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978-1-108-02324-5 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 2

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

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### **Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8**

This six-volume *History of the Indian Mutiny* (reissued here in its second edition of 1897) was first produced in 1890 by Colonel George Malleeson (1825-98), who combined Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India* with his own later work. Kaye (1814-76) was a prolific writer of biography and history who founded the *Calcutta Review* in 1844. His use of first-hand evidence, collected from personal and professional contacts, supports (perhaps predictably) his assertion that the rebellion is a story of British 'national character', and the narrative is illustrated with biographical and personal anecdotes. Malleeson's contributions however are derived from his controversial 'Red Pamphlet' (1857) and other writings, in which he is unafraid to criticise or praise British troops and administration as the occasion demands. Volume 2 covers Delhi history and the spread of the revolt from Meerut to Allahabad and Cawnpore, concluding with the battle of Najafgahr and the siege of Delhi.

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# Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–8

VOLUME 2

SIR JOHN KAYE  
GEORGE BRUCE MALLEESON



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# INDIAN MUTINY

OF

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

EDITED BY  
COLONEL MALLEESON, C.S.I.

*NEW EDITION*

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. II.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I., F.R.S.

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I SHOULD HAVE DEDICATED

THESE VOLUMES

TO

LORD CANNING,

HAD HE LIVED;

I NOW INSCRIBE THEM REVERENTIALLY

TO HIS MEMORY.

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. . . FOR TO THINK THAT AN HANDFUL OF PEOPLE CAN, WITH THE  
GREATEST COURAGE AND POLICY IN THE WORLD, EMBRACE TOO LARGE EXTENT  
OF DOMINION, IT MAY HOLD FOR A TIME, BUT IT WILL FAIL SUDDENLY.—  
*Bacon.*

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. . . AS FOR MERCENARY FORCES (WHICH IS THE HELP IN THIS CASE),  
ALL EXAMPLES SHOW THAT, WHATSOEVER ESTATE, OR PRINCE, DOTR REST  
UPON THEM, HE MAY SPREAD HIS FEATHERS FOR A TIME, BUT HE WILL MEW  
THEM SOON AFTER.—*Bacon.*

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IF THERE BE FUEL PREPARED, IT IS HARD TO TELL WHENCE THE SPARK  
SHALL COME THAT SHALL SET IT ON FIRE. THE MATTER OF SEDITIONS IS OF  
TWO KINDS, MUCH POVERTY AND MUCH DISCONTENTMENT. IT IS CERTAIN, SO  
MANY OVERTHROWN ESTATES, SO MANY VOTES FOR TROUBLES. . . . THE  
CAUSES AND MOTIVES FOR SEDITION ARE, INNOVATIONS IN RELIGION, TAXES,  
ALTERATION OF LAWS AND CUSTOMS, BREAKING OF PRIVILEGES, GENERAL  
OPPRESSION, ADVANCEMENT OF UNWORTHY PERSONS, STRANGERS, DEATHS,  
DISBANDED SOLDIERS, FACTIONS GROWN DESPERATE; AND WHATSOEVER IN  
OFFENDING PEOPLE JOINETH AND KNITTETH THEM IN A COMMON CAUSE.—  
*Bacon.*



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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.



THE editing of the second volume of Sir John Kaye's History has been regulated on the same principle as was the first. The text has been left intact. In the few instances in which the Editor has believed that the conclusions arrived at by the distinguished author were not warranted by facts, he has intimated his dissent, and his reasons for that dissent, in notes bearing his initials. The Appendix has been somewhat reduced, either by the omission or the abbreviation of matter which seemed superfluous, or by the transfer as notes to the pages indicated of corrections made by the author in editions subsequent to the first. The spelling of proper names has, moreover, been made to conform to the more correct system now happily coming into general use.

