaze of their fellows the slightest speck of moral rust or dirt At times, such polished surfaces are greatly dimmed by the stains seen upon them, which occasion to the beholder the same regret that would arise on seeing a beautiful picture marred from unsightly defects. Other surfaces exhibit but slight specks, which are attributable to the imperfectness attending humanity, and do not therefore mar the beauty of the whole.

From what can be gleaned from record and report, the late Major General Sir James Outram exhibited as few specks upon the bright surface of his character as did any man. This is affirming a great deal, but the affirmation cannot be con-

sidered extreme when the actions of his life are reviewed. He holds a conspicuous place among those men whose actions and exploits during the Indian Mutiny challenged the admiration of mankind. Their deeds have illuminated the dark passages of a period in the world's existence, when the ensanguined wave of rebellion surged violently upon the shore of our Indian Empire.

Sir James Outram endeared himself to all classes with whom he was associated through life; and when death summoned him away, this sad event cast a gloom over many hearts. A more touching tribute of respect could not have been awarded to his memory, than was accorded thereto by the soldiers of the 78th Highlanders, who bore the remains of their beloved chief to their last resting place in Westminster Abbey. Their presence at his grave was not occasioned by a desire to impart to the occasion the mere pomp and show of military display, but they attended as true mourners over the ashes of one who during his lifetime had shared with them the dangers of war, and had been to them a true friend. And the tears that rolled down manly cheeks, bespoke the true sorrow of hearts bereaved of an object which possessed their love and affection.

He worthily fills a space in that mausoleum of

England's great men, whose ashes impart an additional sacredness to the hallowed spot. There rests the dust of departed ones, who during their lives were the centre of attraction to thousands of their fellow beings, who were dazzled by their rare excellencies of mind, and instructed by the example which they have left.

The visitor to this sacred spot can truthfully exclaim, when viewing the grave of Sir James Outram, "There sleeps one who was distinguished for qualities of heart and soul, that made his every action pure, and has left his memory fragrant as a rose."

CHAPTER XXV.

SECOND RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

THE Delhi column of our army, as has been already stated, moved from Agra on to Cawnpore, at which station they remained until the arrival of reinforcements, when the entire force crossed the river en route to Lucknow. The scene was of an exciting character as the various regiments crossed the bridge of boats which spanned the river. The pipers of H. M.'s 93rd Highlanders struck up the well-known and inspiring Scotch air "The Maid of Glenorchy." Continual bursts of cheering came from the ranks of the entire force, and every body appeared so elated, that, to use a common expression, "They were ready to jump out of their skin." The cry of "Here goes to meet Havelock, or our graves," was caught up by almost each regiment, and this noble war cry of Britain's sons made the step of

each one of them firmer, and cheered and warmed their hearts.

The march was continued without interruption from the enemy, and the force halted at Bunny, there to await the arrival of their future chief, General Sir Colin Campbell. On his arrival, with reinforcements, the numbers of the army assumed an imposing strength. A general parade was ordered, and Sir Colin Campbell addressed the men of each battalion in words that found a ready response in the breasts of each of them, for he spoke of effecting the deliverance of the garrison of Lucknow. Enthusiasm swelled the breasts of all, and made them eager to advance against the enemy, to accomplish the deliverance of hundreds of their fellow countrymen and women.

Confidence was felt by all in their renowned leader, Sir Colin, who so often had led very many, even of those then present, to glorious victories. Some of his old Highland Brigade, of Crimean notoriety, were present with the army, which was then advancing on Lucknow, and like the war horse which pricks up its ears at the martial notes of the brazen trumpet, these veterans drank in the sounds of that well-known voice with eager avidity and deep pleasure. It reminded them of old times, when, amidst great trials and dangers, and in an

inhospitable climate, they were so often cheered and buoyed up by the words of him, who was now again their chief.

After the arrival of Sir Colin, and on his assuming the command of the army of Lucknow, no unnecessary delay was made at Bunny. Accordingly, within a very short time of that occurrence, the force resumed its march on Lucknow. The 9th Lancers and a portion of the Horse Artillery were in the van of the army, and led the way. A sharp look out was kept for the enemy, but they could not be seen. However, the heavy cannonading in the front, which could be plainly heard by all, made it known to our men that ere long the struggle would commence, upon the issue of which depended the liberation of the beleagured garrison.

A halt was made about four miles from the Alum Baugh, to allow of refreshments being served out to the men of the army. A glass of rum was among the blessings of life that must not be despised, at least so thought our fellows, who, whilst partaking of this stimulating refreshment, felt thankful that they were not teetotalers, but that they could use aright this gift of providence, which was intended to make glad the heart of man.

Upon approaching the Alum Baugh, the enemy opened fire from a battery. On hearing the report

of the first gun, Sir Colin galloped to the front, and asked one of the Quarter-masters, from what quarter the battery had opened fire. Before the reply could be given, the enemy themselves answered the query by opening fire from two additional batteries, which made the number up to three, and which continued to play upon our advancing columns in a business style. Sir Colin sat on his little grey charger, in deep thought for a few seconds, and then wheeling sharply round he issued his orders to his staff in a most rapid manner, and which had the effect of putting the several divisions of his army in motion in an almost incredibly short space of time. Position after position were gallantly carried by our men, who completely routed the enemy, and pursued them with great slaughter.

A halt of some days was made by Sir Colin's army at the Alambaugh, for the purpose of concerting measures for an advance upon the city of Lucknow. During that time, a telegraphic communication was speedily established between the Alambaugh and the Residency, by means of the sand bag code of signals, which were plainly distinguishable by the aid of glasses.

At this juncture of affairs, a gentleman, of the uncovenanted or civil service, named Kavanagh, (then a resident of the Residency,) offered to

proceed to Sir Colin, at the Alum Baugh, to guide his force by a route, which would avoid the city altogether. This patriotic and noble offer was gladly accepted, and forthwith Sir Colin was made aware, that a person from the garrison would be despatched to act in the capacity of a guide, on the occasion of his advance upon Lucknow. The matter was kept as secret as possible, and the operation which metamorphosed Mr. Kavanagh into a genuine Hindoo, was performed in a very quiet and secluded nook of the Redan battery.

We regret that we are unable to state, for the information of our readers, what particular caste mark was assumed by this Anglo-Indian; but, undoubtedly, it may fairly be presumed that he assumed that of a ***high caste*** Brahmin; for one who possessed such aspiring views, would surely not have belied his nature by assuming a *low caste* in any society or community.

Mr. Kavanagh was accompanied on his perilous mission by a native spy, that the awkwardness attending his appearance before the native public in his new character and costume, might be taken off. Both reached Sir Colin's position in safety, which pleasing intelligence was made known to the anxious waiters in the Residency, by means of the telegraph, which has been already alluded to. Mr. Kavanagh has told his own story so well,

that really there is no room for any one else to say aught on the subject, or to attempt to blow that gentleman's trumpet for him.

On all the necessary preparations being completed, Sir Colin's force advanced upon the city by the route which Mr. Kavanagh had so wisely and ably chosen for the occasion. The enemy were completely taken by surprise, and therefore offered no opposition to the movement until the Dil-Koosha, or Hunting Park, was reached, at which place they were drawn up, awaiting the arrival of our force. A rather sharp engagement then took place, which ended in a victory to our arms, for the enemy were completely routed and suffered great loss, as they were closely pursued by our Horse Artillery and Cavalry.

The advance from this point could be plainly discerned from the towers of the Residency by the aid of glasses. The sailors and their sixty-eight-pounder guns did good service on this occasion, and they must have rather astonished the natives with the rapidity of their fire, and the ease with which they dragged these heavy pieces of ordnance about. With shirt sleeves and trousers' legs turned up, they managed their pet guns with ease, and seemed quite at home when engaging the rebel batteries at close quarters. Indeed it never proved their fault

that the duel took place at any greater distance between themselves and their opponents.

Unfortunately, a powder wagon belonging to the Naval batteries exploded, and severely injured several Jack Tars. The Naval Brigade was commanded by Captain Peel, who proved himself to be one of the very best officers our navy possessed. Both he and his men, by their daring exploits, gained for themselves the unqualified admiration of their comrades of the army. And who indeed can be otherwise than struck with admiration upon reading of the actions of these heroes, who have covered both themselves and the service they represent with an undying glory?

