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AGRA
CORRESPONDENCE
DURING THE MUTINY

BY
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{PRIVATE}

Edinburgh
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MDCCCXCVIII

PREFATORY NOTE

FOR THE FAMILY

THE following letters I have just found among your Mother's papers, by whom they had been carefully preserved. They were written from Agra to give our Family at home information regarding the Mutiny on its first outbreak and during the following months, before I left to join Lord Canning at Allahabad. We had Five of our children with us in the Fort; so the correspondence will be specially interesting to them and also to the Family circle at large; probably also to friends outside. The MSS. are in a few cases incomplete.

To the above is added a second series of letters, which I wrote to your Mother after reaching Allahabad in February and March 1858. Many of the series are wanting and imperfect; but what I have quoted from those that remain will, I trust, be of family interest, as well as give an idea of the state of things around us at the time.

Charley and Bessy were taken up from Agra to Mussoorie, I think, in March; the former to Mr.

Maddock's school, the latter to Aunt Mary's. Katey with both the twins were to have been kept at Allahabad during the summer; but *Chotey* (Agnes) fell sick in March, and your Mother accordingly, escorted by W. Lowe, took her up to Mrs. Wemyss at Mussoorie in the middle of March; and at the end of the month left Agra to join me at Allahabad with Katey and *Thomaie* (Thomason).

It was the beginning of February when I left Agra for Allahabad at the call of Lord Canning, to take charge under his orders of the recovering Administration of the N. W. Provinces. On first arrival I lived for a short time in the Governor-General's camp in the Fort, but afterwards in tents in the Civil Station, chiefly with my friend Cudbert Thornhill. The houses throughout the Station had all been burned down by the Mutineers, excepting one or two of solid masonry. But by and by I got one repaired, in which, eventually, we lived comfortably enough. It was there that Willy and Carry joined us. W. Lowe was also with us.

As an Appendix I have added a few other papers of interest taken from the records which I have preserved of the *Intelligence Department* (see "Agra," p. 57). These records are in the hands of William Coldstream, who is preparing the more important of them to be printed in separate form.

LETTERS FROM AGRA TO EDINBURGH

AGRA, 18th May 1857.

MY BELOVED MOTHER,—I write to you a general account of the proceedings of the last week. It is intended also for all the branches of the family, including the dear children.

The week has been one of perturbation, if not of real danger; and the barbarities which have been enacted in it make the blood run cold. But I must begin at the beginning.

It has long been known that our Native army—the Sepoys especially of the Regular line—was in an alienated state of mind, discontented and suspicious. This feeling, as you know, showed itself at Barrackpore and elsewhere in the refusal to use cartridges believed by the Sepoys to be made up with some objectionable stuff that would affect their caste. It has been doubted whether this was felt to be a real grievance, and not a mere blind to cover other objects or causes of discontent. I see no reason to doubt that it was felt to be a real grievance, and that

the Government should have quietly and discreetly given in. The Sepoys are children. It was no use reasoning with them to show that there was nothing harmful of caste in the cartridges. They had made up their minds, and would not be persuaded.

The feeling spread abroad. At Lucknow one regiment mutinied, and was disbanded by Sir Henry Lawrence. At Meerut the 3rd Cavalry refused the cartridges, and a large number were put under arrest. About nine or ten days ago the orders arrived from headquarters at Meerut, sentencing *eighty* of that corps to imprisonment in the jail here. They heard their sentence with emotion on Saturday the 9th. On Sunday a general mutiny seems to have been resolved on (at Meerut). While the European troops were at church for the afternoon service (the 10th), the Cavalry and Native regiments issued forth, killing their Officers, and all Europeans (even women and children) whom they met, and firing the bungalows. The European troops were not long in bringing the Mutineers to account, and repressing their attack. But the confusion and alarm—what with burning bungalows, and riotous bands of plunderers and Sepoys—must have been fearful. The Mutineers were at last expelled the Station.

The Cavalry made off with their horses, and a large party probably took the earliest opportunity of

getting away, for they were at Dehli (about forty miles off) by 8 or 9 next morning (Monday). [The "Dehli extra" says Tuesday, but wrongly.]

On reaching Dehli, our Cavalry mutineers demanded admittance at the gate of the Fort by twos and threes. They got inside on pretence of wishing to see the commandant, Captain Douglass. He was in his rooms over the gateway, which John, no doubt, will remember. When he came down, he was killed by a pistol shot. They then went upstairs. With poor Douglass, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his daughter were living, and they were all at breakfast about 9 a.m. Miss Clifford, sister of a young Assistant at Goorgaon, (who had left the party only two hours before) and Fraser, the Commissioner, were also there, with one or two others. It is not certain whether Charles Thomason, lately engaged to Miss Jennings, was there or not. The Mutineers broke in, and killed them all. After possessing themselves of the Fort, they set to to kill every European in the city. All the Civilians were slaughtered. Poor Lebas (who had only lately arrived at the grand object of his life, to be Judge of Dehli);¹ Hutchinson, the Magistrate; young Sir T. Metcalfe, the Junior Magistrate; Galloway, the Assistant; Chimmun Loll, "the Christian Sub-

¹ As we afterwards learned, he escaped, as well as Metcalfe and Balfour.

Assistant-Surgeon ; and our dear friend Dr. Balfour. They gained over the two Native regiments **and** artillery. A few officers effected their escape to Meerut, and to the Eaja of Bullubgurh. The rest were murdered, and the insurgents left alone at Dehli. This was probably all done by Monday afternoon.

Now for the effect of these proceedings on the country.

A telegraphic message reached us on Sunday night saying that the 3rd Cavalry had mutinied, and were killing their Officers and burning bungalows. So little excitement, however, did this produce, that I myself did not hear of it till Tuesday morning. On Monday the Sunday's dak of Meerut and Dehli reached this, I believe,—but am not quite sure. However, from that time, at anyrate, our communication with both Stations ceased: neither dak nor telegraph was open. We were left to bare conjecture, aided by the darkest and most fearful rumours. Things went on thus till Thursday morning, when we were relieved by an express from Meerut assuring us, at anyrate, that our European force was safe.

Meanwhile, in the absence of all information from Monday till Thursday, rumour represented that the insurgents, having taken Dehli, were marching down on Agra. Mr. Ford, Magistrate of Goorgaon, about thirty miles on this side Dehli, held his ground for

some days; but sent us accounts of marauding parties prowling over his district. On Tuesday Mr. Colvin putting all his information together, came to the conclusion that a movement was intended in this direction. Our difficulty was now regarding our two Native corps. Were they to be trusted? Providentially we have a European regiment the 3rd E.I. Company's, and European artillery here, or it is impossible to say what the Native corps would have done. The general impression was that they would not show any overt acts of mutiny, but that they would not actually fight for us in case of emergency.

In this difficulty we had a council of war, and Mr. Colvin—who has throughout maintained an admirably firm front, and taken on himself the responsibility of all movements—announced his resolution of sending all families into the Fort the next day, and moving out to Secundra with the troops, to give battle to the insurgents. There certainly was not evidence that insurgents were on the march upon us; but supposing it possible they might have been (and with no tidings from Dehli itself, either along the right or the left bank of the Jumna, such a movement was *possible*), no doubt the plan laid down by Mr. Colvin was the only thing we had left to do. In order to test the feeling of the Native troops, and give them security on the cartridge question, a parade of the troops was

ordered for Thursday morning (14th), when **Mr. Colvin** addressed each regiment separately. Almost **all** the Civilians accompanied him. He gave his word to the Sepoys that the cartridges would not be forced on them, and asked them if they were satisfied. There was no dissent, and an occasional assenting response ; and as we left there was cheering.

That night, as I said, had brought us better news. We knew that our European troops were safe. A flying telegraph-machine had been sent to Allygurh, which (not a repeating station before) was thus placed in immediate communication with us. The Magistrate there (W. C. Watson, who has done admirably) and the Magistrate of Bolundshuhur, Mr. B. Sapte, ably seconded by John's old friend Turnbull (who had just been appointed from that station Judge of Cawnpore), kept open the communication, and assured us that all was quiet up to Hauper. From Hauper westward, however, the wild Goojur zemindars were taking advantage of the emergency to recur to their ancient habits of plunder and violence ; and it was they apparently who had broken the telegraphic wire and destroyed all our postal arrangements, carrying off the horses, etc.

On the Thursday there was again a panic. Muttra was in excitement, and it was doubtful whether we could hold our ground there. More rumours came in

of an advance from the Goorgaon quarter. The Allygurh telegraph gave no reply from Mr. Watson. Parties *might* be coming down either bank to try here the same game they had so successfully played at Dehli. Mr. Colvin was so weighed down by these ideas that he directed all families to retire into the Fort, and a general patrol to be kept up at night by the Civilians. Drummond, our Magistrate (an admirable, cool, intelligent fellow), persuaded Mr. Colvin that there was no immediate danger, and had the order for sleeping in the Fort withdrawn—but not in time for some. Among others, we did not get the counter order till I had deposited the whole family in the Fort. John will know what a place it is for stifling heat, and what a night dear Bessy and the five little ones must have passed there. The Thornhills (he is Acting Secretary to Government) have been with us since the tumult broke out; and another dear friend, Mr. Lowe, Secretary to the Board. Mrs. Thornhill was with Bessy in the Fort all night. The rest of us met together at Candaharee-bagh, and relieved each other patrolling the roads. Early in the morning I went to the Fort, and brought away the party, half dead with heat and thirst.

We had better news that morning, but I did not hear of it till midday; and in the meanwhile felt very low. It was the worst time to me. The

telegraph had apparently ceased working at Allygurh, implying that things had gone wrong there, and that we had no certainty that a movement might not be in progress, on either bank, upon Agra. The only solution, it seemed to me, would be to secure the families in the Fort more comfortably, and be prepared for surprise and the field.

From that time things have brightened up. The stoppage of the telegraph with Allygurh was only accidental. Bhurtpore sent us horse (1400 were promised) to guard Muttra. Major M'Pherson sent us over a portion of the Gwalior contingent with guns, now encamped near Government House. Scindia has promised half his body-guard. Telegraphic communication was reopened with Meerut on Friday evening. An advance on Dehli has been organised from Umballah and Meerut. But when it will take place we do not know. Proclamations, which Bessy will enclose [printed papers] (and all of which I have had the task of translating), have been issued, and general confidence is gradually replacing the terror of last week.

As yet the news from outstations is good. Bareilly was in great excitement for two or three days. But the last accounts from Alexander (Commissioner) were that it was quiet, and it was hoped the crisis was over. Moradabad was also excited, but Saunders,

the Magistrate, an able man, is keeping things quiet, and the 29 th Native Infantry is thought to be satisfactory. H. Wilson has gone over to Rampore, to raise irregular horse.

For two things we cannot be sufficiently grateful to Providence.

First, that this calamity did not overtake us when our hands were full with external war. The crisis, grave as it is, would in that case have been fearfully critical.

Secondly, that the country keeps quiet and contented. The character of the affair is that of a military mutiny,—a struggle between the Government and its soldiers, not between the Government and the people. After such a stroke at Dehli, the prescriptive capital of India, it is astonishing that there is so little excitement and rising throughout the country. The general conclusion is that there is something radically wrong in the constitution or management of the Native army, while the Civil Administration is shown to be at least not unpopular and unsuccessful. And in this state of the Sepoys' feeling, conceive a place like Dehli being left with only Native troops! I conclude one of the first effects of the movement will be to lead to the despatch of strong reinforcements of European troops. What trust can we henceforth place in our Native troops unsupported by European ones? It will, at

anyrate, take many a long year to eradicate the feeling of mistrust of their allegiance, not only in our own minds, but in those of the native Rajas and Chieftains ; and we shall not be able to lean on our Sepoys without weakening ourselves in their estimation.

It is said that the insurgents have placed the son of the old King (who himself declined to join them)—the son lately acknowledged by us Heir-apparent—on the throne, and have issued calls of allegiance in his name. It is not to be expected that the excitement throughout the country will subside until Dehli has been reclaimed by us. We are waiting patiently for this. They are strong in European troops at Meerut, and there is a feeling that more might have been done by them. But after all it may be best that the advance should be made simultaneously from Umballah and Meerut.

Let any of my old friends who wish, see this. I have told Cautley, if he wishes, to ask for it. It is quite possible that, in the confusion of the period, there may be no connected account of the incidents procurable.

By the way, our immense Central Jail here has been a cause of additional anxiety to us. We have nearly 4000 criminals there—some of them the most desperate characters in the provinces. They,

of course, got excited when they heard what was going on, and then rumours of a rescue. This added very considerably to the unsettled feeling in the town ; and as our house is, as John will tell you, close at the gate of the jail, we had our full share of the feeling. It was feared that the mutinous Sepoys might tamper with the jail Guard. Late events will no doubt lead to a complete reconsideration of the system of Central jails on this large scale, which certainly contain elements of danger in them.

James Fairlie, I conclude, is all well, though I have not heard from him. It is unfortunate his belonging to that regiment.

I do not know yet how far these proceedings will affect the question of Carry's coming out. It is premature to say anything on this point.

There has been hardly an exception to the finest and bravest devotion displayed by all the Civilians, both in Agra and elsewhere.

Poor young Clifford, whom I mentioned in the beginning of this letter as leaving from Dehli an hour or two before the massacre, was obliged to fall back on Muttra with Ford, and came over here for a day or two. His aunt, Mrs. Clifford (mother of the poor lad killed here some years ago, whose death-bed I attended), is here too. Poor Clifford is **sadly** cut up **at** his sister's murder, as you may imagine.

The Khidmutgar fled to Goorgaon, and told him all the particulars of the tragedy at breakfast over the Fort gate.