Under ordinary circumstances the Editor would have refrained from adding to the above short explanation. It has been represented to him, however, that as the present CABINET EDITION will appeal to a large class who may not have the opportunity of referring to a Gazetteer, it would add considerably to the value of the work if he were to add a short description of the geographical position of the principal places mentioned in each volume. To comply with this suggestion the Editor has compiled, partly from an excellent little work—the very best of its kind—entitled “School Geography of India

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and British Burmah," by the late Professor Blochmann;\* and partly from the new edition of "Thornton's Gazetteer;" a list of forty-six places mentioned in this volume. He has also appended, to the chapter to which it refers, an excellent sketch of the Imperial City of Dehli, the original of which was kindly given to him some time since by Mr. Atkinson of the Record Office.

G. B. M.

1 *November*, 1888.

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\* Published at Calcutta by the Calcutta Schoolbook Society.

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## P R E F A C E

BY SIR JOHN KAYE.

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WHEN the first volume of this book was published, I had little expectation that the second would be so long in course of completion, as the result has shown it to have been. In truth, I had not measured aright the extent of the work before me. But when I came to take account of the wealth of my materials, and to reflect upon the means of converting them into history, I saw clearly that the task I had undertaken was a more arduous and perplexing one than I had originally supposed.

It is not difficult to make the reader understand my perplexities; and I hope that, understanding, he will sympathise with them. The events to be narrated covered a large area of space, but were compressed within a small period of time. Chronologically they moved along parallel lines, but locally they were divergent and distracting. The question was how it was best to deal historically with all these synchronous incidents. To have written according to date, with some approach to fidelity of detail, a number of separate narratives, each illustrative of a particular day, or of a particular week, would have been easy to the writer, and would in some sort have represented the character of the crisis, one of the most distinguishing features of which was derived from the confusion and distraction engendered by the multiplicity of simultaneous outbursts in different parts of the country. This mode of treatment, however, though it might accurately reflect the situation, was not likely to gratify the reader. The multiplicity of personal and local names rapidly succeeding each other would have bewildered him, and no distinct impression would have been left upon his mind. But though the nature of the subject utterly forbade all thought of unity of place and unity of action, with reference to the scope of the entire work,

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there was a certain unification of the several parts which was practicable, and which suggested what might be called an episodical treatment of the subject, with such connecting links, or such a general framework or setting, as historical truth might permit. And, in fact, different parts of the country were so cut off from each other when mutiny and rebellion were at their height, that each series of operations for the suppression of local revolt had a separate and a distinct character. Certainly, in the earlier stages of the War, there was no general design—little co-operation or cohesion. Every man did what was best in his eyes to meet with vigour and sagacity an unexpected crisis. The cutting of our telegraph-wires and the interruption of our posts were among the first hostile efforts of the insurgents in all parts of the country. Joint action on a large scale was thus rendered impossible, and at the commencement of the War it would scarcely have been desirable. For our people had to deal promptly with urgent symptoms, and references and consultations would have been fatal to success.

Thus circumstanced with respect to the component parts of this History, I could not easily determine to what particular events it would be best to give priority of narration. One thing soon became unpleasantly apparent to me. I had made a mistake in forecasting the plan of the entire work, in an "Advertisement" prefixed to the First Volume. It was impossible to write adequately, in this instalment of my book, of all the operations which I had originally intended to record. With materials of such great interest before me, it would have been unwise to starve the narrative; so I thought it best to make confession of error, and expunge my too-hasty promises from subsequent editions of the work. In pursuance of this revised scheme, I was compelled to put aside much that I had written for this Second Volume, and though this has necessarily retarded its publication, it has placed me so much in advance with the work to be accomplished, that I hope to be able to produce the next volume after a much shorter interval of time.