A party of the enemy, numbering some hundreds, were, through the treachery of one of their own number, surprised in a building, where they were kept at the point of the bayonet, whilst our rockets set fire to the thatched roof, when they were all, without exception, burnt to death. The stench from this place was unbearable for weeks afterwards; but our fellows said it was sweet, as it was caused by the remains of those who were guilty of atrocities that made them stink worse when alive than when dead. Cheers rent the air as the men of Sir Colin's army and those of Havelock's force met.

The extension of our position in the city of Lucknow, which was so ably effected under the joint superintendence of Generals Outram and Havelock, saved the new arrivals a deal of fighting, for the outposts of the defenders were pushed forward into the city for a distance of about a mile and a half. Some sharp fighting progressed, even after the relief had been effected; and between the united efforts of the *old residents* and the *new comers*, the rebels received a good thrashing, which they well deserved.

The Union Jack was planted upon the tower of the building known as the officers' mess room, and as it waved proudly in the air, a party of rebels, out of sheer spite and envy, opened fire upon it. Their aim was so true, that the staff was broken, and the flag fell. Among the occupants of this position was one who determined that our national flag should not be lowered whilst he had an arm to raise it aloft; he therefore very quickly had the Union Jack again waving from the tower, although he was assailed by a heavy musketry fire from the enemy whilst so engaged. The flag again fell before the well-directed shots of the enemy, only to be re-instated in its former position by the brave fellow, who had made himself its champion. He seemed to bear a charmed life, for although the bullets flew about like hailstones, yet he escaped unhurt. If

the defender of the honour and dignity of our national banner determined that it should stand proudly erect, so also were the enemy equally determined it should be lowered. Another shot again prostrated it, and unfortunately broke the staff so close to the flag, that it was almost an impossibility to refix it in its former position. Nothing daunted by this new difficulty, our brave fellow caught it up, and exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, he waved the flag vigorously and defiantly at them, although they continued to rain upon him a furious storm of shot. As far as our memory serves us, this hero escaped with but a slight wound, and was subsequently rewarded for his gallant and daring conduct, by an award of the Victoria Cross.

The Residency was not long ere it received a visit from Sir Colin, who was amazed on beholding the place which had been so heroically defended for a lengthened period by but a small European force. The veteran was gazed upon by every one, to whom he was, for the time, the centre of attraction. Dressed in an old military frock coat, which was closely buttoned up to the chin, and shod with a pair of riding boots, and with a cork helmet for a head dress, he visited position after position, and would have passed unnoticed, from the sim-

plicity of his garb, had not the half-suppressed exclamation of "That's Sir Colin Campbell," reminded the bye standers that they were in the presence of one of the most renowned of Britain's soldiers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RETREAT ON CAWNPORE.

ONE of the first acts of the Commander-in-Chief, after completing an uninterrupted line of communication between the Dil-Koosha and the Residency, was the removal of the women and children, together with the sick and wounded, to a place of safety. This project was kept secret as possible, to prevent the possibility of its reaching the ears of the enemy. The necessity for secrecy caused the order for the execution of the movement to precede the time of marching out of the Residency but a few hours. Accordingly, all was bustle and anxiety. This was especially the case with the women, who wished, if possible, to take all their goods and chattels with them. Happily there was no lack of transport, for the Commissariat Department was well supplied in this respect, which prevented any disappointment being

felt by any one, for all were accommodated in having their baggage removed.

What an altered aspect the Residency presented to the survivors of the garrison when leaving it, to the appearance it presented when they beheld its attractiveness, before the desolating hand of war had shorn it of all its beauty! Not a vestige of its former charms remained for them to look upon. Its stately buildings were in ruins, and nothing was visible that had not stamped upon it the effects of the destructive tendencies of war.

The one side of the building known as the hospital, had the plaster completely cut away from the wall by bullets. Huge rents were to be seen in the walls of every building, from the effects of round shot and shell. A few trees remained of the number which in happier times had adorned the place. They served to heighten the sense of desolation which existed, by causing those who knew the spot in its palmy days to contrast the barrenness that now reigned around them with the delightful and picturesque beauties it possessed in days of yore.

The Church, where many had worshipped God on sabbath days gone by, now shared in the general ruinous appearance everywhere existing. The pleasant toll of the bell had long ceased its musical

note, and in its place the sharp ring of the musket despatching the bullet which ended many a life, struck on the ear with a dissonant sound, which caused the hearts of all who heard it to sigh for a return of the days of peace. Beneath its shadow, lying calmly awaiting the sound of the trump of the resurrection morn, were the ashes of many a brave soldier, Britannia's sons, who had fallen glorious in the battle for her rights. No grand monument then marked the spot where they reposed, but only a few mounds of earth reared themselves at intervals, to tell the tale that, beneath, dust was returning to dust. No loving hand brought flowers to deck these lowly graves, and even the grass waved not with its silent motion over them; but here, too, desolation reigned. It was as if the fate of the city of the plains had befallen the spot, and that it had been sown with salt.

The moon shed its peaceful light on the scene, as the cortege slowly defiled from the gates of the Residency. The silence of the night was broken only by the sounds of distant firing, for no one of the many, who were wending their way to a place of safety, spoke above a whisper. The party pursued its way along a route which led them through the grounds of the "Ranee's Palace," and from thence they emerged on the road that led by the banks of

the river. About here the strictest silence was observed, for the enemy were not far distant. The open space that intervened between the buildings about this spot, was screened by our party, by the erection of a matting screen, which hid from the enemy's view the road that the cortege were now traversing. This slight structure was not bullet proof, and it was therefore necessary that every precaution should be taken to avoid attracting the enemy's attention to what was going on behind the screens.

This dangerous locality was passed without having provoked a single shot from the enemy. The route from this point was divested of danger, for at intervals detachments of our men were posted. The travellers occasionally lit upon a party of sailors and their pet sixty-eight-pounder, and the thunder of this noble piece made the nerves tingle again. A hearty "God speed and bless you," from Jack was bestowed upon the party, who returned the kindly wish.

Before reaching the open country verging upon the Dil-Koosha park, a halt was made, to allow the Cavalry escort to reconnoitre, lest any of the enemy's Cavalry should be lurking in the vicinity. Upon all being reported clear, the march was resumed along the open country that led by the

Martinerees' school. Several precautionary halts were made, to allow our cavalry to thoroughly sift every inch of the ground. At last, the encampment at the Dil-Koosha was reached, and all were out of reach of danger. Many laid their heads on pillows that night, who had not been free from the sounds of war for months, and who now missed the rude lullaby of the cannon's roar, and the musket's ring to compose their slumbers. It is to be hoped that no heart forgot its duty of thankfulness, which was owing to that Great Being who had so safely delivered them from great and imminent peril.

The morn broke with refreshing delight upon those who had been cooped up in the Residency for the last six months or more. The free air of the open country was breathed with pleasurable emotions, and the rural treasures of nature were viewed with extreme delight. The experience of those who were now enjoying the happy change was not unlike that of persons who after being tempest tossed and confined in the limited space of a ship, which has made an unusually long and perilous voyage, are enjoying the comforts of the land. There were no more short rations, and the change from the coarse and unwholesome food of the past six months to the delicacies now obtainable, was not the least pleasurable item in the varied pro-

gramme of blessings. Bread was a decided luxury, for nothing of the sort had passed the lips of the garrison of the Residency until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.

The ordinary comforts of life were enjoyed with a zest which bespoke the fact that the appetite had not been pampered of late. The disciples of Banting, on being released from restrictions which their anti-corpulent master had imposed on their diet, would approach the nearest to any, we should apprehend, who would be likely to appreciate the blessings that had been denied them under a system which is calculated not only to reduce their fat, but also their *spirits*. One could now enjoy a stroll without being pestered with the annoying attentions of *airy* companions, in the guise of shot, shell, and bullets.

The month of November, in India, is about the pleasantest time of the year, and as such is always enjoyed by the European residents, who indemnify themselves during this and the two successive months for the scorching restraint placed upon them by the too sunny days of the other nine months of the year. The dwellers at the Dil-Koosha, who were but recently released from durance vile, managed to adhere to the traditionary customs of the East in enjoying the seasonable weather of the

merry month of November. In merry England, the merriest month in the year is that of May, at least so says the poet; and the dullest month falls to the lot of foggy and dismal November, when people usually commit all sorts of eccentricities, and fall into varied and unaccountable misfortunes.