Amid all these distresses we have, I trust, had our hearts stayed upon the consolation that "the Lord reigneth"; the same God who is our Father reconciled to us in His dear Son; and in Him we seek to confide. May He bless and keep you all. Love to all, including the Irvine and London houses, Mr. Harvey and Mr. M'Laren. I had a letter from dear Helen, which I ought to have answered.—Your ever dutifully loving son,

W. MuiR.

I am too much occupied with the events of the day to reply in quiet to Agnes' kind letter. But I can answer generally at once, that I could not possibly think of accepting the kind and thoughtful proposition made in it. Please God to spare us, I have all and abound as regards worldly means, so that I could not consent to what you propose.—Your affectionate son,

W. M.

19th May.—We have just had intelligence that no fewer than fifty persons escaped from Dehli, and among them Lebas, and our dear friend Dr. Balfour. The names you will no doubt get in the papers. I must close this.

W. M.

AGRA, 2nd June 1857.

M Y DEAR JOHN,—My last letter brought down the proceedings of this eventful month to the 20 th ult., I think. Since then we have had another weary fortnight chequered with various incident, but, upon the whole, with less of reverse than might have been looked for from the extending defection of our Native troops, and the continued occupation of Dehli by the Rebels.

The day after I wrote, the headquarters of the 9th Native Infantry stationed at Allygurh, finding the temptation of the Treasury, and the overtures from Dehli, too strong for them, mutinied, plundered the treasure, and made off for Dehli. All our officers escaped and retired to Hatrass, about thirty miles from this. This misfortune again cut off our communication with Meerut, either by post, telegraph, or messenger.

The other portions of the 9 th Native Infantry were posted at Mynpoory and Etawah. No sooner did the emissaries of the headquarters from Allygurh reach Mynpoory than a mutiny took place there also. This, I think, was on the 22nd, a day or two after the affair at Allygurh. Your friend John Power has behaved nobly there. He is the Magistrate **and** Collector. So did **a** young officer, **a German, named**

De Kantzow, who stayed with the Mutineers at the peril of his life, and was so well supported by half a dozen staunch Sepoys that the treasure and jail were kept secure. By this intrepid and gallant conduct,—although pressed to the verge of defeat and obliged to entrench themselves in the Cucherry,¹—Mynpoory was prevented from falling into hopeless anarchy, and our communication with Calcutta by dak and telegraph was preserved.

Thus far Mr. Colvin got (the progress of events detailed) in his despatch to the E.I. Court by last mail, which Cud. Thornhill and I were engaged on the 23rd in copying for him. I could have written to you on that day along with the Government despatch for which the Steamer was telegraphed to wait, but I had little heart to do so.

As was to be expected, the other detachment at Etawah followed in the same manner. Hume, the Magistrate, was able to retire across the Jumna with the inhabitants; but the Station was plundered and the Treasury robbed.

While our communications with Meerut were closed, Bolundshuhur also fell, and its treasure was carried off to Dehli, but under what circumstances I am not fully cognisant. It has since been regained, and is occupied by Goorkha troops. The impression

¹ Magistrate's office.

here is that the Meerut force has *not* been sufficiently active; so large a body of European troops to remain so long on the defensive under such circumstances is unintelligible. Rohtuck has been also plundered from Dehli. Tidings have been received of the mutiny of the Regiments at Nusseerabad, but without details. It is hoped that the Treasury at Ajmere may have escaped. The Mozuffernugger Treasury also went; but in consequence of the attack, I believe, of robbers and not of Mutineers.

Thus you will see that these treacherous Sepoys have gained immense booty. From three to seven lacs of rupees were in the several Treasuries.

Our last reverse has been at Muttra. On Saturday last the 30th, a Company of the 44th Native Infantry from this went to relieve the Company of the 67th, which has been hitherto in charge of the Treasury there, and which it was intended should bring in here a portion of the accumulating treasure. Both Companies united (notwithstanding there had been a bad understanding between the two regiments before), attacked their Officers, shooting one, plundered the treasure, and went off towards Dehli. The Officers and Civilians (Dashwood and young Colvin) went off on horseback to Mark Thornhill, the Magistrate, who was at Cosee, some twenty or thirty miles on the Dehli road.

Tidings of this event (which occurred about 4 p.m.)

reached Agra about 11 at night. Mr. Colvin finding that Companies of both the Native regiments here had thus committed such enormities, promptly determined that no confidence could be placed in them, and that to appear to show confidence would be weakness; it was therefore at once resolved to *disarm* the two regiments next morning, leaving them, however, still organised corps, but for the present unarmed with guns.

This determination was communicated to the inhabitants at once. I was awoke from sleep at 1.30 a.m. on Sunday the 31st, and went round to warn the people at our end, to be at their various rendezvous in case of disturbance.¹ The disarming was accomplished on the parade quietly. The Company on duty near the jail made some demur, which we saw from our position at the top of Boldero's Hill (you remember the eminence at the corner near our gate), whither we had all removed for safety, and ran off with their arms,—but eventually all laid down their arms quietly. A great number of the men, especially of the 44th, have since slunk away, and many of the 67th (supposed to be better affected) have taken leave to their homes. This measure was a critical one; it has anticipated a possible real danger from

¹ Dr. Farquhar and I went together on this occasion; and it was interesting to observe the various effect of the news on different people: in one house the husband was craven and the wife most bold. We had to warn the Roman Catholic ladies in their Convent

a portion of these Regiments, and it has, I believe, given satisfaction and, in some measure, restored confidence to the better disposed part of the population.

A further untoward event has occurred in the train of the Muttra mutiny. The Bhurtpore and Ulwar forces were at Hodul (a little north of the Muttra frontier and in the Goorgaon district), with Harvey the Commissioner, Captain Nixon of the Bhurtpore Residency, and other European officers. This force was intended to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief's force and check fugitives from Dehli. But the Muttra mutineers with their treasure marched right up in this direction. Mark Thornhill, the Magistrate of Muttra, was at Cosee, some eight miles on this side Hodul, with a small body of Bhurtpore horse. When the Mutineers appeared with the treasure, the Bhurtpore horse would seem to have fraternised with them; and Thornhill made off to the force at Cosee on the 31st. By Midday the Mutineers had come up, and the whole force was a mass of confusion. Mark Thornhill fled back towards Muttra, and got in here yesterday. It is not quite clear from his statement what the Bhurtpore horse intended to do, but his accounts imply that the Ulwar troops had fraternised with the Mutineers, and that the Bhurt-pore men would not

Meanwhile every Cantonment throughout the

country has been severely agitated. Where there have been no European troops, the trial has been one of the most delicate and critical nature that can be imagined. The wonder is that such stations as Cawnpore, Moradabad, Allahabad, Benares, Azimgurh, etc., have stood at all. Here it was simply the presence of our 600 Europeans and European artillery that enabled us to do what was done,—otherwise we were entirely at the mercy of the Sepoys.

At Lucknow matters are in a critical state. Sir Henry Lawrence is acting admirably. But he weakened himself by sending over a portion of his European regiment to Cawnpore. European troops are, however, coming up to Cawnpore by the dak carriages in forty or so per day; so that the position in that quarter should be strengthening.

But *everywhere* the fact of Dehli still being in the Kebels' hands is an element of strong insecurity and incendiarism. It is in the very nature of the Mahometan faith to seize on such an incident as a religious principle, impelling the more devoted or fanatical to an attempt for re-establishing the ascendancy of Islam. Everywhere, therefore, the cry has been for the Commander-in-Chief to retake Dehli.

Our communications on the Meerut side have lately been reopened for the Post (the Electric wire is cut and mangled for miles) by the admirable exertions of

a band of Volunteers from Agra, headed by Cocks and Lieutenant Greathed of the Engineers. They found no opposition, and were *welcomed* by the people both of Hatrass and Allygurh. Indeed every incident tends to show that this is no controversy between the *People* and the Government (excepting in so far as the Mahometan religious feeling above referred to is called forth by the occasion, and in so far as the present weakness of Government has encouraged the wild and pillaging part of the population to rise against authority), but simply *between the Government and its Native soldiery*.

Our position has been greatly complicated by the cutting off of our communications with Meerut and the Commander-in-Chief, by the Mutiny at Allygurh. It was only on the 31st that Mr. Colvin got the Commander-in-Chief's letter of the 16th May! But now that Allygurh is clear we may hope for better communications. Last night brought a letter from the Commander-in-Chief at Kurnal, dated the 23rd, explaining his arrangements, and saying he would be before Dehli by the 8th. The delay has occurred in consequence of the siege train, etc., having been lost with the magazine of Dehli, and the necessity of getting heavy artillery from Phillore, near Ferozepore. It is a good deal canvassed whether this delay was warranted, and whether an immediate attack with the

available field-batteries should not have been made. On the one hand, Dehli's walls are notoriously weak, and no resistance would probably have been made; while every day's delay to retake Dehli involves an increasingly serious imperial risk, and the defection of Native troops. On the other hand, any check at Dehli would have been worse than delay, and been next to fatal.

Simultaneously with the above despatch came news of the *death* of the Commander-in-Chief,¹ of cholera, on the 27th, at Kurnal. This event is startling, and, at the juncture, very remarkable; but it will not, I conclude, have any effect in keeping back our movements.

To-day brings tidings of the first actual success which we have met with. The European troops at Meerut moved over to Ghazeeooddeen-nugger,—a Tehseeldaree on this side the Hindun, some ten miles from Dehli. The Rebels came out,—whether with the view of escaping elsewhere or not we do not yet know. They were attacked by our troops, and thoroughly discomfited, their artillery being taken.

Accounts of the Nusseerabad defection have since come in, and show that the whole force, artillery and all, has seceded from its Officers (excepting a Bombay Cavalry regiment), and left with the intention of going to Dehli.

Amid all these events Agra holds a very marked

¹ General George Anson.

and distinguished position. Between us and Dehli is anarchy and confusion; between us and Meerut is the same, but being gradually reclaimed by our Agra Volunteers at Allygurh, and by the Goorkhas at Bolundshuhur. The defection of the 9th has thrown the Dooab to the North of us into the same state of wild disorder. If we had had police Battalions, as proposed by Lord Ellenborough, we might have had a force to fall back upon when our Sepoys failed us. But we had *nothing*; our Police had been cut down to the smallest amount, and were scattered in bodies of ten and fifteen men at the several Thannahs. When the Sepoys went off, and the turbulent and predatorily - inclined saw that we had no reserved force to back our orders with, they burst forth into all manners of excesses; and one's heart bleeds for the cruel injuries to which the poor defenceless villages—unaccustomed for fifty years to anything but profound peace—have been exposed. The authority of Government, wherever the Sepoys revolted and our Officers were forced to abandon the Stations, thus slipped through our hands; and the country, overrun by banditti, was in a flame.

Meanwhile, there is no prospect of material improvement, while there are serious risks at every point throughout the country, till Dehli is retaken. It is wonderful that Rohilkhund and all below this has kept

so quiet. If Agra had failed, I do believe all from here to Calcutta would have gone. The surge of insurrection beats as it were all the way from Dehli to this unopposed ; but here it is met and repelled by a hitherto steady and immovable barrier. God grant we may hold on and weather the storm.

You may imagine it has been a time of acute domestic anxiety. After the Allygurh defection, I had resolved to send Bessy and the children to Calcutta, and had actually got the Dak carriages here. After consulting with Mr. Colvin and others, I abandoned the idea,—partly because the example would have been bad, and might have led to want of confidence,—partly because of the risks of the way.¹

I think of sending this off at once: but I hope to give you further accounts, please God, before the mail leaves, as I have also to write about Willy, who, I think, should go to Addiscombe, unless he gets a Cavalry nomination.—Your affectionate brother,

W. Mum.

J. Muir, Esq.

AGRA, 5th June 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I wrote two days ago. I have not much to communicate further, besides what you

¹ The fate of Cawnpore made me afterwards tremble at the thought of what might have happened to them.

will learn from the Paper and Extras I am forwarding to you. The main points are that the defeat of the Mutineers at Ghazeeooddeen-nugger on Saturday the 30 th, was followed up the next day by the defeat of an apparently large body of the Mutineers who came out (from Dehli) with guns to attack our force. The action is said to have lasted four hours, but we have not yet the details. The enemy made no further demonstration the next day. Our troops there were subsequently strengthened by the Goorkha regiment from Bolundshuhur, and also by a small addition of Europeans.

Meanwhile we have at last authentic information of the advance of the Umballah force. The advanced brigade would be yesterday within two marches of Dehli; and the whole seems well equipped and, with God's blessing, fully equal to the work before it. Should there be any difficulty in reducing the Fort without siege guns, they are on their way behind the force; having left Phillore on the 21st ult. Moreover, the Punjab Guides will be at Dehli by the 9 th, so that they will be able to relieve our European troops of a part of the ordinary duties which at this season of the year must press severely on them.

Meanwhile, as was to be expected from the spirit of the soldiery, the disaffection proceeds. A large party of Mutineers from Lucknow proceeded towards Seetapore, which is said also to have risen. These

insurgents then turned towards Dehli, crossing the Ganges at Canouj, and imperilling our little body of men which still manfully holds Mynpoory. They seem to have committed outrages on the Grand Trunk Road, and waited at Bhoogaon (the fork between the Allygurh and Agra roads), breaking the telegraphic communication, and destroying our Postal establishments. We are therefore at present cut off from direct communication with Cawnpore and Calcutta. These ruffians eventually passed Mynpoory and went on towards Allygurh.

A body of irregular Cavalry, which had volunteered for service against the Mutineers, was stationed at Goorsahaigunj between Furruckabad and Cawnpore. These, from what cause we do not know, rose on their Officers (among whom was Fletcher Hayes), killed them, and went off to Dehli.

There are reports as to similar proceedings at Shahjehanpore, but, I believe, not yet authenticated; and at Furruckabad and Futtehghur they live in hourly expectation of an outbreak from the Sepoys.