The selection made for this volume from the chapters which I had written may not perhaps be the best, but it is at least sufficiently intelligible. After describing the earlier incidents of the mutiny, as at Míráth and Dehli, at Banáras and Alláhábád, and at different stations in the Panjáb, I have narrated, up to a

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certain point, those two great series of operations—the one expedition starting from Bengal with troops drawn from the Littoral, the other from the North-Western Frontier, with forces derived from the Hill Stations and the Panjáb—which were consummated in the capture of Dehli and the first relief of Lakhnao. In the one I have traced the movements of Neill and Havelock, under the direction of Lord Canning, and in the other of Anson, Barnard, Wilson, and Nicholson, with the aid and inspiration of Sir John Lawrence. It is by thus following the fortunes of individuals that we may best arrive at a just conception of the general action of the whole. For it was by the energies of individual men, acting mostly on their own responsibility, that little by little rebellion was trodden down, and the supremacy of the English firmly re-established. It will be seen that I have adhered very closely to pure narrative. The volume, indeed, is a volume of fact, not of controversy and speculation; and as it relates to the earlier scenes of the great struggle for the Empire, it is mostly an account of military revolt and its suppression.

Dealing with the large mass of facts, which are reproduced in the chapters now published, and in those which, though written, I have been compelled to reserve for future publication, I have consulted and collated vast piles of contemporary correspondence, and entered largely into communication, by personal intercourse or by letter, with men who have been individually connected with the events described. For every page published in this volume some ten pages have been written and compiled in aid of the narrative; and if I have failed in the one great object of my ambition, to tell the truth, without exaggeration on the one hand or reservation on the other, it has not been for want of earnest and laborious inquiry or of conscientious endeavour to turn my opportunities to the best account, and to lay before the public an honest exposition of the historical facts as they have been unfolded before me.

Still it is probable that the accuracy of some of the details in this volume, especially those of personal incident, may be questioned, perhaps contradicted, notwithstanding, I was about to say, all the care that I have taken to investigate them, but I believe that I should rather say “by reason of that very care.” Such questionings or contradictions should not be too readily accepted; for, although the authority of the questioner may be good, there may be still better authority on the other side. I

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have often had to choose between very conflicting statements; and I have sometimes found my informants to be wrong, though apparently with the best opportunities of being right, and have been compelled to reject, as convincing proof, even the overwhelming assertion, "But, I was there." Men who are personally engaged in stirring events are often too much occupied to know what is going on beyond the little spot of ground which holds them at the time, and often from this restricted stand-point they see through a glass darkly. It is hard to disbelieve a man of honour when he tells you what he himself did; but every writer, long engaged in historical inquiry, has had before him instances in which men, after even a brief lapse of time, have confounded in their minds the thought of doing, or the intent to do, a certain thing, with the fact of having actually done it. Indeed, in the commonest affairs of daily life, we often find the intent mistaken for the act, in the retrospect.

The case of Captain Rosser's alleged offer to take a Squadron of Dragoons and a troop of Horse Artillery to Dehli on the night of the 10th of May (illustrated in the Appendix)\* may be regarded as an instance of this confusion. I could cite other instances. One will suffice:—A military officer of high rank, of stainless honour, with a great historical reputation, invited me some years ago to meet him, for the express purpose of making to me a most important statement, with reference to one of the most interesting episodes of the Sipáhi War. The statement was a very striking one; and I was referred, in confirmation of it, to another officer, who has since become illustrious in our national history. Immediately on leaving my informant, I wrote down as nearly as possible his very words. It was not until after his death that I was able orally to consult the friend to whom he had referred me, as being personally cognisant of the alleged fact—the only witness, indeed, of the scene described. The answer was that he had heard the story before, but that nothing of the kind had ever happened. The asserted incident was one, as I ventured to tell the man who had described it to me at the time, that did not cast additional lustre on his reputation; and it would have been obvious, even if he had rejoiced in a less unblemished reputation, that

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\* [Transferred in sufficient detail as a footnote to the page in which the transaction is recorded.—G. B. M.]