A merry month, the month of November proved to the cheerful and merry-looking faces that were to be seen at the encampment of the Dil-Koosha. Mostly all persons are provided with the bump of curiosity, and this was freely indulged in by the class of persons to whom we have just alluded. The ladies, although they will not generally own it, are not divested of this failing of humanity; they roamed the place, and managed to see all that was to be seen.

The bazaar, or market, which accompanied Sir Colin's force, had a *fair* share of attention paid to it. The appearance of such a place usually reminds one of a gypsy encampment. Each vender has his own little tent, in front of which he displays his goods, and invites the attention of passers-by to their rare excellencies. The native tradesman is not a whit behind the tradesman of more civilized countries, in his endeavours to impress upon his customers that his goods are unequalled in the market. They have one trait in their business.

transactions, which is peculiarly of eastern origin. A grocer, or butcher, or green-grocer, or other tradesfolk, in India, when selling goods to a customer, invariably asks for the article on sale nearly double the amount of its worth. To a stranger this usage is perplexing, for he knows that the custom observed in trade in almost every part of Great Britain is to demand a fixed price for every article, upon which it would be useless, or nearly so, to seek an abatement. He, therefore, accedes to the first demand; and only finds out the error of his way, when a friend, to whom, perchance, he shows his purchase, informs him that he has paid too much for it. If he be a good-natured person, he accompanies the victimized greenhorn to the stall from which the article was purchased, and makes the tradesman refund the over charge.

An old hand in the market has no difficulty in beating down the price asked for the article he wishes to purchase. At first, the tradesman remains obdurate, and will insist upon having the original sum paid for the goods. The European allows him to proceed in this mood but a very short time, ere he commences to abuse him for a dishonest thief, which uncomplimentary remark is accepted by the object of it, as being all in the way of trade. The price will gradually be reduced to near its

proper level, when an obstinate contest will ensue about the couple of pice in dispute. The customer, however, knows his man, and will pretend to be indifferent as to whether he buys the article or not, and ends the dispute by walking away. Before he has proceeded a dozen paces, however, he hears himself accosted by the familiar sobriquet of "John, John," which he knows to mean, that he is to return and have the article at his own price.

The natives, in military bazaars, usually call every European man by the name of "John;" and every European woman is styled a "Mem sahib." A Kutwaul, or chief of the bazaar, is invariably attached to every bazaar, and he is invested with full powers to settle disputes. The native offender, if found guilty of dishonesty, or a breach of the rules of the market, usually receives a summary punishment at the hands of an official, who inflicts a dozen cuts of the cane upon the delinquent. The Kutwaul is, therefore, a man of great importance in the eyes of all the residents of the bazaar, who stand greatly in awe of this mighty personage.

The bazaar at the Dil-Koosha was but poorly stocked, as there was a great difficulty in obtaining supplies for it. However, the ladies made the best of the matter, by making purchases from what was

purchaseable, for the temptation to do a trifle of shopping was too strong to be resisted.

The building styled the hunting-palace, was converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. Many persons paid a visit to it. Among the patients were several men of the Naval Brigade, one of whom was completely blind from the effects of an explosion. He was particularly cheerful under his great affliction, and was deeply sympathized with by all who saw him. The accommodation provided in this place for the patients was extremely good. The construction of the building itself was well suited for the wants of a hospital. The rooms were large, and high pitched, and the ventilation and means for admitting light were extremely effective. The contrast between it and the hospital of the Residency, made the comforts attached to it to be doubly appreciated.

The enemy endeavoured to annoy the force stationed at the Dil-Koosha, which at times brought on a rather spirited skirmish between themselves and our outlying pickets. On one of such occasions, the enemy showed themselves in such force, and commenced such a furious onslaught of musketry on our outposts, that, for the time, it was apprehended that a general engagement was

imminent. The whole of the force in camp was therefore quickly brought under arms, and proceeded to the scene of the firing. Their appearance on the scene of action soon caused the enemy to retire; from which it became evident that the recent movement was merely a reconnaisance in strength, made by them to ascertain the capabilities of our force. Our Cavalry scoured the surrounding plains, in search of the enemy's Cavalry, who at times could be seen in the distance, but who quickly disappeared upon the approach of our troopers.

The Military Train proved a very efficient body on the present occasion. They answered either as Cavalry or Artillery, and fulfilled their duties admirably in each capacity. The only damage which the enemy's Cavalry managed to inflict on the dwellers in the Dil-Koosha encampment, was upon the persons of some unfortunate camel-drivers, two or three of whom were suddenly pounced upon by these sharpers, who slashed them pretty freely with their swords. One of these unfortunates received a terrible sword cut on the back, which our surgeons managed to sew up for him. It was piteous to hear the low moans of complaint uttered by him, during the process of the rather severe surgical operation which he was undergoing.

Almost each evening, the band of the 8th Regi-

ment discoursed some sweet music, which proved very entertaining to the groups which attended on each occasion.

As soon as practicable, Sir Colin Campbell gradually withdrew his entire force from the city of Lucknow. The enemy offered very little if any opposition to the execution of this movement, merely contenting themselves with exchanging a few shots with our rear guards and engaging in a game of long bowls with our Artillery. In a very short time after the evacuation of the city, the entire force commenced a retreat upon Cawnpore. The line of route selected avoided the high road and the city, but struck across the country. The day was truly a delightful one, and the tract of country traversed by our army possessed varied attractions. The air was balmy and refreshing, and all nature seemed to wear its gayest mood, and to have put on its best smiles, to rejoice with man in his deliverance from danger.

The retreat, undoubtedly, took the enemy by surprise, for no attempt was made to harass the movement. The vast fields of sugar canes, and miniature forests, that lined almost the entire route, presented facilities for their inflicting damage upon our retreating force. But even had they been so minded, every precaution had been made by our able chief, Sir Colin Campbell, to meet and defeat their

measures in this respect. They doubtlessly rejoiced exceedingly that the "Faringhee" army had withdrawn from before them; and this feeling may explain their inactivity on this occasion.

The entire force reached the Alum Baugh in safety, and encamped on the plain in its immediate vicinity. A few days' halt was made at this place, preparatory to continuing their retreat on Cawnpore. A small force remained behind in the Alum Baugh, to keep open the communication between it and Cawnpore, the command of which was assigned to Sir James Outram. A detachment of recruits joined the 32nd Regiment at this place, and their numbers certainly imparted a more imposing appearance to the corps, for, previous to this accession to its strength, the survivors did not muster above one hundred to one hundred and twenty men. One of its number, who had escaped safely from the innumerable dangers which attended the defence of the Residency, fell a victim to strong drink. He was found smothered in his bed. One is inclined to apprehend that it had been better for the poor unfortunate fellow to have died an honourable death at the hands of the enemy, than to have finished his career in such a deplorable manner.

When the march was resumed towards Cawnpore, it was not anticipated that that place would be

reached in two days, for the distance to be traversed amounted to about fifty miles. The villages along the road were entirely deserted, and all things had an air of solitude about them. The many spots which had been rendered famous by the deeds of Havelock's brave army, were looked upon with interest by everyone. Many of these heroes were now passing along the scenes of their former glories; and, doubtlessly, the recollection that the brave Chief, who had so often led them to victory, was now numbered among the dead, was saddening indeed.

The first encamping ground was not reached until late at night, and, as may be supposed, everyone was fatigued by the tiring march of the past day. At an early hour the following morning, the march was resumed, after a slight breakfast had been made. As the columns moved off the ground, the rear division of the army marched on to the encampment, after a toilsome and fatiguing march, which had taken them some fourteen or sixteen hours to accomplish. The enemy had not molested them in any way, but had left them to pursue their way in quietness.

On reaching the second encamping ground, which was distant from our entrenched camp at Cawnpore some two or three miles, ugly rumours began to

circulate of the enemy's having nearly captured the position. Unfortunately, this proved only too correct. The rebels had surprised our force, and had caused them to make a precipitate retreat to the entrenched camp, with the loss of their camp equipage and nearly the whole of their personal effects.