The 29th at Moradabad is believed to be staunch. I am not sure whether I mentioned that it had pursued some Sapper Mutineers from Roorkee and forced them to lay down their arms. But such conduct is almost unexampled just now.

At Agra we continue quiet. The Mutiny at

Muttra we cannot but look upon as a providential warning to us; and it afforded a sufficient reason,—which the 44th and 67th must themselves have felt to be sufficient for disarming them. The men are now going home on leave. And so we get rid of that domestic source of anxiety and apprehension.

We trust that the early effect of successful measures at Dehli may be to stop the progress of defection in the army. If, as Mr. Colvin desires, two columns can then be marched, one down the Dooab, the other down the right bank of the Jumna, the most troubled portion of the country would be quieted. But there are immense bodies of Mutineer troops abroad throughout the country. Some 15,000 or 20,000 men must have mutinied. Great numbers of these have no doubt slunk away, both from the scenes of their disorder, and from Dehli itself, towards their homes, but there are still more than enough to do fearful damage to the country.

Muttra has been reoccupied by Mark Thornhill and a few servants and Volunteers. All is quiet there; but advantage was taken by the bad characters about, on the mutiny of the Sepoys, to burn the bungalows and plunder all unprotected property. The ease with which a Magistrate and Collector with a handful of men recovers his authority *after the Sepoys have gone*, shows the nature of the rising as a military

one, and the source of our difficulty. We have not even a handful of men to give to our Magistrates and Collectors ordinarily to reinstate them. We have been hitherto so utterly and entirely dependent on our Sepoys.

You can show my letters regarding the progress of affairs to any of our friends who care to see them.

Mr. Colvin holds a fine bold front. He found he could not get on with the ordinary business of the Government and attend to these grave matters also. So he has appointed a Commission, of Haringnton, Reade, and myself, Reade takes the Revenue, Haringnton the Judicial, and I the Public works, Foreign, and General Departments.

I will add a few lines separately about Willy.
—Your ever affectionate brother, W. Mum.

J. Muir, Esq.

AGRA, 6TH JUNE 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN,—As Mr. Colvin's despatches for the E.I. Court¹ are going off, I send a line in hopes to get it with the express. Rohilkhund has gone also. Bareilly and Moradabad and, report says, Shahjehanpore also,—certainly the two first. So after all, the 29th which I was praising has proved treacherous. But it so far

¹ *East India Court*, as we used then to call the Home Government of the India "Directors."

did well that it took no life, and guarded its Officers to Nynie Tal. Guthrie at Bareilly has escaped. Alexander, I hear, wounded. It is thus all one sea of anarchy to the foot of the Himalayas.

On the other hand, the news from the Headquarters Army is all of the best kind. They must be by this time hard upon Dehli,¹ and in two or three days, by God's blessing, we may confidently look to its being ours. The force at Ghazeeooddeen-nugger has been removed to join the main Army, and it is thought the Mutineers will take the opportunity to effect their escape that way.

We keep quiet here; and there is no element of mischief within; and we pray God to keep away any from without. Hitherto the Mutineers have had no combination, excepting to go to Dehli,—so when discomfited we hope they will break up.

Julius Denny is here in command of the Kotah contingent, which is encamped at Furrah, twenty miles on the road to Muttra.—Your affectionate brother,

W. MUIR.

Let anyone see this that likes.

I have not in my present letters corrected the errors in my first as to the reports of killed in the outbreak at Meerut, as this is all in the papers.

¹ The Umballa force arrived before Dehli on 8th June.

(Added by your Mother.)

DEAR JOHN,—Please let Dr. Murray see this, as it is the *latest* news to-day, and not known as yet by the community.

AGRA, 17th June 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN,—As it is not improbable that the direct route to Bombay may be closed,—if it be not already closed,—I send a few lines by a route opened out by Jeypore, the Post through which now despatched will probably be in time for the mail. Events have thickened upon us since I last wrote. First, all Rohilkhund went, as our Officers were forced to fly from the Mutinous troops at Shahjehanpore (where I fear poor Ricketts, the Magistrate and Collector, was killed), Bareilly, and Moradabad. Then the regiments at Nusseerabad (Ajmere), Neemuch, Jhansi, and Nowgaon rose. Then at Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore. The Mutineers were defeated and expelled from Benares, but we have no distinct accounts as to the two latter Stations. Last of all, the Contingent troops in Gwalior have gone; and the Maharajah declaring that from the spirit of his own troops he could not answer for the safety of our Officers, they have all come over here. Even the Political Agent, Major M'Pherson, has come. Ordinarily, this would involve

hostilities with Scindia, but one cannot imagine it probable that Scindia would risk his present position by any inimical demonstration.

Meanwhile the Mutinous regiments are abroad in parties all over the country; and excepting in the positions where our Officers have been strong enough to maintain their ground, anarchy prevails. We have had intelligence, though not official, of the fall of the city of Dehli ;¹ and we trust that the Fort (Palace) will soon follow. The European troops there will then be partially freed and able to move down the Dooab and restore confidence. We have hitherto been graciously preserved in peace and quiet here notwithstanding constant rumours and apprehension; and we trust that God will still protect us. The Mutineers have not as yet shown any symptoms of combination. What phases of events **may** spring up in the future, one cannot say. We hope the rains will soon begin—which will impede the movements of the scattered bodies, and give time for the collection of European troops. We trust that already reinforcements are on their way from England; and that Lord Canning will be able to secure the troops on their passage to China.

Tell Smith & Elder to send a copy of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* to Willy, and a copy for John and Archy.

¹ This turned out a mistake.

I still trust that the Gwalior route may be open for a letter by the regular line. — Your affectionate brother,

W. MUIR.

J. Muir, Esq.

(Added by your Mother.)

M Y DEAR JOHN,—I cannot write. Please let our darlings hear we are well, and through God's great mercy have been hitherto preserved, and we trust Him for the future. Our anxiety has been truly sad and harassing. God bless you.—Ever your affectionate sister,

E. H. MUIR.

AGRA, 15th July 1857.¹

M Y DEAR TUCKER,—These two men took above a month to deliver your letter of the 10 th June. They have therefore got only 3 rs. each here as subsistence money. If they take this back quickly you can give them such present as you think proper. I trust the letters we have been sending lately have reached, giving an account of the indecisive action of Bhondagaon (that was the name of the village, not Pithoulee) on the 15 th (5 th) inst., two or three miles from Agra;

¹ This was written on the thinnest kind of paper, to be wrapped close and secreted on their persons by the Cossids or secret Messengers, in case of their being discovered and shot; the road to Allahabad being then in hostile hands.

of the withdrawal of our troops from the field, in the face of the Neemuch force vastly superior to us in numbers; of the subsequent retirement of that force to Muttra; of the destruction of the Station by fire and plunder on the part of the ill-disposed portion of the lower classes; of the entire body of Europeans and Christians being shut up in the Fort; and of the measures subsequently taken for the reorganisation of our City Police. We are all right here now, and shall continue so unless an enemy from without come upon us. But the loss in property, and *material* for civilisation, is sad. I rode out to Secundra this morning; the sight was sickening. Of all that noble establishment, reared by the labour of near twenty years, not a *single* Press remains. The place is strewn with bits of broken printing-presses, leaves, and masses of black rubbish—the unrecognisable remains of thousands of volumes! Alas for education! Alas for the regeneration of India! And yet I would look forward in God's good Providence to even this eventuating in real benefit to India. It may be His means of placing us in a better position hereafter for our work.

Things around remain much as before. The Mutineer force at Muttra continues there. Some say they have had reinforcements, but except it be some of their party that remained behind from

Mehidpore, etc., I do not see where they were to come from. On the other hand, having got money out of the Seth, many are going off to their homes. They have no ammunition and talk of getting some from Dehli; but at Dehli itself they are said to be hard up for ammunition: they fill their shells there with kunkur!*. Gwalior at present keeps quiet. The Gwalior horse that was over the river has partly broken up, having been attacked by the villagers in crossing the Jumna, and has partly gone to Gwalior. Pearson's battery of six guns is said to be in the Villagers' hands, and we are trying to get it in. We have Dehli news up to the 8th. General Barnard died of cholera on the 7th or 8th. But the feeling of confidence was not impaired by the event. It was not mentioned who had taken command. On the 9th we know from Harvey at Cosee, that there was the heaviest and longest continued firing yet heard. Native report says there was fighting all day. The Bareilly mutineer reinforcements were no doubt having their turn, and we doubt not the result was that of all previous actions,—great loss to the Rebels. The feeling in the City² is that of disheartenment; they begin to think of aid from Dost Mohammed, etc. Sikhs, Goorkhas and Guides fight well. The 600 Sikhs in Dehli will no doubt turn in our favour when it comes

¹ Small stones or gravel.

² *i.e.* Dehli.

to the assault. Meanwhile we are wasting away their numbers and resources. What a mercy that the Fort of Allahabad has been preserved ! We were long in great anxiety about it. The inability to replace their expended stores will, we may trust, prove a source of speedy weakness to the Mutineers. *Σενδ υπ πλεντι οφ καπς. Ουρ στωρ ις συφισιεντ φορ ουρσελνες : βντ νοτ φορ ινδεντς φρομ οθερ κναρτερς. Τσο μονθς προ- υσιονς ιν θε Φορτ έρε.*¹ Mr.

keeps improving, and can attend to business now without further apprehension to his health. Though the Allahabad force can not now be of use to the Cawnpore gallant band, we look to its advance with anxiety. Please God, with what pleasure shall we again renew regular postal communications ! It is a strange feeling to be cut off from the world on all sides.

Yours affectionately,

W. MUIR.

H. C. Tucker, Esq.

Pray write to Calcutta that we need medical stores in abundance. The Cawnpore depot has gone, and a number of the indents have not been supplied, or have been plundered by the way. We shall specially need Quinine, so send up this as well as medicines gener-

¹ Send up plenty of caps. Our store is sufficient for ourselves; but not for indents from other quarters. Two months' provisions in the Fort here.

ally. From Umballah they write that stores of tea, port, etc., are falling short. It would be well to think of this also; for we are *quite* cut off from all income of European goods. Much has been plundered by the way, as well as in depots, shops, etc., and the remainder is being fast consumed.

AGRA, 1st Oct. 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN,— send a few of our Intelligence slips. You may imagine this has been a week of tolerable excitement. Dehli has fallen—the thundercloud has burst (alas for the loss! it cost us above 1000 men), and the horizon begins to clear all around. We are in hourly expectation of hearing that Lucknow has been relieved. I do trust it will not now be abandoned. The instructions are, I believe, that when the garrison is withdrawn, the City is to be relinquished. The orders to that effect must have been given some time ago, when things were looking blacker. Now, I cannot see that the retention of a garrison there, after the Oudh Mutineers have been fairly discomfited, would dangerously weaken our field force. While, if it be given up, the City will be immediately reoccupied by the Mutineers, and form the focus of rebellion, with a new king for its head.

I am kept very busy now. I maintain daily

correspondence with Dehli and Cawnpore by Cossid, besides attending to the local Intelligence as to the movements of the Mutineers all around us.

The fall of Dehli has struck terror into the hearts of them all. The fugitives at Muttra from Dehli have hastily constructed a bridge, and hope to effect their flight to Rohilkhund and Oudh before the pursuing Column reaches. That Column would have already been down upon them, but it has been detained two or three days by having to attack Malagurh near Bolundshuhur, where the rebel Nawab Wuleedad Khan has so long been troubling us, and interrupting our communications with Meerut. The Native report of an action near Bolundshuhur has just come in, stating that we completely defeated the Nawab backed by the Jhansi brigade, on the 28th, taking five Field guns—all they had. Wuleedad Khan had fled.

The Indore Mutineers left Dholepore, it is thought, last night, on their way to join the Muttra host, and are now only eighteen or twenty miles from us. They pass through Futtehpur Sicri.

The Gwalior Mutineers have been long held in check by Scindia. They are now supposed to be about to move towards Cawnpore to retrieve the ruined fortunes of the Nana. There is now no force of the enemy in the field which can, humanly speaking, stand before a British column for a day. The

difficulty now lies in the number of the opposing parties in various quarters. They will no doubt soon collect towards Bareilly, where there will likely be a decisive action. There will also probably be a tedious campaign in Bundelkhand, from the number of Forts and independent Thakoors, etc., who have been seeking to make hay while they thought the sun was shining. I trust that the Dooab will be cleared within a fortnight. But it is doubtful when a column will be able to advance into Rohilkhund. I have *no fear* for the country speedily settling down as soon as these Mutineers are out of the way. The Mahometans have lost all excuse for opposition on religious grounds, as their King is gone.

Colonel Fraser has been appointed, temporarily, Chief Commissioner here. It is, I suppose, on the ground that it was advisable there should be a combination of military and civil authority at this juncture in the hands of one person. I fear our last mail from home has been quite lost. We got some papers, but no letters. Kindly ask Smith & Elder to send copies of my book to Mons. Garcin de Tassy; the Paris Asiatic Society; the German do.; Jeremy and Johnson; the Duchess of Gordon; Mrs. Millar; also by the book post, neatly but not expensively bound, to Lord Canning; Dr. Duff; Bishop of Calcutta; Bishop of Madras; and Dr. Wilson of Bombay. Also take such

copies as you want for yourself, Agnes, etc., and one for my Mother, one for my Aunts, one for Mr. Rankin, one for Helen, and one for Mr. Harvey, one for my Uncle. Fond love to all the children. All well here. But Charlie had an attack like cholera yesterday, which made us greatly anxious for a few hours. He is all right now.—Your affectionate brother,

W. M.

This letter to be sent by Willie to Carrie, and by her to Colonel John Lang, at General Godby's, South Bank, Bath Easton, Bath. No time to be lost.