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it was not for self-glorification, but in obedience to an irrepressible desire to declare the truth, that he told me what afterwards appeared to be not an accomplished fact, but an intention unfulfilled. Experiences of this kind render the historical inquirer very sceptical even of information supposed to be on "the best possible authority." Truly, it is very disheartening to find that the nearer one approaches the fountain-head of truth, the further off we may find ourselves from it.\*

But, notwithstanding such discouraging instances of the difficulty of extracting the truth, even from the testimony of truthful men, who have been actors in the scenes to be described, I cannot but admit the general value of such testimony to the writer of contemporary history. And, indeed, there need be some advantages in writing of events still fresh in the memory of men to compensate for its manifest disadvantages. These disadvantages, however, ought always to be felt by the writer rather than by the reader. It has been often said to me, in reply to my inquiries, "Yes, it is perfectly true. But these men are still living, and the truth cannot be told." To this my answer has been: "To the historian all men are dead." If a writer of contemporary history is not prepared to treat the living and the dead alike—to speak as freely and as truthfully of the former as of the latter, with no more reservation in the one case than in the other—he has altogether mistaken his vocation, and should look for a subject in prehistoric times. There are some actors in the scenes here described of whom I do not know whether they be living or whether they be dead. Some have passed away from the sphere of worldly exploits whilst this volume has been slowly taking shape beneath my pen. But if this has in any way influenced the character of my writing, it has only been by imparting increased tenderness to my judgment of men who can no longer defend themselves or explain their conduct to the world. Even this offence, if it be one against historical truth, I am not conscious of having actually committed.

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\* It may be mentioned here (though not directly in confirmation of the above) as a curious illustration of the difficulty of discerning between truth and error, that the only statement seriously impugned in a former work of history by the author of this book, was the only one which he had made as the result of his own personal knowledge—the only fact which he had witnessed with his own eyes.

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I have but a few more words to say, but because I say them last it must not be thought that I feel them least. I am painfully sensible that in this narrative I have failed to do justice to the courage and constancy of many brave men, whose good deeds deserved special illustration in this narrative, and would have received it, but for the exigencies of time and space, which have forbidden an ampler record. This, perhaps, may be more apparent in other volumes than in this. But, whatever may be the omissions in this respect, I do not think that they will be attributed to any want of appreciation of the gallantry and fortitude of my countrymen in doing and in suffering. No one could rejoice more in the privilege of illustrating their heroic deeds than the author of these volumes. It is one of the best compensations of historical labour to be suffered to write of exploits reflecting so much honour upon the character of the nation.

J. W. K.

PENGE—*Midsummer*, 1870.



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LIST AND SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES  
MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME.



- AGRA** or **ÁGRAH**, on the river Jamnah, formerly a village, made by Sikandar Lodi the Capital of India. It continued as such till the reign of Sháh Jahán. The fort, built during the reign of Akbar, contains a palace and several beautiful buildings. It is now the head-quarters of the civil division of the same name. In 1857 the population of the city was about 140,000.
- ALLÁHÁBÁD**, formerly called Prayága, situated at the confluence of the Jamnah and the Ganges. The fort, resting on the Jamnah, was built by Akbar. Alláhábád is now the seat of the Government of the North-West Provinces, and is the centre of the railway system of Northern India.
- AMBÁLAH**, capital of Sirhind, situated on an open plain, three miles east of the river Chaghar, fifty-five miles north of Karnál, sixty-nine miles south-east of Lodiáná.
- AMRITSAR**, chief town of the division of the same name, is the sacred capital of the Sikhs. The district is bounded on the north-west by the river Rávi, on the north-east by the district of Gurdáspúr, and on the south-west by the district of Láhor.
- ÁZAMGARH**, chief town of the district of the same name, in the Banáras division. It was founded by Azam Khán, an officer of Sháh Jahán.
- BALANSHAHAR** (from the Persian *baland*, high, and *shahr*, town), chief town of the district of the same name in the Mírath division.
- BANÁRAS**, also called Káshí, on the Ganges, a holy city of the Hindus famous for its ghauts, its temples, its minarets, and the observatory of Rájah Jai Singh of Jaipúr. It is the head-quarters of the division of the same name.
- BARRACKPÚR**, or the city of barracks, fifteen miles from Calcutta, on the left bank of the Húglí: selected more than a hundred years ago as the site for the troops to protect the capital.
- BARHÁMPÚR**, a station in the Murshidábád district, south of the city of that name, formerly the capital of Bengal. Barhám-púr is a civil station.
- CHANÁR**, an ancient fortress in the Mírzápúr district of the Banáras division; twenty-six miles from Banáras, and twenty from Mírzápúr.
- DAMDAMAH**, incorrectly written Dumlum, formerly the head-quarters of Artillery, now a suburb of Calcutta, from which it is distant four and a-half miles.