The disastrous reverse thus inflicted upon our arms by the enemy, was vigorously followed up by repeated and determined attacks on their part against our entrenchments. Such was the resolute bravery and pertinaciousness evinced by them, that they succeeded in capturing a portion of the outworks, and they nearly seconded this achievement by the capture of a battery, which serious catastrophe was only averted by the extraordinary and determined bravery of our fellows, who fought desperately against the great odds opposed to them.

The artillery practice of the rebels on this occasion was of a high standard of efficiency, and great inconvenience was caused to the patients in the hospital, by many of the round shot pitching plump into the wards. The enemy, it was rumoured, tried hard to possess themselves of the bridge of boats which spanned the river between our entrenched camp and the road leading to Lucknow. Fortunately, their scheme for effecting this desirable

result, was known to our Commander, who concerted measures to give them a warm reception. They chose an extremely dark night for the execution of their rather daring project, and, under cover of the darkness, they stealthily advanced along the bank of the river, and reached a spot in close proximity to the much-coveted prize. However, their every movement was known to the garrison, and, at the proper moment, a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot was hurled against them.

On this occasion, a gun boat, which was moored in the river close to the spot where the enemy attempted the surprise, proved a very efficient auxiliary in aiding the fire which swept upon the astonished force of the rebels. Her guns were loaded with grape and canister, and round upon round of these fearfully-destructive missiles convinced them that they were entirely circumvented by the Faringhees. This proved a great victory to our arms, for it was of incalculable moment that the passage of the river should be kept open, so as to keep the communications between Cawnpore and Lucknow intact. The portion of the rebel force which inflicted such damage to our arms on the occasion in question, consisted of Rajhpoots, who are about the most warlike and courageous people of India.

A portion of the retreating force, under Sir Colin himself, entered the entrenched camp, and by their timely succour soon changed the critical aspect which affairs had assumed, and relieved the beleaguered garrison of any further apprehension of danger. The remaining portion of this force remained on the Lucknow side of the river, together with the sick and wounded, and women and children, until the enemy were reported clear of the route which would have to be pursued to reach the next encamping ground on the Cawnpore side.

One of the enemy's batteries opened fire on the bridge of boats, and rendered its passage an undertaking fraught with danger. The Naval Brigade, with their battery of sixty-eight pounders, were directed to silence this troublesome fire. They obeyed these directions with alacrity, and, so true was their aim, that the rebel guns were very quickly quieted. It was an interesting sight to witness this artillery duel, and to mark where each of our shots struck. Jack gave many a hearty cheer as each cloud of dust from the enemy's battery testified to the accuracy of every round from his pet sixty-eight pounder. The spectators, who lined the numerous sand hills in the vicinity, also lustily cheered the heroes of the Naval Brigade.

The women and children, and the sick and

wounded, passed over the bridge in safety, but to their astonishment they found that the enemy were pouring in round shot pretty freely, which crossed the line of route, thereby making it dangerous for the passers-by. The predicament, at the time, made it appear to those who had but recently left the Residency, that they had but tumbled out of the frying-pan into the fire. But, happily, no casualties occurred during the passage through the entrenched camp, and all had the satisfaction of reaching a spot which was perfectly secure from the inroads of the enemy.

It fell to the lot of H. M.'s 32nd foot to be encamped near the position, which proved so fatal to so many of their ill-fated comrades, and their wives and families. The now-notorious entrenchments of Brigadier General Wheeler's position at Cawnpore, were but a few hundred yards distant. With what mournfulness was this place beheld by those who were acquainted with many of those who had been so treacherously allured, and then fiendishly butchered, at a spot which was not far distant! All who could paid a visit to the ruins of this famous locality.

There, many sad mementos of the siege were recorded on the walls of the dismantled buildings. At one particular spot, a memorandum, in charcoal,

told how that, close by, General Wheeler's son had had his brains dashed out by a round shot, and, as if to testify to the truth of this statement, the peculiar marks caused by this sad occurrence were then visible on the wall of the room. Various other memoranda referred to events of special interest, which occurred from time to time, and which had been chronicled by the several writers in this rather primitive fashion.

The mind of even the most imaginative spectator, who viewed these sad relics of bye gone days, must have fallen far short of realizing in his contemplations the intense sufferings and hardships which that portion of the human family endured, whose misfortune it was to be associated with these trying scenes of the past. Even the horrors of the defence of Lucknow appeared tame in comparison to the ills which befel the garrison of Cawnpore. What a panorama of miseries was crowded into each hour of the memorable twenty-one days of the defence!

We trust that no class of human beings will ever be again called upon to suffer the cruel inflictions which every day heaped upon the heads of the ill-fated garrison.

From Cawnpore, the women and children, together with the sick, wounded, and disabled, were

removed to Allahabad. The journey to this place was accomplished in about four days. From Allahabad, the women and children, and such of our soldiers as were deemed unfit for further service, were sent by steamer to Calcutta, and from thence many were sent home to England.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

IR COLIN CAMPBELL, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, in India, during the mutiny, was a soldier, who, as is well known, was inured to the dangers and hardships inseparable from war. From his boyhood's days he mingled in the strife of battle, and many a desperate conflict marked his advancing years to manhood. And beyond the hey dey of life to old age, the din of the battle was as familiar to his ear as is the bugle call to that of the soldier. His career as a soldier began at a period when Europe was convulsed with the throes of one of the mightiest struggles that had ever shook the continent, and when all the nations of Europe, with but the single exception of England, lay prostrate beneath the foot of that colossal man of war, the late Emperor Napoleon. This was no mean school to train the youthful soldier for future deeds of fame and military glory.

The most successful generals of the age, backed by troops flushed to the full with victory, stood opposed to the apparently puny efforts of Great Britain to stem the advancing torrent of conquest. Her power was represented, at the outset, by raw levees; and she had, as a Commander, one who was contemptously named the "Sepoy General;" whilst, to make matters worse, the political intriguing and favouritism of our government, added greatly to the abounding chaos, from which, however sprang the most enduring edifice of fame and glory that the sons of Great Britain have ever reared to her honour. The Eagles of France had, up to the period when Wellington took to the field, always led the veteran armies of their country to victory. At the time when young Colin Campbell joined the standard of his Chief in the Peninsula, the mightiest nation of the day was endeavouring to effect the downfall of our country. In the sanguinary struggles which ensued, the young soldier took an active and prominent part, and we have recorded of him many exploits which were marked with great courage and conspicuous gallantry. Deeds of heroism were the order of the day, and the many of this stamp performed by our soldiers would, if performed now-a-days, have covered many breasts with the Victoria Cross, and have helped to diminish

our national exchequer in a very perceptible manner. Young Colin Campbell was thus early trained to the endurance of fatigues and privations, and accustomed and steeled to danger. It was at this time that the British bayonet gained for itself, in the hands of our soldiers, the world-wide celebrity which attaches to it even at the present day. Since that time England has not had such a formidable foe opposed to her. The triumphs she then achieved over an enemy who had trampled upon the nations of the Continent, and who had carried his victorious armies to the African continent, has shed undying glory upon her history, and imperishable fame upon those of her sons who did such great things for her, and among whose number Colin Campbell was not the least conspicuous for deeds of glory. England gave peace to the world, and proved the benefactor and friend of the oppressed nations of the Continent. We cannot wonder, then, that out of the ranks of those men who accomplished such glorious results, sprang a soldier, who, in his turn, gave peace to the vast continent of our Indian empire, by successfully grappling with a danger that threatened such disastrous results to our rule there.

The veteran's reply to his Queen, when asked by her how long it would be ere he would start to

accomplish his task in India, was characteristic of his whole life. Promptness of action and decision of character are elements that must not be wanting in great men. These qualities were displayed by Sir Colin, long ere he assumed the post of Commander-in-Chief of our Indian Forces. When commanding the 98th Regiment of Foot, he was the idol of his men, because his first attention was given to their comfort and benefit. And although he was a thorough disciplinarian, and one who exacted a soldier's duty from every soldier, whether officer or man, yet he was not actuated by the spirit of a martinet, but by the true spirit of military genius, which pointed to the necessity for thorough discipline in the ranks of those whose trade was war.