AGRA, \15th Oct. 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN, — The enclosed printed slips of official intelligence will put you in possession of all the news. So I need not recapitulate. We are all in capital health. And the sight of the moveable column, after being cut off from the world for three or four months, was like new life to us. It was like the arrival of the man Friday to the solitary Islander. And, as you will see, they were not an hour too soon. For two days previously we had been sending the *most urgent* summonses to Greathed to hurry on, and at the last they did hurry most nobly. Greathed, in his official report of the action of the 10th, says, "the cavalry and artillery marched over at least sixty-four

miles, and the infantry fifty-four miles of road in less than thirty-six hours. Captain Bouchier's 9-pounder battery had marched in during the night from Hatrass, thirty miles, without a halt." And an hour or two after they were all under arms again, and pursuing the Indore army to the Kharee,—there and back another eighteen miles. Splendid fellows they are, those Sikhs and Europeans. It was so odd to see Native soldiers about one again, and Native Sirdars. The first feeling was to shrink from them as deadly enemies, but it was only a passing feeling called up by the memory of the enormities of our mutinous Bengal army. The open, smiling countenances of the Sikhs and Punjabies at once dispelled all such ideas. They are noble fellows.

The *surprise* was an odd event on the 10th. The Military authorities had ample warning from the Intelligence Department; indeed, otherwise, Greathed's column would not have been in to take part in the business at all. On the preceding day a reconnoitring party had, at my recommendation, gone out to the Kharee to see what the enemy were doing. Our party was fired on, and pursued back again close to Agra. Why after this, military precautions were not taken to prevent a surprise, I do not know.

The battlefield was a miserable sight. It was the first *fresh* battlefield I had seen. The dead bodies of

the enemy were left on the ground, and they were in such numbers within two or three hundred yards of the burial ground, that in a couple of days the place could hardly be visited for the stench.

Now that the Indore people are dispersed, the only local danger we have is from the Gwalior Contingent. The rumour is that it marches to-day, *vid* Jhansi, towards Cawnpore. But one can never be certain that they won't come this way until they have actually left. Colonel Greathed's column will, however, be within reach of recall should they move towards Agra within the next few days.

If the Gwalior people move away, then, I believe, the whole of this part of the country will settle down. Reasonable Mussulmans, who have not already compromised themselves irretrievably, see that there is no chance of eventual success for the establishment of Islam, and they can conscientiously quiet down under our rule. The most remarkable proof of the people being not opposed to us is to be found in Muttra and Bindrabun, with their nearly 100,000 inhabitants. Our Native officers, under charge of Imdad Ally, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate, have regularly maintained authority there whenever not driven out by the enemy in strength. **Over and over** they have retired when the Mutinous forces occupied the place, and as often returned to rule over

a willing and obedient people. The last time, a few days ago, the fugitives from the Indore force arrived in considerable numbers at Muttra; some penetrated the town, attacked the police, and demanded supplies. The Deputy Collector, aided by the inhabitants, repulsed these men; musketry was fired by both parties for a couple of hours, and at length the whole party of Mutineers were obliged to retreat. Both at Bhurtpore and Dholepore, the Officers of those States have pursued the fugitives, killing some. All these facts are encouraging, and show that when the Rebel forces have once lost the prestige of victory and supposed supremacy, and break up into parties sufficiently small not to compel respect, the people are prepared to act offensively against them.

many places, however, it is not so, because the Mussulmans, while they thought their cause had a fair chance of final success, have frequently compromised themselves by flagrantly traitorous acts. At Allygurh, for instance, the Mussulmans were for a considerable time dominant; they forcibly converted many Hindoos; they defied our Government in the most insolent manner; all the ancient feelings of warring for the faith, reminding one of the days of the first Caliphs, were resuscitated. Few of the families who were otherwise strongly loyal to us, could resist this influence.

I think I told you before that our little party

under Cocks retook Allygurh and expelled the Naib Sooba, in August I think. We placed a Hindoo Talookdar, Gobind Singh, as our Administrator in Coel, and (as our detachment could not remain so far off) fell back on Hatrass. This arrangement did admirably till, one day about three weeks ago, the Mussulmans of a fanatical village fell treacherously on Gobind Singh, and forced him to flee with all our Officers who were there. Since that time the rage and fanaticism of the Moslems at Allygurh has been poured forth against the unfortunate Hindoos. The Mussulman party soon were swept away, as you will see, by Greathed's column, and the place is now reoccupied by us. But from this brief narrative you will see that there are dangerous elements in that district, which have been subjected to the most severe trial which loyalty could be subjected to; and that the utmost delicacy of treatment will be required in its resettlement. Dera and Seharunpore are quiet enough, and the country immediately about Meerut; but Mozuffernugger has been kept till lately in constant agitation by Mahometan fanatics, and Bolundshuhur has been occupied by the rebel Wuleedad Khan at Malagurh. Advantage was thus taken of our weakness while every available soldier was drawn to Dehli, to work upon the feelings and religious convictions of the Mahometans, and to excite to violence all the rabble of our towns and

villages, who were not slow in seizing the opportunity. But no sooner was Dehli fallen, than both Mozuffer-nugger and Bolundshuhur were speedily reduced to order. The Dehli division is also quieting down—of which there can be no stronger proof than that Mr. Saunders, in his last letter, said he had no news whatever to communicate. But the exiled population of Dehli city (the military authorities have not felt themselves strong enough to allow of its reoccupation yet) must be hiding somewhere, and there are numerous Native chiefships, as Jhujjur, which have yet to be brought to their reckoning for the aid given by them to Dehli. In Rajpootana the only present cause of anxiety is the Joudpore legion which, at Awa, defied General Lawrence, and is still there. Rohilkhund has not yet been attempted to be reclaimed. Khan Bahadur reigns at Bareilly, oppresses the Hindoos, and with his staff daily proceeds in Zeearut¹ to salute the flag of Crusade planted in front of the Cotwalee. But, south-west of the Ganges, the Upper Dooab and the right bank of the Jumna may now be regarded as in a fair way of settlement. And if the Gwalior Contingent move eastward, the whole wave may be said to have passed below this.

But eastward and northward there is a great work remaining yet. Havelock has relieved Lucknow, but,

¹ Pilgrimage.

from the myriads of opposing hosts, is unable to return to Cawnpore with the women and children. To swell those hosts the Dehli fugitives are rapidly on their way. The great fight will be in that quarter, and providentially our reinforcements are coming. Greathed's column is hurrying down to their aid. He has Cavalry and Horse artillery which will be a great help to them. And from below, the European troops should soon be showing themselves. But I must stop. It has been a glorious struggle for Englishmen this. Old Asadoolla¹ could not have spoken more strongly than you or I, of the courage of the little bands of foreigners, holding their ground every here and there, at the distance sometimes of two or three hundred miles from any other garrison, and in the end beating off their foes. God has been our Helper, and to Him be all the praise. There is still cause for anxiety eastward, but, on the whole, things are rapidly clearing, and the North - western districts and the Punjab are thoroughly relieved.

We are having even a carriage post to Meerut. Towards Cawnpore we still send by Cossid only. Best love to all. Letters of August 2nd Mail reached. I will try and write soon to Willy.

Your affectionate brother,

W. MuiR.

¹ A native Judge, a very special friend.

AGRA, 20th Dec. 1857.

MY DEAR JOHN,—The enclosed printed slips will give you all the news we possess. As the telegraph is open between Cawnpore and Calcutta you will probably have later news that way than I can give you. From the beginning of the month to the middle of it, we were *completely* cut off from all communication with Cawnpore and the eastward. Our first news of the discomfiture of the Gwalior Contingent was through Scindia's messengers. This you will find all in my bulletins.

The Futtehghurh insurgents were beginning to press rather uncomfortably on Allyghurh when Seaton's column proceeded to dislodge them. This, as you will see, has been done in the most successful manner. The Column will now move on towards Mynpoory, and will, I hope, soon open direct communication with Cawnpore. Whenever the road is safe, we have large supplies of carriage,—which they grievously stand in need of towards the East,—to send down.

All is quiet to the North-west; and in Rajpootana, excepting Kota where the troops of the Durbar have made an emeute. They must be conscious that punishment will fall upon them, sooner or later, for rebellious and dastardly proceedings in the murder of Major Burton and others.

It would seem that Rajpootana, at least Western Rajpootana, was not so much affected as I anticipated by the late proceedings at Cawnpore and Lucknow. Rajpootana *hung* upon Dehli. It was long before its fall was thoroughly believed, but as soon as the fact was accepted the game was considered ended.

The great difficulty now in the tract around Lucknow, say with a radius of from one to two hundred miles, will be the vast assemblage of troops, and of others' who have compromised themselves beyond the hope of pardon by mutinous and rebellious proceedings. What fixes the brunt of future operations there, is that the great majority have their homes in that vicinity. Rohilkhund it is not expected will give much trouble. Bijnore could be occupied by a small column. Moradabad, as you know, is administered for us by the Nawab of Rampore. Excepting some local opposition from the Fanatics, nothing need be anticipated there. Bareilly will give a battle, and Budaon and Shahjehanpore will subside with it. All that is now needed to perfectly settle and quiet the Dooab, is the fall of Furruckabad. There are a couple of thousand, mostly untrained, rebels at Etawah with six guns. But these will not stand after the capture of Furruckabad; and the capture of Furruckabad will, I trust, be the Commander-in-Chief's next operation.

Mynpoory, as I said above, will be occupied by Seaton's column, and I believe without much, if any, opposition.

The death of Havelock is a sad cloud. We have now ascertained beyond doubt that our nephew, J. Bensley Thornhill, died from the wounds he received in the early part of the siege. Dear little Mary must have gone down with the Ladies, *vi* Cawnpore, to Calcutta. They must have been in a state of miserable discomfort in the Baillie Guard at Lucknow. John Power was with the Commander-in-Chief there, and saw the 1800 *Pandies* killed at Secundrabagh. Conceive a heap of 1800 counted as they were cast into a pit! A just but terrible retribution. The Government continues here in the same abnormal state. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner, takes counsel from the Board and Court. His intentions are good; of course his position is difficult as that of a combined Military and Civil Governor, with no experience in the latter Department. We are all, I am thankful to say, quite well. Poor Mary at Mussoorie, is of course greatly cut up by the Lucknow news and the long suspense. From Anson I have not heard for a long time; he must be at Cawnpore. From Brigadier Hope Grant I have had several letters. We were delighted to hear of Helen's safety, and the blessing added to her family. Thanks for the

attention shown to Messrs. Fraser and Reid. I cannot learn anything further of Mr. Moncrieff. I am making inquiries for Lord Canning about the tales of females being dishonoured in the massacre. *All* the evidence is *against* it Kind love to all.—
Your affectionate brother, W. M.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS

FROM ALLAHABAD TO YOUR MOTHER AT AGRA

FEBRUARY-MARCH 1858

Fort Allahabad, 11th February 1858. — Lord Canning's Camp, 6.30 a.m.

Just going out to my ride. But before doing so I sit down to write a few lines. . . . Yesterday evening, found Johnstone's brother at my tent. They were going out on a little expedition, and dined earlier; I left the Mess at 8.30, but found so much work on my table when I went back that I worked on:—to bed at 10.

Near 10 a.m. I went out and had a charming ride on Lawrence's pony. Went to the Jail-house. Some thirty or forty prisoners have already begun work there—clearing away, etc. Met Leckie (Lord C.'s Doctor), and had a long walk with him up and down before the Governor-General's tents. He described a scene in which Lady Canning, before he left, with tears begged him to promise he would write twice regarding the welfare of her Lord. He has been better since he came up here than ever he has been since he came to the country. . . . I dine at the Governor-General's

to-night. A book goes round for "yes" or "no." But I don't think I shall dine there often. Was in at the Governor-General's with Gubbins about the rebuilding of Bungalows here.

13th, The Fort.—Was called over by Talbot (Private Secretary) to see the Governor-General. I took over the papers I had to show him. He was going out in the carriage, and had a white hat on. I talked with him some time, and gave him the names of candidates and eligible men for the Commissioner-ship, etc. . . . I read him a letter from Clifford about Muttra and some other things. Then went to the Trench's. Bid Mrs. Trench an affectionate farewell. She sent her love, and he his affectionate remembrances.

Found Grant in my tent: took him to the Mess; three or four strangers. Re turned at 9, and have had two hours' hard work in vain attempt to clear my table : past 11, must go to bed. I sent you, . . . a message by a Sowar the moment I arrived on Friday;¹ but the Collector's people were wretchedly stupid about it.

The Fort, Sunday morning, 14th.—When I was ready (the Futtehporie) Edmonstone came in and stayed a bit: talks wildly about hanging. But he came a little round, and admitted that hanging a man for recovering possession of his village and collecting rents, might be wrong. [Such was the wild talk of the day.]

¹ 5th February: the day I arrived from Agra.

Church at 10. Young Johnstone came to my tent, and I walked to Church with him. The Governor-General there, and most of the young Civilians from Court's house, Edmonstone from Calcutta, young Outram, etc. . . . Mr. Harris preached and referred in appropriate terms to the war. . . . There were a little boy and girl in Church to-day, who so brought darling Charley and Bess to me.

I expect that the road between Cawnpore and Mynpoory will be unsafe, and crossed at many points by the Rebels flying from Oudh. It is possible the Upper Doab may also be threatened until the Punjab force is ready to advance N.E. of the Ganges. So I should prefer your remaining quietly at Agra until we see the course things will take. It will be early enough for the pets to go up to the Hills the middle of March.

(Afternoon).—I enclose a letter for Bess. See to the correct execution of the kisses. Church is at 4 here, and 4½ at the big Church; I am going here. . . . I have had two or three messages to-day from Futtehghurh and Agra, which I have sent to Lord Canning. I also sent him John Thornton's letter about the religious treatment of the Natives, which I thought he might like to see.

The quiet and peace of the day, even in the midst of this Camp, is an intense relief after last week. ..

(Same night).—I went to Church at 4. Very full both morning and evening. Talbot and Colonel Stuart there; Lord C. seems only to go once a day. . . . Read a little of Coran tract. Then went out and walked round the ramparts taking a cheroot, and just returned. Looked in at Leckie's, and proposed that the Relief Committee should move in the matter of pension for Mrs. Glen, if nothing else has been done in this matter at Agra. . . . I have just written a note to Mrs. G. asking her to let Maggie come over for half an hour. Dinner on table. I dine in my own tent, it being Sunday.

8 p.m.—Maggie Glen came while at dinner, and sat at the corner by me. She talked about Charlie, Bess, and Koottoo, and enlivened me greatly. The scene of Koottoo's eating the grapes has produced an indelible impression on her mind. She says when the Chuprassy came to bring her, her brother cried out " Oh, are you going to see Charlie ? " I have no doubt that the road will be quite clear within two months. Don't be alarmed by V——'s vaticinations.

(Next morning).—The Court have sanctioned two Assistant Secretaries. . . . I am thinking of young Daniell and Macnaghten. But Lord Canning allowed me to keep on E. C. Bayley (who is Magistrate and Collector of Azimgurh) temporarily, so that only one will be at once required. . . . I hope to get up to the

Jail-house to-morrow, where I shall be less liable to disturbance. Maggie and Willie Glen and the baby came to me in the morning. The baby I held in my lap some time, and gave the others barley sugar.

18th February.—In tents by the Civil Station. Yesterday evening. Was just thinking of going out when the Agra dak came in with a heap of letters, and yours which was soon fished out. I went and sat outside (the tent), and as it began to get dark got a candle and read your dear letter, and the most of the more important others. About that time also came an invitation for Williams (of the Police) to go to the Governor-General, with a private note from Talbot (who is a very nice fellow). Williams was to have gone in the daytime, but we had no buggy (the "General" not come yet). He was on the point of starting in the sun on a Sowar's horse, when I persuaded him not; and wrote to Talbot. The result was this invitation. Well, after getting through the letters, . . . we dressed and were off at 6 ½ in a buggy I borrowed from Court, to the Fort. I introduced Williams to Lord C, who received him very kindly. After about ten minutes' talking about things, dinner was announced. There were fifteen or sixteen. I was speaking to some one else, when Lord C. tapped me on the shoulder, and also the Colonel of the 80 th (Lord Carr, I think), and motioned us to go on before

or with him into the Dinner tent. I sat, as before, on the Governor-General's left; Williams opposite me; on my left, the Queen's Superintending Surgeon (Gaiger, I think his name); Talbot opposite the Governor-General, etc. • The latter part of the dinner I talked a good deal to the Governor-General about the Tuckers ; also about Mr. Colvin and Mr. Thomason. Dr. G., who had been wrecked on the Andamans, gave me a long, interesting account of his adventures. . . . Williams evidently made a good impression on Lord C. Sat a long time, when we retired. Got home about 10.

23rd February (Tents in Civil Station).—Last night Williams and I walked as far as the Cucherries and Kinloch's house (the one I was getting restored for ourselves). It is not getting on well. . . . K. should write to his Agent to go forward with the repairs as fast as possible. Only 20 Coolies on the House! . . . Drove back; dinner, etc. Played a bit; and the *Chords*, which reminded me of Lowe. In the midst of the playing came in the dak and your . . . letter.

. . . Up at 4½ morning as usual: reading, and work. Then walked to the Fort, where met Temple and Simson. Accompanied them to the Terminus, where Temple starting begged again to be most kindly remembered to you. Rode home.

4.30 p.m.—It has been a quiet, pleasant, working day to-day. Getting through work. I begin to feel more master of the position. I enclose a note from Outram, who likes the Junior Secretaryship. He seems a nice lad, and will, "I hope, get on well.

24:th January.—Worked away till 5½ or 6 a.m. Then in the buggy to the Fort, and called at the Tent where Lady Wilson, Mrs. Greathed, and Mrs. Trench were. Had a long talk with her, and felt much for her. She shook my hand so warmly, and I had a long chat with her. Then we left. . . . They go off they say on the 26th. . . .

I must write to Farquhar about the journey (with the children to Mussoorie). It is such a comfort he is going with you, . . . Active proceedings will now commence all along the country from Bijnore to Fyzabad; and when the pressure is felt, escape will probably be attempted at many parts across the Doab. It is necessary, therefore, to take all precaution beforehand to see that the road is not threatened by any such attack. By the time you return to Agra we shall, I trust, see definitely the state of things, and the prospect for the Agra and Allahabad road. . . . Williams has just returned from a long conference with the Governor-General, in which everything has been satisfactorily arranged about the Police Battalions. I am very glad of this.

Friday, 12th March.— . . . You will have heard from Sherer that the road is not safe at present. But it will not, D.V., continue long so. Worked till near 6. Table clear. Drove out with Cud. round the Commissioner's office, and back by the Fort. An immense encampment of Madras Cavalry on the plain before the Fort. A great body of them is going over to protect the Azimgurh and Goruckpore districts. A new European Regiment come in, and the 80th gone to Futtehpoore, which will check the movement at Humeerpore. . . .

9 o'clock.—G.-G.'s dak come in while I was at dinner, with your, . . . of Wednesday. I am most thankful for the good account it contains. . . . A message from Batten gives a better account of the country generally,—so that I do hope, when the blow has been finally struck at Lucknow, and our troops can be spared a little to return to the Doab, there will be no difficulty, . . . in your coming down. It would be so nice if you came down with the Polewheles or Mrs. Walker. I am so thankful about little Chotey. . . . I have not seen the G.-G. since last Saturday. I dispose of everything by boxes;—ordinarily, he merely endorses what I propose,—though you will not mention this. It looks as if one desired to *assume*, saying a thing of that sort. . . . Will write to Mrs. Glen about her pension.

13th.—Got up early. . . . About 5 set to to the boxes. Rode out about 7. Such a fine, fresh morning! I thought how much, . . . you would have enjoyed it. It was one of those fresh mornings we only have in the spring. Back by 8½,—to work again; by 9½ had cleared my table. . . . Good news from Lucknow. The business apparently will soon be over there. . . . I went to see Lord C. before 2, and he received me exceedingly kindly. I did not stay long. Cud. and I, I am sorry to say, dine there this evening. . . .

13th (Saturday night).—Worked away this morning till 5½, when went out with Cud. to see Kinloch's house and an Agent I am getting to look after it. Young Johnston and Cottenham, B.A., came to see us. Walked over the Cucherry with them, to see how the work was going on. Then drove with Cud. (our Buggy and his mare) to the Bungalow. Just got the dak, . . . Went to dinner: Lord Carr, etc., there. Colonel Bradford was on Lord C.'s left; I on his right; on my right a Madras officer. Bowring was next Thornhill, whom I heard discussing the 10th October (the relief of Agra). Pleasant evening; rather. Lord C. agreeable. Got home 9½. . . .

Saturday, 14th.—Thankful to learn from your letter that Chotey was well again. Her illness made me anxious. About coming down, I quite leave to you the

discretion to set out on the journey so soon as the road is clear and you have a proper escort. But the road is, by the last accounts, still threatened, and Cawnpore is very imperfectly defended. It will be far better to wait a few days till Lucknow falls completely, and then considerable masses of our troops will be brought again into the Doab, and there will be no fear. I find the Railway is not open *for Trains* or Engines to Futtehpore. The train still does not run beyond Khaga. It is not to be open till the 25th,—when Lord Canning opens it in person. If you cannot get down before that, I shall try and come out to Futtehpore to meet you. . . . If you came before that, you would have to come on to Khaga above 20 miles this side of Futtehpore, and I could come out to meet you. By the way, a few days ago, Duryao Sing, his son Sojan Singh, and nephew Narmul Sing, were all hanged at Futtehpore. . . .

Farquhar's message just come in. I am so thankful that he has accepted the Jail appointment, and will be able, as I confidently trust, to bring you down. There is no violent hurry about his journey. . . . I do trust the road will be open, so that you may soon be able to come, as you will find it very warm travelling.

15th.—Up before 4½. To work a little after 5.

Dressed 6½. Had a nice ride. The General capers about now in the most frisky style, like a kid. Worked till 9, when Dak with your, . . . letter came in.

The news from Cawnpore is all better. The road does not appear to me just now to be threatened, but you had better wait a bit. At Cawnpore they do not yet think the road safe. . . . The Lucknow news I enclose. The Chief congratulated the Governor-General on the result; and I do trust the termination is near. . . . Things brighter in the Doab; and, if these men who threaten Etawah keep quiet, I don't see why you should not leave.

18th.—Brigadier Bradford came up and talked with us some time. He has sent out some troops to help Mayne in driving back the Oudh people, who are pressing rather down again. . . . Now you are going up to Mussoorie, it seems farther off than ever! . . . I am so anxious to hear when you leave, so that I may begin to think when I may look for you here, . . .

I worked away till near 6, when I walked out to the Jail, to see the Native Christians and the progress making with the Jail barracks. One barrack will be ready for the Writers in about a week, I hope. There are now some 8 *families* here of the Writers, and the weather is getting very hot for them in

Tents. The houses for the Native Christians will, I fear, not be ready for a long time. . . .

19 *th.*—Rode to Mr. Owen's, and walked with him down to the entrenchments near the Port. It reminded me of the time in 1855-56, when we were going down the river, . . . As I was bathing before breakfast, a Shootr Sowar came with an *immediate* summons from his Lordship; so I got the Buggy and was off by 9½. It was about instructions for Mr. Mayne (on the Oudh frontier). . . . About midday came your most agreeable message that you were at Meerut yesterday, . . . and trust you will be at Dehra to-morrow. Mrs. Wemyss will be so pleased. . . . How good of dear Lowe to be so kind and to escort you up.

20*th.*— . . . The weather is getting hot, which, besides, . . . , is also a cogent reason why I am anxious for your journey to be over. . . . This is darling Katy's birthday, so I must give her a letter. . . . I have written partly in coloured letters, like Bess's. . . . The news is good from Lucknow to-day: Moosabagh taken, and no rebels left. Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson brought in; and they had been honourably treated. . . . Kisses to all the darlings. What did Charley and Bess say when they saw you, I wonder!

21*st.*—Cud. and I drove to Kinloch's house. It is

getting on very slowly indeed. But there will be plenty of shelter in this house for the present. A third room, with bathing room, will be ready in 2 or 3 days, etc. etc.

22nd.—I fancy you will arrange to get back to Agra by Friday or Saturday. . . . I do trust that the road will be all clear, and that you will be able to come down at once, . . . About to 4 (on Sunday) they told me the (native) Padree had come to have service with the Native Christians; so I walked over to the Jail hospital, where they were all assembled,—some 30 Christians present. Sang hymns, read the Bible, then gave us a sermon. Back by 5. . . . Had a summons to go to Lord C. in the evening about Mayne, who has got into a scrape by getting the troops into a misfortune before a village.

23rd.—Mrs. Dr. Walker has arrived. She left the day after you quitted Agra. Everything is quiet now; and this is the time I expected you would have come down had not darling Agnes fallen sick. I do trust the road will still keep open; but there is no calculating what these flying rebels may take into their head. However, Farquhar is "awfully safe," as I used to say ; and I can trust fully to his discretion. Things are a little gloomy just now towards Azimgurh. All the troops having been removed away to Lucknow from the Oudh border, has encouraged the rebels

to come on, and our troops in the Azimgurh district may be obliged to fall back on Azimgurh. The troops with Mayne over the river met with a nasty repulse at a village which Mayne should not have attacked, as it was beyond his border. The G.-G. is very angry with him about it, and with reason; for, only the day before, he got instructions not to cross the border. . . .

It was very tantalising to me, getting Mrs. Walker's letter, and thinking you might have come then too. But it was duty (that kept you); and when in the way of duty, we must not repine.

25th— . . . What you say of little Chotey made me anxious and unhappy. I wonder if you were able to leave her last night with Mrs. Wemyss, and if you will be in Agra when this reaches. . . .

[Then follows account of Lord Canning's triumphal journey to Futtehpore.]

Cud. came in about 5½ this morning, going to the Railway. I worked on till 6 ; then dressed. I rode off to the Railway Station, expecting to find that the party had started. After wandering about a little on the General (my horse), I found that the train was still there. Scene gay; a triumphal arch with " The way to prosperity" on it; banners, etc., with other devices. When I got up to the Station, I found that

the G.-G. had not arrived, so I talked with the crowd there. Almost every one has gone. I wrote to Bowring last night to say that I had such an overwhelming press of business that I would be glad to remain and not go, unless it were *proper* I should. Bowring replied he would let me know last night if I was required. I asked him this morning about it; and he said when he mentioned it to the G.-G., he said he was glad I would stay, as he had work for me. He has not, however, sent any. But he may have alluded to its being better I should stay in case of any emergent messages, etc. — The only place threatened just now is Azimgurh: our little body of troops was obliged to fall back on the Town, and were expecting to be attacked there.—I had been about 10 minutes at the platform when the G.-G. arrived. All then moved along the platform by the Railway,—when I found that a service was to be performed. Mr. Spry was there in his surplice, and read a very appropriate service,—the same as used by the Bishop, with some modifications. It lasted say 10 minutes,—something like the service at Roorkee. I am so glad I was present. Shortly after, the party went into the Carriages,—the Band playing "God Save the Queen." Some 50 Europeans went also, and the Band. . . . I am glad I did not go. . . . No letter from Dera. I do hope and trust it was only

accidental, and that darling Chotey was going on well

26th.— . . . I am very glad I did not go yesterday to Futtehpore, as Cud. did not return till late, and had rather a stupid day. They got up to Futtehpore quickly—by 9½—and breakfasted about 10 ½, in Edmonstone's house. No ladies went. . . . After breakfast, Cud. retired to smoke and Lord C. went away, and then Mr. Purser proposed Lord C.'s health; that was all. They had a salute on arriving and leaving. They came back very slowly. Altogether, I did not miss much. I saw the chief part in the service at starting. . . .