During his command of the above regiment, in China, he was guilty of a weakness, for, above all days in the week, he chose Sunday as an occasion for having sham fights. He usually divided his force into two parts, for attack and defence, and made each side take all the prisoners they could. However, it sometimes fell out that there were stragglers whom no side would claim as prisoners of war, and for this reason: it is customary in China to keep sewage stowed away in large earthenware jars, which are deposited in the ground and covered

over with earth, which makes it impossible to tell of their whereabouts. Some of the force would be sure to tumble into one of the aforesaid jars, which circumstance would give these highly-scented personages complete immunity from capture, for every one was as desirous as possible to give them a wide berth. We doubt whether, even in America, where prisoners were made by wholesale, such parties would be snatched up to swell the triumph of the hour. The men would have gladly dispensed with such displays on such days, but they endured the inconvenience with but few murmers, as in other respects he more than compensated them, in their estimation, for the drawbacks attending this love of mimic strife. He was proverbially noted in the regiment for possessing a good stock of soft soap, which he abundantly retailed to keep the men in good humour. The unanimous verdict of all was that, another such commanding officer was not to be found in the British service.

When his regiment was transferred to India, he was, but a very short time after its arrival in that country, appointed to the command of a district, with the local rank of Brigadier. When the Sikh war broke out, his valuable services and matured experience in the art of war caused him to be assigned the command of a division. He dis-

tinguished himself in the many fierce conflicts which were waged with an enemy who exhibited great martial qualities, and proved themselves brave and honourable soldiers.

At the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed to a command in the Upper Provinces, and conducted, with much success, the operations against the marauding Hill Tribes, or Kyberees, whose claws he managed to cut. The men under his command experienced, during these operations, the full benefit of his Peninsula training, in forced marches. He nearly marched the legs off both officers and men, who often wished that it were possible for him to forget the lessons of his early days. The continued and annoying interference of the civil servants of the Indian government, proved too much for the brave soldier to bear. He saw no better way of deciding the question at issue, than by a vigorous course of action, and not being a diplomatist, he could not understand the motives of those who were. This misunderstanding led to continued clashing with the authorities, which circumstance induced Sir Colin to relinquish a command in which he had displayed able qualities as a soldier.

The Crimean War was on the eve of commencing at the time when he took this step, and, doubtlessly,

he consoled himself with the thought that a new field was opened for him, where the sword, and not the pen, would decide any knotty point that might arise in the course of events. The fame he earned for himself during this sanguinary struggle, is still fresh in the recollections of the people of England. Who does not remember the dashing exploits of his brigade of Highlanders, conspicuous among the bravest of whom was their gallant chieftain and beloved commander?

Had the Crimean campaign been much further prolonged, there is every probability for believing that Sir Colin Campbell would have commanded our forces in the East. He had but just rested from the labours of the recent campaign, when the news of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny burst with startling effect upon the people of Great Britain. In this desperate emergency, the hero of Balaklava was selected, by unanimous acclamation, to quell the mighty upheavings of that troubled sea of rebellion, which threatened to overflow all bounds, and submerge and extinguish our rule in that Empire.

The complete relief of the garrison of Lucknow made one of a series of triumphs that only came to an end in the complete subjugation of the mutiny, and the re-establishment of our rule in

India. The evacuation of Lucknow, after the accomplishment of the relief of our beleaguered force, was unsparingly criticised; and many avered, at the time, that it was an ill-advised step. The justice of this adverse criticism would appear to be conclusive, when based on the fact that the enemy who had sustained such a series of reverses at the hands of both General Havelock and Sir Colin himself, would have ample time to recover the shocks, and rouse themselves afresh to strengthen their position, making it more formidable than ever, and better able to afford them an opportunity for making a determined resistance to the renewed advance of our forces, which would have to be made ere the capture of this all-important station could be effected. All this was logically true, and the strictures emanating therefrom would appear to be well merited, had there not been another side to the question.

Sir Colin had accomplished the relief of Lucknow, with a loss to his army, comparatively speaking, that was trifling indeed; and having gained this one object, which was of paramount importance, he did not further proceed to the capture of the city. The presence of women and children, and hundreds of sick and wounded, imperatively demanded that their safety should be effected, in preference even

to the necessity which apparently existed, for holding a position of strategical importance.

Cawnpore was threatened by a determined force of the enemy, and the prevention of its capture by them added to the other necessities which existed for sacrificing our present prospects at Lucknow to the pressing exigencies of the occasion. The force at the command of Sir Colin was not of sufficient strength to permit a division of it being made, to enable him to retain his hold on Lucknow and relieve the garrison of Cawnpore from the pressure which the enemy put upon it.

The necessity for holding Cawnpore was of greater moment, at that particular time, than that attaching to Lucknow. Reinforcements from England were hourly despatched from Calcutta to Cawnpore. Their numbers at times were so inconsiderable, that, were there not an uninterrupted line of communication between Allahabad and Cawnpore, these small batches could not have ventured onward to reinforce the army of operation under Sir Colin. Next to holding Lucknow, he took a step which materially aided him when he renewed his advance upon that place. He garrisoned the Alum Baugh, and thereby kept his communications open with Lucknow.

All must admit, that it is better to strike a great

and decisive blow, than to waste the energies of an army in struggles which tend to no results beyond those of gaining a few unimportant victories, which do not crush the enemy, but permit of his rallying again and again, to harass the victors and negative the fruits of their recent conquests. That a crushing and decisive blow was struck by Sir Colin, on his second advance on Lucknow, cannot, we apprehend, be gainsaid. This blow virtually put an end to the mutiny in the Oude territory, and our forces were thereby enabled to turn their attention to the affairs of Central India.

If we remember aright, Sir Colin was accused of exercising an undue caution in his measures against an enemy, who were despised in the estimation of those who passed this judgment upon him. Time proved, however, that Sir Colin's judgment was right. He appears to have been guided in his measures by the apprehension that victory after victory was necessary to accomplish lasting results. Had he, through a due want of caution, suffered a defeat at the hands of the enemy, the probability was, that the smouldering embers of the mutiny, which were fast dying out, would have been fanned into a great flame again; and thus the fruits of many a hard-fought field be cast to the winds.

An enemy is an enemy, and if he lacks courage, he may not lack cunning; nor does it follow that he is deficient of that knowledge of military tactics and strategy to enable him to take advantage of a mistake made by his opponent. He himself had often led the Sepoys to victory, and he was fully aware that the training our native soldiers received in the European school of war was not thrown away upon them. Therefore he did not treat them as a mere rabble, which could be easily overcome by the merest effort of diciplined forces.

During the progress of the Indian Mutiny, disciplined forces confronted disciplined forces; and to ensure success to either side it was necessary that the rules of war should be stringently observed. The peace and quiet that now reigns so profoundly over our Indian Empire, pass the greatest panegyric upon the soldierly and wise judgment of the late Lord Clyde that can be accorded him. And the fame he has earned for himself, by the completenesss of everything he undertook to bring about the re-establishment of our rule in India, is imperishable.

It was thought by many, that the Commander-in-Chief displayed too much leniency and clemency to those who, from the outset of the rebellion, had failed to bestow a single act of mercy upon one of

our nation. Here we again conceive he was justified in the course he pursued. He was placed in command, not to perform, ad libitum, the office of executioner, but rather to suppress by the rules of civilized warfare a rebellion against the government he was serving under. A judge would be unworthy of his high position, were he to allow his feelings to entrap him into an unconstitutional act, although the offence upon which judgment would be passed had been committed against those nearest and dearest to him by ties of consanguinity. In the same measure, we apprehend, would the Commander-in-Chief have shown unfitness for his post, had he stained the sword of justice, which his Sovereign had entrusted him with, by acts that would have suited a Jeffreys, but not a high-minded and honourable soldier.

The nation is prouder, now, that she had a Clyde and not a Butler, presiding over her honour and interests, at a time when she was bleeding at every pore from the atrocities committed by cowardly ruffians. Honour to the man who nobly performed his duty, and refused to be biassed in its execution by a spirit of revenge; but rather chose in the hour of his triumph to remember mercy. No embittered animosities exist between the country so lately rebellious and Great Britain. The studied observance

of the amenities attending civilized warfare, has done more to secure the blessings of a lasting peace, than would have educed from retaliatory measures. England stands gloriously aloof, in all her transactions in time of war, from the impeachment of cruelty or acts of barbarism.