I do not see why you should not leave next Tuesday morning, if the weather be cool: the mornings are very cool here. If the road continues as at present, you could travel at night to Cawnpore; but Cocks will be the best adviser on that point. . . . A message on your reaching Cawnpore would be sufficient warning, . . . , for arranging to go up to Futtehpore next day. May the Lord guide you into the best and safest and least exposing plan of travelling! . . . French, with his Missionaries, arrived. . . . I have persuaded them to come up here and stay till Monday. . . . They are in tents, and won't come into the house.

27 th March.— . . . Have had no letters for 3

days, and am anxiously looking for the dak, . . . Had a pleasant evening at dinner with French and his two associates. They are both College men: one Clinton, a pleasant, intelligent man; the other Shankey, a good mathematician, from Cambridge. . . . French is determined to have 5 Missionaries for Agra, and none here!! . . . Rebels within a few miles of Azimgurh. There will, I expect, be a fight there soon. . . .

3 p.m.—To my great joy, Lowe's message from Meerut came in reporting your arrival there yesterday. I do feel so thankful to our Heavenly Father for this news; and for the statement of Chotey being better. By this time you must be quietly at Agra again, and I trust you will start early next week

Near 4.—An immense dak with your dear letter of Sunday, . . . , and this, coupled with the Meerut message, has greatly relieved and comforted me. I think, so far as I know, the road is quite safe just now, and that you might leave at once with perfect safety. All that is required is for Dr. Farquhar to inquire as you go along, and see that it is smooth ahead.

EXTRACTS FEOM THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT RECORDS

BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. WILSON TO MR. COLVIN.

{Original written in Greek Character.}

CAMP BEFOBE DELHI,
BOth July 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is my firm determination to hold my present position and to resist every attack to the last. The Enemy are very numerous, and may possibly break through our entrenchments and overwhelm us ; hut the Force will die at their posts. Luckily the Enemy have no head and no method ; we hear dissensions are breaking out amongst them. Reinforcements are coming up under Nicholson ; if we can hold on till they arrive, we shall be secure. I am making every possible arrangement to secure the safe defence of our position.

A. WILSON, Brig.-General.

To the Honble. J. R. COLVIN,

Lt.-Gov. N.-W.P.

[*Note by W. M. submitting the above.*—A grand letter from General Wilson, Commanding the Delhi Brigade.]

REPLY.

FORT AGRA, 4TH August 1857.

M Y DEAR GREATHED,—Your letter and Brigadier Wilson's of the 30 th ultimo received. I cannot too strongly express my admiration of the noble gallantry of the Force before Delhi; what they have already done in so many hard combats will gain for them the highest applause; and no one doubts that their endurance and efforts will in the end be successful; to see Corps after Corps crowding on Delhi without adequate means of arresting them has been deep grief to us all; but we all in our places do our best. The help lent from the Punjaub is quite wonderful. The thanks of all India are due to Lawrence for his energetic and unstinted aid.

Please send him a copy of this Note, and of course show it to Wilson. Nothing new here to-day. At Etawah, the Saugor mutinous Regiment is expected to pass that way, and may go on to Delhi. It is said to be some seven hundred strong.

Yours very truly,

J. R. COLVIN.

Deposition of a Native Gentleman regarding the Occupation of Delhi by the Mutineers, taken by me on the 15th and 17th August 1857.

STATEMENT OF KASHEE PERSHAD,

Formerly Vakeel of the Nawab of Jhujjur—for the last four or five years a resident trader in saltpetre, etc., here in Agra.

Left Agra early in March for his health, and went to Delhi. Lived at Huzaree-Goolzara (Cazee Houz Ka Mohulla), near the Ajmeerie Gate. Was caught at Delhi by the outbreak, and obliged to stay. When the cannonading became severe he left it for the Chawara Mohulla behind the great Mosque. Stayed there the rest of the time with Kunheya Lall.

The city was perfectly quiet and unconscious of the coming commotion till nine o'clock on Monday the 11th May. We knew that there had been discontent and burning of bungalows at Umballa, but we had no conception that any outbreak would take place at Meerut. Bode out on horseback as usual in the morning,—all was as usual.

A little after nine there was a rush of people from the City. This I observed three times. The third rush was about ten. I had fancied it was the escape of some elephant, etc.; but the third time I inquired what it was, and they replied that there was fighting behind them. Up to that moment I had no idea anything unusual was going on.

About half-past ten a great crowd was seen moving towards the place where I lived. In front of it was a Gentleman galloping rapidly along, waving a naked sword. He was going as from the Fort or Mosque in the direction of the Ajmeerie Gate, which had been shut by the Sepoys. They opened it for him and he rode out. It was said to be Sir T. Metcalfe. A little after, two Sowars, one with a pistol and torn clothes, the other with a spear, rode up inquiring where the Gentleman had gone; and they pursued after him.

Afterwards, crowds upon crowds of Sowars, Sepoys, and Citizens, passed by. The people were in consternation,—the shops shut. The Sepoys and Cavalry men were searching for the English as their victims.

Subsequently I heard that the Cavalry had first crossed the bridge, and plundered the Toll-Box there. Then they came to the Palace, and demanded admission to the King, who hastily summoned the Killadár, Captain Douglass. Captain Douglass sent to say he was undressed, but the King desired him to come quickly

as he was, so he went. Meanwhile the Cavalry men were warned off from the apartment where the King was,—it being private;—but they didn't mind the remonstrance of the Guards, and forced their way in.

The Cavalry on their arrival opposite the Palace first killed Chimman Lall, the Christian Sub-Assistant Surgeon. Then they met four Gentlemen in Buggies, and shot them; one of their own number (Narain Singh) being killed. Mr. Fraser at that moment arrived at the gate, went in, tried to shut the gate, but from the crowd he could not succeed. He reached the stairs, but was killed there after defending himself with his pistol and gun. He had called on the King to bring out his guns.

Douglas was upstairs. He called Ahsun-oolla Khan Hakeem to take care of the ladies; and he placed them in a position of safety. They were all killed.

Then the whole City was in an uproar,—shops closed, fighting, etc.

About twelve the Rebels put the King on the throne, and they led Mirza Moghul, his son, through the City to restore confidence.

The King told the Rebels he was a mere Pensioner, couldn't help them in any way, or pay them. They replied that he was not to mind; they didn't want pay, etc.

When the tumult was first heard, the Commanding

Officer ordered out the Regiment, but when they were drawn up some of the rebel Cavalry appeared. The Regiments were desired to fire on them. They fired, but high. An Officer fired a pistol at a Cavalry man, but was killed in the scuffle. Then the Regiments told their Officers to go. All who went away got off, those who made any opposition were seized or killed.

The Officers of the Main Guard were said to be blown from guns by the troops.

About 4 p.m. the Magazine was blown up. Five or six hundred men were killed or wounded. At night the bungalows were burnt.

Tuesday the 12th the Railway Bungalow was burned.

On that day a " Pultun " came, and was quartered at the Ajmeerie Durwaza, at the Madrassa (College) inside it. It was one of the Delhi " pultuns." Next day it was changed for another " Pultun." At the Delhi Durwaza the " Alexander Pultun " was quartered.¹

Then Companies began to come in from Coel, Mynpoorie, etc. The Bazaars were sometimes shut, sometimes open. They were sometimes plundered on the imputation of harbouring English officers. All such Officers, Half-castes, etc., were murdered. Hoosen Bukhsh, Punjaubee Saudagur (Merchant), was suspected and plundered.

¹ Probably *Sikunderka Pultun*.

It was noised abroad that an Officer was concealed in the Seeta Earn Bazaar, and search was made; he put on the clothes of a Cashmerie Brahmin and walked forth. He came in the direction where I was, and I saw him, a fine noble-looking fellow. He was suspected and challenged. The Sepoys pressed him to disclose the names of the persons who had concealed him, but he bravely refused, saying, "Kill me if you like; I am not a Company's Officer, I am in the service of Jheend,—shoot me if you like,—ask Rummun." His bearing excited admiration. They shot him.

Next day they attacked Rummun (Mohun Lall), and plundered his house. He was only saved by the son of Kalu Sahib (Nizam Ooddeen) and his carter, who protested he was no traitor, but a good converted Hindoo. When Wullee Dad Khan went to Malagurh, Mohun Lall went with him. He is said to be friendly to the English.

"Wullee Dad Khan came to the King to get a Soobah (estate), and he returned to Malagurh with the appointment. He has been guilty of the greatest treachery of all against the British Government—having a Jagheer, etc.

When tidings came of an English force being at Ghazeeabad, troops went out from Delhi to oppose them. The second time, they were accompanied

by Abu Bekr, the King's son, Captain of the Cavalry.

They were completely beaten, and Delhi was then in such a fright that if the Europeans had come upon the City then, it could not have offered any resistance.

After that the Europeans came and encamped on the heights outside Delhi, and there was fighting every two or three days. Then the shells began to fall thick in the City, and the distress has been indescribable. It is the greatest mercy I escaped.

The Delhi troops are ordinarily pitched from the old Killa towards Bullubgurh to the city; and from the Delhi to the Ajmere Gate. The wounded were at first put in our Dispensary, then in any large house they came across;—for any such purpose they turned the occupants unceremoniously out.

The Meerut and Delhi troops are in the Fort and Palace. There is no room for any others there.

There was a Guard of Sepoys over the alley in which I lived. I got off with the greatest difficulty. I saw Elahee Buksh, the present Jhujjur Vakeel, at Fureedabad. He said he had left with permission, and sick,—he is now better. He had been very ill.

At three places on the road here the Zemindars deserve credit for their good arrangement. Bunchara (2 coss beyond Hodul), Kosee (though the Zemindars there take money for their protection), and at Chatta.

The Sepoys have a great jealousy of anyone who is suspected of in any way assisting the English.

They plunder the Bazaars, but never without some pretext of that nature. Thus with Alopee Pershad and Ror Mull Khutrees. A Cafila was going to Benares; one of the number, Bishan Pershad, an old Tahseeldar of ours, was seized in it, and certificates in English found on him. He appealed to Alopee Pershad; and without inquiry they forthwith proceeded to Alopee Pershad, and plundered him and some twenty others in the same neighbourhood.

Only a small part of Delhi is actively disaffected to the English. But it is now full of bad and reckless characters who have flocked to it from without.

Bukht Khan is now the leader; he was in the Artillery. Was originally in Delhi. Transferred some time ago to Bareilly, and came back in command of the Mutinous troops.

Before he came, each Soobahdar managed his own Regiment. But after his arrival the King's order was to follow his command. But they disliked his interference, and used to obey him only when ordered to attack. They were subsequently, on the Nusseerabad battalion joining, divided into four divisions. First Nusseerabad, second Bareilly, and two others. The Neemuch battalion formed a fifth.

Three days before the Bacr-Eed festival, Bukht

Khan went to the King, and told him it would be advisable to prohibit the Moslems from killing cows. He produced a Futwa. Proclamation was made accordingly. The Sepoys were, besides, engaged in fighting on the Eed and for two days before, and were wearied out, so the Festival passed off quietly.

Six butchers were arrested,—they were carrying a Guhwara or funeral bier to the burial-ground. It was examined, and butcher's meat found in it, which it was supposed they were taking to our Camp. The Sepoys killed five, and one fled. It was after this that cow killing was prohibited.

Two Bheesties were killed for being on the road to our camp with their mussuks filled with sugar.

The King's sons were originally appointed nominally to the command of Regiments.

The King himself has several times had altercations with the Rebels, saying that he had not called them,—that he had no territory, no money, etc., for them,—and that he had told them this from the first; and has protested that they should get him out of his troubles, take him to the Kootub, take him to Agra, anywhere; upon which the Rebels cast themselves at the King's feet, declaring themselves his slaves.

I have no doubt (says Kashee Pershad) that the original real desire of the King was as generally rumoured in the City, and as he is said to have

plainly told the Rebels, that he wished to have nothing to do with them. This was his feeling at first; but it is impossible to say whether ambition, and desire of regaining a position of real power for his Family, may not have led to a change, and a real siding with the Rebels afterwards.

The King keeps the Shahzadas strictly in order. Abu Bekr went, in connection with some female intrigue, to a house, and plundered the adjoining residence of the Cazee's son, Abdool Huk. On this being reported to the King, he directed the Cotwal to apprehend and forward to him any of his sons who committed acts of violence, and to punish himself any of the subalterns similarly apprehended. He reduced Abu Bekr from his command.

The money brought in by the Regiments and given to the King was expended three weeks ago. The King kept it separate, and devoted it solely to their use and the purchase of ammunition. The King touched none of this for his own use; he borrowed for himself from the City bankers. At first the Regiments used to give a portion of their plundered treasure to the King as "Nuzerana." The remainder was kept each by the Regiment which brought it.

Since the Bareilly Regiment came no money has been given to the King. The Bareilly men paid themselves six months' pay, and kept the rest for

themselves. Their example has been followed by all subsequent arrivals.

They make up gunpowder, having at the manufactory enough materials at a time for a single manufacture,—perhaps to last for three or four days at the Works. It is probably only this amount that was lately blown up. The main stores of material are in the Fort.

Besides the Sowars from Jhujjur originally in Delhi, the Nawab on being summoned, sent some 150 more. They do nothing but simply attend. They do not fight. The Nawab excused himself from attending on the King. Patoudee has helped them with "russud" (supplies) on a party going there. The Ballubgurh villages help with "russud," but not the Rajah. Correspondence was intercepted between the Rajah and us, but the Rebels are not greatly incensed with him. Bahadurgurh and the other petty States are too weak to do anything.