When the history of the recent struggle in America shall have been penned, the most partial reader of the events there narrated must assign to America an inferior measure of praise, for the cruel and relentless method she pursued in her endeavours to suppress the so-called rebellion of the Confederate States.

To England, as a nation, the palm belongs, for having suppressed by moderate and humane efforts her gigantic mutiny. The mere force of contrast between the actions of our own government and that of America, when similarly circumstanced, clearly renders a just tribute of praise to the former, and reprobates the atrocities committed by the latter, which as a country has yet to eat of the bitter fruit, which her mistaken course of conduct has stored for the future. She clearly forgot what was due to her own honour during her great trial, and her repeated inhumanities have caused a shudder to be felt by all who have read of them.

The soldier who accomplished so much for England, during her great trial, has gone to his rest, laden with years which were passed in the service of his country, and with honours which she, in gratitude and with a loving and lavish hand bestowed upon him, who proved one of her most illustrious and faithful children. The nation mourns his loss; but chief among its mourners are those, who as soldiers, loved him as a chief, a brave comrade, and a faithful friend. To such, the loss is indeed great, for foremost among the many and varied qualities which distinguished him, was that of an untiring solicitude and deep concern for their welfare and comfort, which shone clear and brilliant throughout his whole life, neither reverses nor rare good fortune having a tendency to dim their brightness, or impair their usefulness.

The name of Sir Colin Campbell will always sound gratefully upon the ears of the people of Great Britain, for with it is associated the reminiscences of a time when its owner gave up cheerfully the much-needed quiet, which advancing years and past toil rendered necessary, to proceed to India to accomplish a task of Herculean proportions.

With his name are honourably linked the names of his Lieutenants, who so ably executed the

schemes of their chief. A Rose, a Lugard, a Mansfield, a Whitlock, and a Walpole, are names that have earned for their owners the gratitude of their country, which well knows that she can rely on them in future hours of trials and dangers.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUR SOLDIERS.

THE rank and file of our army have invariably proved themselves able seconders of the genius of our great Commanders. That they accomplished great things for their country, during the Indian Mutiny, cannot be denied. Delhi, Lucknow, and other famous localities, are standing monuments to the splendid qualities of our soldiers. Their heroic actions and almost inimitable courage, provoked the just and unbounded admiration of their own country, which was fully endorsed by other countries.

The gallant defence of the Residency elicited from all classes unqualified praise, and the public journals were lavish of their compliments. In an article upon the subject of the defence, it was stated that each hero would prove an ornament to any fire side. Indeed the laudations which met

the eye of the reader, would induce him to apprehend that the warmest welcome awaited each defender, upon his arrival in old England, and that the remainder of his days upon earth would be marked by the blessings of plenty and ease.

Many a poor maimed or disabled soldier must have felt, upon the faith of such fine sayings, that he need not be disquieted about the future, for all would be well. But, alas! how many experienced the bitterest disappointment when, upon being discharged as unfit for further service, they experienced the greatest difficulty in procuring the most menial employment, to aid their scanty pension in providing them with the commonest necessaries of life.

We were told personally by a General Officer, that, upon a crossing-sweeper's place being vacant, there were eager candidates for the vacancy, among whom were men who had transcended the prowess of the fabled gods of old,—men, whose iron nerve and dauntless courage saved their country from great peril, and whose blood was poured forth as water in her interests, were rewarded by being allowed to compete with each other for a crossing-sweeper's place, and were thus compelled to herd with the dirty, squalid, and pitiable objects, who usually follow this lowest of all callings! Such things took place in the light of day, in the

streets of the wealthiest city of the world, under the very eyes of the noble, the princely merchant, the middle-class thousand pounds man, and the British public generally! "Thank you for a half-penny, sir," falls from the lips of one, in the public streets, who was the comrade in arms of a Clyde, a Lawrence, an Inglis, and an Outram,—all men who have shed an undying glory upon their country's history. Such an one has served his country too well. An ornament for a fire-side, forsooth! Eight-pence or a shilling a day procures for one a nice fireside to ornament by his presence! Of course, the many moral weaknesses ascribed to the soldier, above all other classes of his countrymen, except sailors, deter many from employing him.

This dislike of the soldier very often springs from a traditionary, not a personal, observation of the character of the class generally. Formerly, garrison towns furnished ample reasons for adjudging the soldier a very inferior place in the social and moral scale of society. But, at present, those disgusting ulcers, which contaminated the greater part of our army, are not observable, for they have been purged away by the moral sanitary measures which have been brought to bear upon the condition of the soldier. In fact, a complete revolution has been effected in the character and

condition of the soldiers of our army generally. This happy change has been effected by the improved system of education introduced into the Army Schools, and the erection of reading-rooms, and well-stocked libraries. All these things have given a healthy impetus to a desire, which always existed in the army, to raise the standard of the soldier's character in the eyes of the British public.

The judicious and considerate attention bestowed upon the interests of our soldiers, by the present General Commanding-in-Chief, has worked wonders, and has tended to make the soldier what he is at present, an ornament to his country. These noble efforts have been warmly seconded by many individuals in the ranks of our army. Foremost among such are Major Buckley, Barrack-master at Chatham, and his zealous assistants, Sergeant Major Conlon, and Quartermaster Sergeant Selby. Under their disinterested efforts, the Soldiers' Institute at Chatham has become a permanent fixture. May they and others continue their labour of love, and may a rich blessing to the soldier emanate therefrom!

At all times in the history of our army, there have been noble traits of character displayed by those comprising its ranks. Some sixteen years ago, a ship-load of recruits for various regiments were

clearing out of the River Thames for India. Among them were two youths, who were the sole support of a widowed mother and their three sisters, who accompanied them to the ship, to see them off. The deplorable situation of the mother induced her sons to secrete her and their sisters in a secluded part of the vessel, where they could remain until they were well out at sea, when it would be impossible for the Captain of the ship to land them, should he feel inclined to do so upon discovering the fraud. Unfortunately for the scheme, their hiding-place was discovered ere the vessel got clear of land, and the mother and her three helpless children were ordered to leave the ship immediately. In a fit of despair, the mother attempted to throw herself into the sea, but was prevented doing so by the bye-standers. The scene which ensued was truly distressing, for the cries of the woman and her little ones went to the hearts of every one.

A hurried consultation took place among the soldiers, the result of which was, that a deputation waited on the Captain of the vessel, and informed him that both themselves and their comrades were willing to pay the passage money for the unfortunate woman and her children, if he would allow them to remain aboard. This he refused to do, unless the money were paid in advance. The

new difficulty was met by the officer in command of the troops very generously advancing the required sum, which he subsequently recovered from the men's sea pay. This generous action is only the record of one of the many that could be testified to as having been performed by ***soldiers.***

The intelligence of the non-commissioned portion of our army, is of a very high order indeed in the present day. The standard of intelligence, some twenty or thirty years ago, was not a very high one, either as regards non-commissioned officers or men. At that period, promotion was bestowed not solely on account of scholarly attainments, but rather on account of superiority in drill. Thus very often a sergeant was to be found, who could but hardly write his name.

In one of our Cavalry Regiments there was a certain sergeant, who had served throughout the Peninsula Campaign, and who had, during that time of his service, saved the life of one of his officers, who, to show his sense of the service performed for him, kept his deliverer in shoe leather. The sergeant, when in want of boots, called upon his officer, and after making the military salute, and being asked what was the matter, would expose the soles of his boots for inspection, which action would be met with a laugh from his superior, and an

order for a new pair or repairs. This eccentric personage was in the habit of keeping his daily pay in the "heel of his fist," until it was spent. On one occasion, he took the order book, as was customary, to the officers' mess, for the perusal of the officers of his troop. When the book was handed to one of them by the waiter, he asked, on looking at its contents, for the sergeant who brought it.