The whole country from this towards Pulwul is quite free, and might, he thinks, be occupied by us with the smallest force. Kashee Pershad says he has had frequent opportunities of conversing with the Sepoys and others. He never could get from them any other cause of discontent than the "Cartooch" (Cartridges). Kor could he hear of any correspondence between the Rebels and the King. His impression is that the King and the whole City were taken by surprise.

AGRA, 21st Sept. 1857, 1 P.M.

MY DEAR SHERER,—After a weary suspense of two days without direct news, intelligence dated the 15th came in *viâ* Jeypore this forenoon, and subsequently Greathed's regular despatch to my address of the 15th arrived, and a little time ago a further one of the 16th. The delay is occasioned by the infested state of the roads;—Goojurs and Mewatties obstructing the progress of travellers. The news is highly satisfactory, and bears out in almost all respects that which I have for these two days ventured to give from Native sources.¹ The report of the 15th is in the Press. I have printed it almost entire, so it need not be repeated here, as I hope to get a copy of the proof in time to send. Keith Young is the writer of the letter in the Extra from "Head Quarters." I add the following from his letter which has been omitted from publication—

" The attack yesterday was in three Columns with a reserve Column; and another strong Column under Reid of the Goorkas was to have cleared out the suburbs of Kishengunje, and marched into the City by the Lahore Gate. But this movement was unfortunately an entire failure, owing to the cowardice of the Cashmere Contingent which formed part of the Column.

¹ That is in the daily *Extra* I published for the information of the Residents in Agra.

They fled disgracefully on the first round from the enemy's guns, leaving three of their own. Had it not been for this contretemps we should in all probability have been in entire possession of the City, as the enemy were all ready for a bolt, but their success outside gave them heart to hold on at the Lahore Gate; and Reid being unable to advance as was intended, our other columns were unable to push on so far as was intended."

So much for preceding operations—now for our advance and capture of the Magazine on the 16 th. Writing on that day Greathed says:—"I reported yesterday that a Battery had been opened from the College Garden against the Magazine. The breach was completed during the night, and this morning the Magazine was carried with the loss of three men wounded, the enemy abandoning the post as soon as the Column appeared over the crest of the breach. One hundred and twenty pieces of heavy ordnance and a vast supply of shot and shells were found in it. A Battery is now being constructed at the Palace end of the Magazine; and the embrasures of Battery in the College garden are altered so that the guns may bear on Selimgurh and on the Palace. A great number of dead Pandies in various states of decomposition were found in and about the Magazine. Mortars will now play from the Magazine into the Palace.

" The capture of this important post has secured our possession of that portion of the town. The chief annoyance is now from the musketry from the Palace walls, from a light gun that moves about the foot of the Palace walls, and from Selimgurh.

" The road from the Cashmere to the Cabul Gate is now quite safe; that quarter of the town up to the street leading from the Cashmere Bastion to the Jumma Musjid is entirely evacuated by the inhabitants. Some few old women are found here and there, and are treated kindly by our men. There is only one instance of a woman having been killed, and that was by accident.

" The Force at the Cabul Gate have extended their occupation along the Canal to the point where the road leads from the direction of the Palace to the Lahore Gate, and their outposts from the Magazine side. The troops are now more collected and under better control. They get their rations cooked on the spot, and they are being reinforced by recovered men from the Hospital. The 52nd were rejoined by twenty-five men to-day. The enemy's force in Kishengunje made a reconnaissance on the right flank of our Camp yesterday, to ascertain apparently the strength left to defend the Camp. Finding the Picquet posts all occupied they retreated, and the Camp has remained unmolested." (This is perhaps the Gwalior news-

writer's attack of the Bareilly brigade.) " It is said they are now evacuating Kishengunje. It is impossible to get information from the City. The enemy's Cavalry cut off communication outside the town to the right, and no messenger can penetrate from the side in our possession. It is believed the troops are deserting the City, but the Palace is still strongly occupied."

Greathed then refers to a requisition of Major Macpherson or General Wilson to send down five hundred Sikh Horse. The reply, as might have been expected, is that none can be spared till the capture of Delhi is complete.

" The most critical period," Greathed adds, " has, I hope and think, passed ; but you will have seen that it has been hard work, and the safety of the Camp was much compromised by the failure of the attack on Kishengunje on the 14th. The Jummoos were to take a part in that operation, but they broke and fled, and left four of their guns in the hands of the enemy. This exposed the flank of Major Reid's line, and rendered success impossible, but I have not heard about them since. It was this failure that compelled Colonel Campbell's column to retire from the Jumma Musjid, for Major Reid's column was to have entered by the Lahore Gate and supported it.

" General Nicholson's column reached the Lahore

Bastion, but their ammunition failed, and they could not hold it, and had to fall back on the Cabul Gate.

"The Cavalry and H. A. (Major Tombs' troop and part of another) were exposed to a very heavy fire from the walls and from the enemy's enfilading battery in Teleewara, while endeavouring to assist the movement in Kishengunje. They bore it most nobly, and succeeded in spiking the guns in battery. Major Tombs lost half his men, killed and wounded, and the Cavalry suffered heavily.

"Baird Smith has sprained one of his limbs badly by a fall from his horse. Lieutenant Taylor is the Director of the Engineer Department.

"We all look to the complete occupation of the City and Palace as a certainty." Metcalfe's conduct on the 14th is highly
He entered after the explosion through the Cashmere Gate with Colonel Campbell's column, and guided it up to the Jumma Musjid. It was desperate work, and I was thankful when I saw him return in safety."

List of Officers wounded. Greathed says he is afraid it is not quite complete.

STAFF.—Brigadier Nicholson, Capt. Anson, A. C. D.

ENGINEERS.—Lieuts. Greathed, Salkeld, Maunsell, Home, Pemberton, Medley.

ARTILLERY.—Lieuts. Lindsay and Elliott.

CAVALRY.—Lieut. Cuppage.

H.M. 8TH FOOT.—Major Brooke, Major Baines, Lieuts. Pogson and Stebbings.

H.M. 52ND FOOT.—Col. Campbell, Capts. Bailey and Atkinson.

H.M. 60TH FOOT.—Lieuts. Curtis and Waters.

H.M. 61ST FOOT.—Col. Deacon.

H.M. 75TH FOOT.—Col. Herbert (slightly), Lieut. Armstrong.

1ST E.B.F.—Capt. Greville, Lieuts. Wemyss, Owen, and Lambert, Speke, Caulfield (3rd N.I.), Grayden, last three doing duty with 1st Fusiliers.

2ND E.B.F.—Capt. Hay (60th N.I.), Lieut. Elderton.

SIRMOOR BATTALION.—Major Reid, Capt. Boisragon.

1ST PUNJAUB INFANTRY.—Lieuts. Nicholson and Gambier (38th N.I.), and Gustavinski.

As a *P.S.* Greathed adds: "Kishengunje has been evacuated. The enemy left four heavy guns and mortars, which are being brought into Camp."

Captain Anson of the Lancers writes on the 16th: "We are now inside the walls pounding away at Selimgurh and the interior defences. There is a good deal of musketry fire going on from houses and the tops of houses; and now and then a round shot and shrapnel play amongst our devoted Infantry, who, aided by the Artillery, are working their way solidly on to the occupation of the vast City. We hold now all our side of the Canal except the Lahore Gate (which will probably fall in the course of the day). The Magazine was taken this morning with a dash and cheer, the latter of which carried such terror to the hearts of the Pandies that they dropped their lighted port fires, leaving their loaded guns an easy

prey to us; 125 guns besides a vast amount of ammunition fell into our hands. The King is in the Jumma Musjid determined to die with his fanatics." (Other reports say he is in the Palace, which is likeliest.)

"We have met with considerable opposition, principally in consequence of the repulse that our Force under Major Reid sustained, in attacking the suburb Kishengunje on our extreme right. Reid hoped to effect an absolute surprise, but found the enemy too strongly posted for him. The Cashmerees lost their four guns, and our small force of Europeans was dreadfully cut up. the 1st B. E. Fusiliers being almost annihilated. General Nicholson fell grievously wounded while trying to infuse the necessary amount of courage into his men, to induce them to proceed to the attack of the Lahore Bastion. He at first would not allow himself to be removed off the field—saying that no soldier ought to retreat,—but a sergeant party carried him off, and he was only just alive when he reached the Camp; he has, however, since rallied, and is doing as well as can be expected.

"While the Infantry was taking the walls, the Lancers and other Cavalry marched down outside, offering themselves as a target to the enemy, to draw off their fire from the Infantry, and suffered grievously in consequence, between forty and fifty being wounded, and eight Officers chargers hit.

Poor Wilson is done up for the nonce. He can hardly stand, overcome as he is by nervous debility.

"We are going to strike our Camp to the Delhi side of the ridge. Mrs. Tytler, the only lady in Camp, is making herself most useful in nursing the sick.

"In two days we expect to have the City. The Engineers suffered much; out of the party of three that applied the powder bag to the Cashmere Gate, the Officer only escaped badly wounded. The enemy had lopholed the door, and the Sergeant had only time to fix the bag, and say, '*I have lighted it*' when he was shot dead.

"You cannot imagine the hot, burning, grievous toil our troops have endured during the last week. Officers and men returned from the batteries quite shrivelled up and as brown as berries." He adds, "I've been on duty for the last fifty hours."

Cocks, writing from Hattrass, sends the deposition of a man who had been in Delhi on Friday, and who appeared trustworthy. "The whole of Delhi," this man assured Cocks, "seems to have been in our hands excepting the Fort, batteries having been erected at the Jumma Musjid, the dak Bungalow, and the Chandnee Chouk." "The man seems to be depended on, and had brought a letter to a respectable Sahookar (banker) here."

Cocks adds, with great truth: "It is strange how

difficult it is to get the *οἱ πολλοί* (the multitude) to believe anything favourable to our cause, and how they swallow such ridiculous reports as are spread by the Rebels. *In fact this Mutiny has been spread by a clever system of unlimited lying and working upon the timidity of the people."*

Troops at Gwalior seem again to be, after much altercation, subservient for the time to Scindia, and may not march till after the Dassehrah. The Indore men still at Dholepore. We shall see the effects of the Delhi news on them.

I send a brief notice for the telegraph; this letter to be forwarded as usual by Post to the Governor-General.—Yours,

W. MuiR.

J. W. Sherer, Esq.,
Cawnpore.

AGRA, 22nd Sept., Morning.

MY DEAR SHERER,—I send duplicate of my yesterday letter and message. Nothing fresh in.

Cocks sends continued Native reports of the complete evacuation of the City. We must wait patiently.

As illustrating the "System of unlimited lying" practised by our opponents, I may mention that two days ago Cocks intercepted a Proclamation sent for publication throughout the country by Ghous Mahomed stating that on the 14th and 15th we had

been completely routed, that the King's forces were now in complete possession of our Camp on the heights, and that the " Infidels " were exterminated. It is by such deliberate and prodigious falsehood that the simple population have been misled. More, I hope, during the course of the day. W. M.

AGRA, 22ND SEPT 1857, 4 P.M.

M Y DEAR SHERER,— . . . Major Macpherson's newswriter's report has also come in, and I give an outline of it in the absence of our official record;—

On the 17th the King held a Durbar, and a great many Officers of the army were presented. They agreed that numbers of their Force were running away, and begged that H.M. would make arrangements for the security of the Fort. H.M. replied, " Attend you to the protection of the people; the security of the Fort will be my care." The Officers retired in wrath.

A hundred Cavalry and five hundred Sepoys were observed flying across the bridge. H.M. ordered them to be brought back. When they had come into the Royal presence H.M. thus addressed them: " You have introduced confusion into the City, and turned the whole country upside down, and now you are running off; this shall not be. Fight it out as well as you can

with the European soldiers." So they were obliged to encamp under the walls of the Fort.

The European force holds half the City—the environs of the Canal, the Lahore Gate, and the *Chandnee Chauk*. The Rebel force holds the quarter of the Hauz Caze, the Salam Begum, the space outside the Palace, and Durya Gunge. The English Camp is, as before, on the ridge. The Ryots are fleeing in all directions. Those that remain conceal themselves in their houses,—having provided themselves with a week's supplies,—and do not venture out. Doors of the Fort and City shut. H.M. is in the Fort. The confusion in the City is beyond description. The entrenchments of the English extend from near the Fort to the Lahore Gate. The general belief is that in two or three days,—or a week at most,—the City and the Fort will be entirely carried.

There is great contention between the Hindoos and Mahommedans. The latter accuse the former of not assisting them in the battles with the English.

It is reported that the English will put the King to death, and give the throne and the country to the Rajah of Pattiala. The rumour is a cause of grief to the King; and the Shahzadas, hearing it, are flying from the Fort.

The Europeans have occupied two or three of the large Bankers' houses, and made excellent arrangements

for the protection of the people, so that no Sepoy or King's servant can molest them. Two or three of the great Bankers are still in confinement in the Palace, but it is said they will be soon released. The Sepoys are committing great excesses among the inhabitants.

The European army is in great strength, and advances with fearful force.