Our gallant non-com. was ushered into the mess-room, and was asked by his officer whether it was he who wrote the orders; if so, he would trouble him to read them, as he could not. After making a military salute, the sergeant replied, "I beg pardon, sir; I had trouble enough to write them." This was literally true, for it was complete torture to him to write from dictation and for any person to attempt to decipher the hieroglyphics penned by him, was a task only equalled by the labour of those learned savans, who were engaged so long in deciphering the Egyptian characters recently discovered to exist among the ruins of that land. Now-a-days, each candidate for promotion has to obtain a certificate of fitness from the schoolmaster of his corps, ere he is gazetted for it. He has therefore no trouble to write a legible hand, or to read his own handwriting.

The profoundest ignorance of natural history that ever existed, even in the darkest ages, could not exceed that displayed by the subject of the following anecdote. During a march up country, in India, one of the men bought a monkey, which he introduced into the tent. Among its many occupants was one whom his comrades had dubbed the "Tipperary boy," in honour of his nationality. As soon as master monkey got rid of his shyness, and became accustomed to his new friends, he quickly commenced his mischievous pranks. Among other things, he had a particular liking for inspecting the men's knapsacks, but more so that of our friend from Tipperary, who eyed the liberties taken with his property with no favourable eye. His comrades noticed that Jacko's pranks were received with a bad grace by him, and this but induced them to direct pug's attention solely to his non-admirer.

At last came the culminating point of Jacko's pranks. He had managed to extract some article of clothing from his *particular* friend's knapsack, who, in a burst of indignation, told the owner of the animal, "By japers, if you don't take that *bird* out of the tint, I'll report you." As may be expected, this genuine bull elicited roars of laughter from all who heard it, and it continued to be a standing

joke, which was often cracked at the expense of the "Tipperary boy."

The schoolmaster had not been abroad where our friend passed his youthful days, at least not a certificated one: perchance the hedge schoolmaster may have been abroad in that part; but as such learned personages usually confine their teaching to imparting the contents of the "*voster*," or cramming their pupils with bog Latin, natural history would be quite overlooked.

Not very long ago, drill and schooling went hand in hand. A recruit, on joining, had to spend one hour of each day, after mid-day drill, in the school-room. But as for learning aught in that short time, he certainly did not, or in fact would not. A copy-book was placed before him, or else he was supplied with a book to read from. But neither copy or reading-book received a very *marked* attention at his hands, although many marks were not unfrequently left by not over-clean thumbs. In the event of the recruit scholar having learned subtraction, he could apply his knowledge of that rule practically, for a *sum* was subtracted from his pay each month, for schooling; and if he was not a *wiser* man through the efforts of the schoolmaster, he became a *pennyless* man thereby.

It is a matter of thankfulness that, at present,

every attention is paid to the soldier whilst at school, and should he be inclined to imbibe useful knowledge, he has every opportunity of doing so, through the attentive efforts bestowed upon him by the very efficient Normal Schoolmaster attached to almost every Army School. It will not be fair to the soldier, should the infirmities and moral blots of his predecessors continue to be remembered and to be visited upon him, despite the great advancement he has made in the opposite direction, by discarding those follies that in time past brought such odium on the name of a soldier.

For though it cannot yet be said that all our soldiers have imbibed purer and healthier tastes, yet it is a matter for rejoicing that the greatest part of our army are endeavouring to ennoble a calling, which, without hesitation, we say is in itself a noble one. Prejudice is a steep ascent to overcome; but our soldiers, who hurl themselves unflinchingly against the cannon and bayonet, will also storm the thorny and rugged sides of the hill of prejudice, and be free from the foul stigma that has attached itself to their character.

We trust the time is not far distant when the wearers of the red and blue coat will prove themselves worthy in every respect of a seat by

any fireside, and that not only their deeds in times of war, but also their actions in times of peace, will render them fit ornaments for any society, and worthy of being classed as true citizens of so great a nation as England.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONCLUSION.

WE close this review of the events of the Mutiny, and of the exploits of our brave soldiers, who are so honourably wedded to them, with the conviction that the qualities displayed by all have raised the character of their country in the eyes of the nations of the world. Peace and quietness again reign where but recently all was turmoil and strife, and our Indian Empire, under our re-established sway, bids fair to surpass even the most sanguine expectations that were formed of it in the past.

Steam and the many scientific discoveries of modern times, will develope its vast resources, which so richly abound in all productions that can add to the prosperity of a country. Education, and the unfettered spread of the Gospel of Peace, will

elevate its people, and prevent by its beneficent influences the recurrence of events which arrested, for a time, the progress that was being made in the direction of peace and plenty.

But with the religious and moral elevation of the people of India, the consideration of the necessity for admitting them to a share in the government of their own country, presents itself. Knowledge will induce self-respect, be productive of an ambition to rise in life, and will induce its possessors to take an active part in passing events; and, therefore, it will become the duty of those holding the reins of power, and who guide the helm of the state, to provide some more congenial sphere for the display of these new-found qualities, than was provided by the semi-barbarous customs of the past era of ignorance and superstition.

When William the Conqueror subdued England, the Saxon race, who were very jealous of the innovations of their conquerers, were discontented because Normans were principally employed in the offices of state, which were based upon Norman institutions. The dissatisfaction of this time continued up to the date when both races who had merged into one, gained from King John at Runnymede, the famous Magna Charta, which is the basis of the liberty we enjoy in our own time.

This blending of the Saxon and Norman races

was effected, as history relates, principally by intermarriages. We are afraid that intermarriages between the people of our own nation and that of India will not come to the rescue, so as to end the distinction of nationality. The females of India, though shown up in qualities of beauty and grace by romancists, come far short, in the practical requirements of life, of the beau ideal of what an educated Englishman considers his wife ought to be.

Education and the inculcation of personal habits of cleanliness, might in time obviate the dislike of some to a dark-skinned beauty; but we apprehend such persons will form a minority in that respect. The elevation of the youth of India, from a state of ignorance to one of knowledge, must be accomplished by affording opportunities to enable them to exercise their newly-born aspirations in a more enlarged sphere, which will afford full scope to develope their cultivated intellects.

The Hindoo and Mahommedan are both ambitious, and any inducement held out to them of preferment would be eagerly competed for. Our Collegiate system might be introduced with success, as might also our system of commerce. The natural intelligence of the people of India is great, and offers a rich mine wherefrom to extract trea-

sures of the mind, when properly superintended, to enrich and advantage their possessors. Government schools might, as opportunities presented themselves, be conducted by properly-qualified native teachers. The native Christians might be encouraged to enter the Church in the capacity of missionaries, or even as ministers; and thus religion would be propagated by an agency which would be more likely to succeed with a people who are not so averse to embracing the Christian faith as some imagine. The people of India occupy, as regards their religion, the same position as our forefathers filled in the Druidical era. They, however, possess in the present, decided advantages over those obtainable by the ancient Britons in their emergence from the darkness of superstition.

The Briton emerged from gross superstition into a religion which in itself was not altogether free from the taint of superstition. The Indian has the Bible ready to hand, and can thus judge for himself between the Brahminical and Moslem doctrines and those contained in the Living Word. And it cannot for a moment be conceived, that idolatry and sensualism, as practised in India, can stand before the light that truth and education will let in upon minds that have been hitherto warped by the worst kind of bigotry and fanaticism.

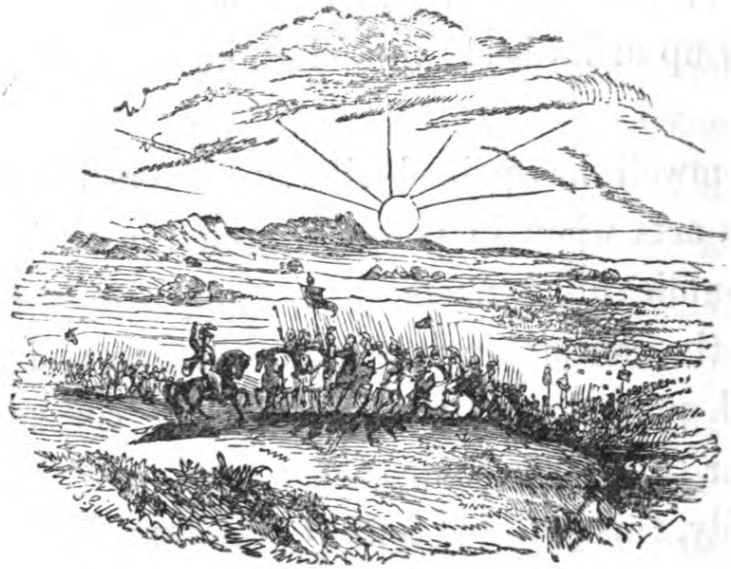
The experiment is worth the trial; nor can the plea, that the population would take umbrage at the free preaching of the gospel, be admitted. There is just cause for fearing the events of 1857-8 being reproduced, if the baneful tendencies which existed at that time, are to continue to prevail over the blessed and peaceful character of those tendencies which invariably accompany the spread of the Gospel.