Three regiments of Sepoys and one thousand Cavalry have gone towards Mewât and Bullubgurh, in the direction of Agra. Day and night they desert. The Gwalior and Indore troops have not yet made their appearance. When they arrive we shall see what they can effect;—

Is not this a Word-picture of confusion and distress ? The wretched King ! If he had only thought of it before.—Yours,

W. MuiR

W. Mum to H. C. TUCKER, of 7 *th* August 1857.

It is very painful to read Lord Ellenborough's debate on the Barrackpore Mutiny. Certainly no one in the country could say Government at all interferes in favour of Christianity. One can hardly conceive of any line of conduct more rigidly neutral. The only apparent exception is one which has been deservedly lauded, and which is in reality the carrying out of an equitable principle, viz. grants-in-aid

to Christian schools. But neither this, nor private subscriptions on the part of men in authority, have been in the slightest degree felt in the country practically as symptoms of a proselytizing spirit. It is also remarkable that, in all the wild outrages that have taken place, I have observed no mark of antipathy or exhibition of revenge against our Missions or the connected Establishments. The C. M. S. College here has fared, perhaps, better than the Government College. The truth is that the movement is a political one. Led on by designing men who seized on any convenient handle which they could twist against us, the Sepoys thought and (considering the rare appearance of a European Regiment) not unnaturally, that they formed the sole pillar of the Empire. Their pride and conceit were easily wrought upon by that idea. The ringleaders saw the opportunity for a grand revolution, in which ambition and avarice would be gratified. The better class were frightened into joining them by adroitly concocted lies, to which the Cartridge myth was regarded as giving a stamp of truth; and when one or two bad men had fired a shot, the whole Regiment held themselves compromised, and mutinied. The tale that the Sepoys were to be Christianised was no doubt a common and popular one in the hands of the ringleaders; but its mould and colour were all political. At no point

that I have seen was the tale grafted on the alleged existence of a grievance from our Missionary institutions, or their support by Officers of Government. I think Lord Ellenborough's assertion singularly unhappy, and believe, from observation, that the Natives do most thoroughly distinguish between a public and a private act in favour of Christianity; and I believe that it adds, in the opinion of the Natives, essentially to their esteem and confidence in us, when they see a man follow his convictions in privately supporting his own religion. It will be a sadly backward step if the Court of Directors think of shackling their Officers in this respect. If, with the Divine favour helping us, we get well through these difficulties, our Government will be infinitely stronger than before for all that is beneficial to the country, both physical and moral. I wish we could have looked forward to Mr. Colvin's hand in the remodelling of our institutions to suit our altered circumstances. Though much recovered, he is still far from being in the buoyant health he was three or four months ago, and the Medical men may advise a retreat. This is unfortunate, as there is no one so well fitted from experience, ability, and now from local knowledge, for reorganising our system.

W. MUIR to J. W. SHERER, of 28th November 1857.

A letter from Lloyd says, "that " he has every reason to believe that there will be little difficulty in restoring order in the Neemuch District, when once the Rebel invaders are expelled." The people themselves, in that vicinity, seem well affected.

W. MUIR to SHERER, of 12th December 1857.

Dinkur Rao's views are very satisfactory, and openly given. Though he does not conceal some of the defects of our administration, he asserts that the *people* were not discontented. That the revolt is *not* a popular one; and that the idea of interference with their religion did not extend beyond the soldiery.

W. Mum to C. BeADON, of 8th January 1858.

Hume's conviction, 0147 that the people, as a body, are most unmistakably and cordially with us," is quite in accordance with what the Officers of Seaton's Brigade said. One of them writing in a letter not meant for any official eye, says, "The people of the country " (speaking of the Etawah District) "hail our approach with delight."

W. MUIR to C. BEADON, of *12th January 1858.*

The rumours above referred to were circulated by the Cook-boys of the European Regiments and bad characters of the Sudder Bazar, which he describes as having been in a corrupt and dangerous state. The liberated prisoners, with electric rapidity, spread the news of the Revolt, and that very night hordes of robbers joined the vagabonds of the Bazaar in the savage riot. The respectable portion of the Community, as the evidence negatively proves, did not join in the riot.

LETTER
TO LORD CANNING,

*Containing result of inquiries into the alleged dis-
----- of European females at the time of the*

M u t i n i e s A G R A , 30TH December 1857.

M Y LORD,—I have now the honour to submit the result of the inquiries I have instituted in compliance with your Lordship's wishes expressed in the Private Secretary's letter, dated the 17 th December last.

I might have replied sooner, but I deemed that your Lordship would be desirous that the area of investigation should be as wide as possible, and to secure this object involved some little delay.

I propose despatching this by Cossid to-day, and a duplicate similarly to-morrow. I also propose sending a copy of my Memorandum with the original inclosures for your Lordship's satisfaction, by Bombay, unless (as I have reason to hope) a regular and safe Post be immediately opened between this and Cawnpore.

I venture to believe that your Lordship will view the result, substantiated generally by the opinions now submitted, as satisfactory. A melancholy satisfaction, indeed, it is; but such as may be calculated to lighten many a heart bowed down with a grief which

the thought of simple death, even in its cruellest form, would not occasion.—I remain, Your Lordship's faithful servant,

W. MUIR TO The Right

Governor-General.

MEMORANDUM

On receipt of His Lordship's instructions to submit any evidence I might be able to obtain as to the credibility of the statements current regarding the dishonour of English women during the late disturbances, I immediately addressed such Officers as appeared to me likely to possess the widest and most accurate information on the subject.

Attached to this Memorandum is a copy of the opinions which I have collected. I might have waited for others, but these are quite sufficient.

1. E. A. READE, Esq., Member S.B.R N-W.P.
2. F. WILLIAMS, Esq., Commr., Meerut.
3. Major G. W. WILLIAMS, Supt. Cant. Police.
4. Rev. T. C. SMYTH, Chaplain, Meerut.
5. C. B. SAUNDERS, Esq., Commr., Delhi.
6. C. B. THORNHILL, Esq., Offg. Secy. to Govt.,
N.-W.P.
7. E. ALEXANDER, Esq., Commr., ROhilkund.
8. A. H. COCKS, Esq., Special Commr., Allygurh.

I proceed to notice the several statements in detail.

I. The long service and great experience of Mr. E. A. Reade will add peculiar weight with His Lordship to his opinion. Mr. Reade has been in constant communication with the best informed Natives of this City; he has also been in correspondence with people of other quarters, and has had ample opportunity for inquiring into the evidence which has, from time to time, been received from the scene of the various tragedies. His deliberate opinion is that the stories of dishonour done to European females are generally false.

This conclusion he founds on the unvarying statement of eye-witnesses of the massacres. He adds as a supplementary reason that the colour of Europeans is repugnant to the Oriental taste, and that crimes of the nature alluded to never have been perpetrated, even when there was full opportunity for their perpetration. I do not myself allow the Natives of this country credit for dislike or insensibility towards the European complexion, and, even if admitted, it might not prove a conclusive argument in the present question, because it is apparently one of the current theories that dishonour was done, not to gratify passion, but to inflict pain and degradation upon the English name.

But the object of the Mutineers was, I believe, not so much to disgrace our name, as to wipe out all trace of Europeans, and of everything connected with Foreign rule.

In the massacres perpetrated with this object, the demon of cruelty was let loose, and barbarity in every inhuman shape indulged. The set of passions, however, called into play were, I conceive, distinct from those which would have tempted to the commission of the suspected practices. There was cold and heartless bloodthirstiness, at the furthest remove from the lust of desire.

As there was, therefore, no dishonour committed on principle, with the view of inflicting disgrace, so, likewise, as it appears to me, there was no dishonour done from passion.

Mr. Reade has mentioned the singular absence of this kind of crime in past times. But it has, I believe, been greatly owing to the awe with which Europeans have always been regarded by the Natives of India. This awe, it is true, was rudely violated when the Rebels ventured on their work of wholesale murder. But I apprehend that it still, at the very moment of the massacres, operated to chill and repress the idea of any familiar approach. I speak of the general Native feeling without venturing to assert that there may not *possibly* have been exceptions.

I have thought it right to add so much on my own part because the remarks of Mr. Reade appear open to some variety of opinion on the two points I have alluded to.

II. The second letter is from Mr. E. Williams, Commissioner of Meerut. He was present as Judge at the outbreak there, and had the best possible means, both then and afterwards, of reaching the truth. His evidence is decidedly against the Commission of any act of female dishonour.

The case of horrid mutilation after death of a pregnant lady, noticed by Mr. Williams, may serve, perhaps, to explain the manner in which the painful rumours of violation gained currency. Such diabolical outrage to the human frame hardly bears to be narrated. Words fail to express the shocking nature of the barbarity. But the very veiling of the transaction by the remark (a likely one in ordinary correspondence) that it is too horrible to be mentioned, would naturally lead the reader to the conclusion that the dishonour was of the worst character, and that the poor victims had been abandoned to the brutality of lust, as well as to the last cruelties of a fiendish rage.

I believe that the most of the stories, those which are not wanton fabrications, must have grown up in

this manner. The instance of the half-caste girl referred to in Mr. Williams's postscript is not one of the kind contemplated in the investigation directed by His Lordship.

III. Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Police Battalions, from his long connection with the Cantonment Police, his residence of some months at Meerut after the outbreak, and his employment in that district with the Volunteer Horse, is peculiarly qualified to give an opinion which may be relied on. His testimony, founded as well on the evidence of competent witnesses, as on the universal impression amongst the Natives, is that there was no dishonour done to our females at the breaking out of the disturbances anywhere.

It will be remarked that Major Williams's evidence extends to the massacres at Futtehghurh and Cawnpore. The inquiries which he has been prosecuting at the request of Government into the conduct of Native officials here, have brought him into contact with numerous persons able to give evidence on the subject.

IV. I requested Major Williams to procure a written statement from the Rev. T. C. Smyth, M.A., as he was said to know of some cases of the kind. But the deliberate opinion of Mr. Smyth, who has

been in the most favourable position for sifting the evidence, is that no females were violated at Meerut.

V. The report of Mr. Saunders, Offg. Commr., and Agent to the Lieut-Governor, at Delhi, is most complete and decisive that neither at Meerut nor Delhi was murder preceded by dishonour. Like Mr. Williams, it will be observed, he thinks it possible that some women of colour may have been forced to sacrifice their honour to save their lives but this is mentioned only as a possible case.

The evidence of Ramchunder is valuable. He is the Christian Delhi by Mr. Jennings, is an accomplished mathematician and was present. He was present in the City during the massacre, and is therefore in every respect a most competent witness as to the nature of the proceedings.

VI. Although Mr. C. B. Thornhill's views are already known to His Lordship, I thought it would be satisfactory to have a further recorded expression of them. Mr. Thornhill's position, officiating as the Secretary to Government, and the numerous inquiries which he has personally directed with the purpose of ascertaining the fate of near relatives, render his authority second to no other.

He states truly that Hindus, except of the lowest grade, would have become outcasts had they perpetrated this offence. Neither would Mahommedans have manner which supposed at home. Such procedure would have been repugnant to the feelings and habits of the country, and would have required strong and direct evidence to have secured a shows that there is absolutely none.

It must, however, be admitted that there is nothing in the habits or tenets of the Mussulman population which would prevent them from taking females seized at the outbreak designs. By the Mahommedan law, captives taken in war are not lawful to the captors till the expiry of at least a month and a half.¹ But since the Mahommedans have set their laws, human and Divine, at naught throughout the Rebellion, it is not to Laws would have checked observance of that period.

While, however, there is nothing to have prevented the Mahommedans from carrying off women whom they intended to keep alive, to their harems, all the evidence yet obtained is entirely opposed to the

¹ That is to prevent possibility of pregnancy beforehand :—a provision, however, hardly observed in the way of Islam, and notably disregarded by the Prophet himself.

supposition that ladies of English blood were anywhere reserved for that disgrace may have been instances in which females of colour have been forcibly subjected, or to save their lives have consented, to such treatment. Mr. Alexander's communication, numbered VII., refers to one or two cases supposed of this nature. But it must be remembered that as regards Rohilkund the evidence cannot be complete or satisfactory till our reoccupation of the Province.

There is one point, however, on which His Lordship may rest assured, namely, that wherever females, whether English or Eurasian, have been taken into the Mehals of Natives, *the fact cannot remain concealed*. All such cases will, as soon as we re-enter the locality in power, be susceptible of full inquiry and proof.

VIII. The note of Mr. Cocks (I have extracted from it all that relates to the subject) contains no direct evidence, excepting his belief that at Futtehgurh and Hissar no licentious insult was offered, and a statement of the general opinion that at Delhi the ladies and children were simply massacred. No stress need be laid on the boast of the Mutineer; even if correctly stated, it may have been an impudent and idle defiance, and anyhow, until closely inquired into it can carry no weight. Mere hearsay has so often turned out unfounded, or founded upon something

bearing quite another construction, that it cannot be received in this paper at any value.

In respect of Jhansie, there is evidence, direct and indirect, that there was there no dishonour done to the women. The same is the case with Cawnpore; the solitary exception being the story regarding Miss Wheler, the truth of which can be best sifted by Mr. Sherer on the spot.

My own views have been, perhaps, sufficiently stated in the foregoing remarks. But His Lordship may desire a more distinct expression of them.

My connection with the Intelligence Department at the Headquarters of the Government of Agra has brought me, during the past six months, into contact with Messengers and Spies from all parts of the country. I gladly add my testimony that nothing has come to my knowledge which would in the smallest degree support any of the tales of dishonour current in our public prints. Direct evidence, wherever procurable, has been steadily and consistently against them. The people—those who must know had there been cases of outraged honour, and would have told us—uniformly deny that such things were ever perpetrated or thought of. The understanding of the people on this point (if, as I believe, we have correctly apprehended it) cannot be wrong.

That there may not have possibly been exceptional instances it would be hazardous to assert until the occupation of the whole country and complete re-establishment of our power shall have given us the entire command of all available evidence. Judging, however, from the great accumulation of negative evidence, supported as it also is in many important points by direct and positive proof, it may safely be asserted that there are fair grounds for believing that violation before murder was in no case committed, and that, if women of colour have anywhere been carried off and dishonoured, such cases must be rare and peculiar, and have occurred under circumstances which in all likelihood will hereafter be explained.

It is necessary in conclusion to remark that this Memorandum applies especially to the N.-W.P., including Bundelkund and Oudh ; to those tracts, namely, where the Mutinies were the most fatal, and the ensuing anarchy the most widespread and disastrous. They apply indirectly to the Mutinies in all other quarters, so far as intelligence regarding them has reached us.

For the Stations from Cawnpore downwards His Lordship will probably be able to collect evidence more complete and circumstantial than we can obtain, from the Officers on the spot.

W. MUIR.