Whilst solicitous that the people of our Indian Empire should have the same blessings freely offered for their acceptance as we ourselves possess, we yet do not advocate that our government should become proselytising in its character. But, nevertheless, encouragement might be given to that band of noble-minded men who would be sure to spring up at its beck, to undertake such a glorious task.

Cromwell has pained all true lovers of religion by his acts when in power. And the rush which the public mind made in the opposite direction, when the censorship over their religion and morals ceased, proved most pernicious in its consequences to our literature, our stage, and our manners. Happily, this polluted torrent is stemmed in our own day, and toleration is a great safety valve to carry off humours, which if confined, would be likely to

convulse society in religious strife, and be pernicious in its effects upon the stability of our government.

May wisdom endow our Legislature in its measures for the governance of our Indian Empire; and may it, whilst justly solicitous to develope the resources of that Empire, not forget that there is a great work to be performed in the moral and spiritual elevation of millions of the human family, who now labour under a yoke of the grossest superstition and ignorance.



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SPECIMEN PAGE.

Bective, Earl of, son of Headfort, Marquess of. (see Headfort).
Residence,—

BEDFORD, DUKE OF. (RUSSELL.)

What will be, will be.

WILLIAM RUSSELL, 8th Duke, &c. &c. Born 1st July, 1809; succeeded his father in 1861; was educated at Eton; and was M.P. for Tavistock 1832—41.

Heir presumptive,—His cousin, Francis Charles Hastings Russell, M.P. *b.* 1819, *m.* 1844, Lady Elizabeth Sackville West, eldest daughter of the 5th Earl of Delawarr; has been M.P. for Bedfordshire since 1847; was in the Scots Fusiliers, 1838—44; is Lieut. Col. of the Bedfordshire Rifles, (1st battalion).

Patron of twenty-one livings,—Chenies, R. Chesham, V. Chesham Bois, R. Buckinghamshire. Eversholt, R. Goldington, V. Houghton Regis, V. Husborn Crawley, V. Knolling, R. with Shouldross, R. Lidlington, V. Ridgmont, V. Steppingley, R. Willington, V. Woburn, V. Bedfordshire. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, R. Milton Abbot, V. N. Petherwin, V. Tavistock, V. Devonshire. Swyre, R. Dorsetshire. Thorney Abbey, D. Cambridgeshire, Thornhaugh, R. with Wansford, C. Northamptonshire. Kingston-upon-Soar, I. Nottinghamshire.

Creations,—Baron Russell, 1539,—Earl of Bedford, 1550,—Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, 1603,—Duke of Bedford and Marquess of Tavistock, 1694,—and Baron Howland, in the peerage of England, 1695.

Arms,—Argent: a lion rampant, gules; on a chief sable, three escallops, argent. Crest,—A goat passant, argent, armed and unguled, or. Supporters,—*Dexter*, A lion gules; *sinister*, an ibex, or heraldic antelope, gules, armed, unguled, and tufted, ducally gorged and chain reflexed over the back, all or.

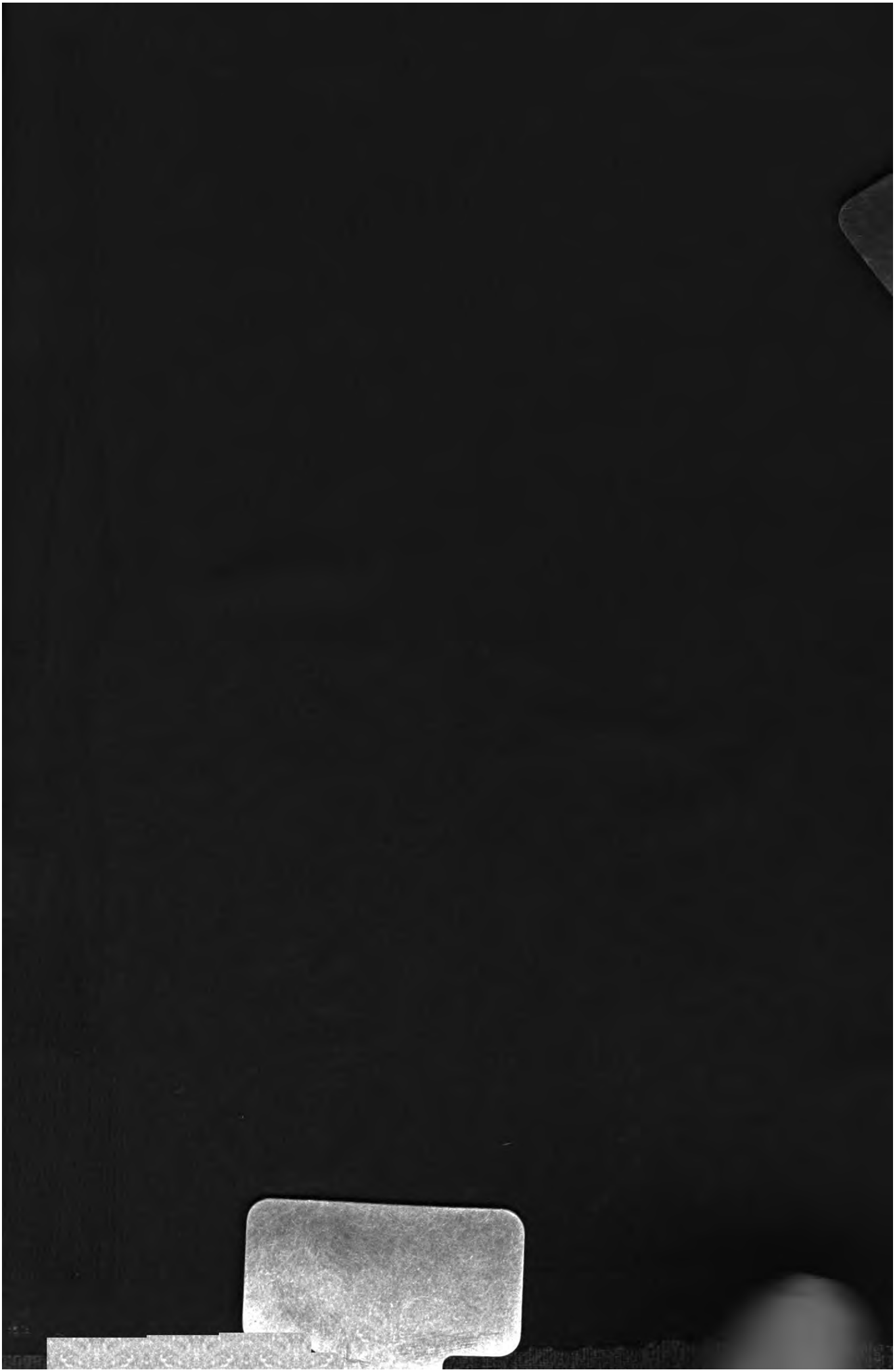
Seats,—Woburn-abbey, and Oakley-park, Bedfordshire.

Town Residence,—6, Belgrave-square, S.W. *Clubs,*—Reform, Travellers'.

Belfast, Earl, title borne by Donegall, Marquess of.

Belgrave, Viscount, grandson of Westminster, Marquess of, (see Westminster). *Residence,*

BELHAVEN, BARON. (HAMILTON.) Sits as BARON HAMILTON.

Ride through.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY HAMILTON, K.T. 8th Baron, Lord Belhaven and Stanton in the peerage of Scotland. Born 1793; succeeded his father in the Scottish title, 1814; and was created a peer of the United Kingdom, 1831; is Lord Lieut. of Lanarkshire, and has been Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Established Presbyterian Communion of Scotland for many years; married (1815) Hamilton, daughter of Walter Campbell, Esq. of Shawfield.