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**DEHLI**, written also *Dihlī* and *Dilli*, a city on a branch of the *Jamnah*. The present city was built by *Shāh Jahān*, and was called by the *Mughul Court*, in consequence, *Shāhjahānābād*. The neighbourhood abounds in historical recollections. In 1857, it had a population of about 150,000.

**DEHRĀ DŪN**, a district in the *Mīrath* division, at the foot of the *Himālayas*, of which *Dehrā*, the head-quarters of the 2nd *Gurkha Regiment*, is the capital.

**DERĀJĀT**, a division in the *Panjāb*, comprising the *Trans-Indus* territory, and the *Sindh Sāgar Duāb*, north of *Muzaffargarh* district.

**FAIZĀBĀD**, in *Oudh*, chief town of the district and division of the same name, on the *Ghāghrā*: famous as the birthplace of *Rām*.

**FARRUKHĀBĀD**, on the *Ganges*, chief town of a district in the *Āgra* division. The English civil station is called *Fathgarh*.

**FATGARH**, incorrectly spelt *Futteghurh*, three miles from *Farrukhābād* (q. v.).

**FATHPŪR**, sometimes but incorrectly spelt *Futtehpore*, chief town of the district of the same name in the *Allāhābād* division: seventeen miles north-west of *Allāhābād*, and fifty south-east of *Kānhpūr*.

**FIRŪZPŪR**, south of the river *Satlaj*, a military and civil station in the *Lāhor* division of the *Panjāb*.

**GOVINDGARH**, a fort built at *Amritsār* (q. v.) by *Ranjīt Singh* to overawe the *Sikh* pilgrims.

**GURDĀSPŪR**, the capital of a district in the *Amritsār* division of the *Panjāb*, bounded on the north by *Kashmīr*, on the east by *Kāngrah*, on the south by the *Amritsar*, and on the west by the *Siālkot*, district.

**HAZĀRAH**, on the left side of the *Indus*, north of *Rāwalpindī*. This district forms the northernmost part of *British India*, running between the *Indus* and the *Jhelam*, and then passing in long but narrow strips, called *Kāghān*, along the north-western frontier of *Kashmīr*. It is watered by the *Nainsukh* river, a tributary of the *Jhelam*.

**HISĀR**, a division, now forming part of the *Panjāb*, west of *Dehli*. In this division is the town of *Hānsī*, famous in the history of the decline of the *Mughuls*.

**HOTI MARDĀN**, a cantonment in the *Peshāwar* division, the head-quarters of the famous *Corps of Guides*. It lies on the right bank of the *Chalpanī* river, and is thirty-three miles north-east of *Peshāwar*.

**HŪGLĪ** (name derived from *hogla*, marsh reeds), is a town in the district of the same name, in the division *Bardwān*, in *Western Bengal*. It was one of the earliest *English* settlements. *Hūglī* is also the name of the branch of the *Ganges* on which *Calcutta* is built.

**JĀLANDHAR**, a division of the *Panjāb* comprising the districts of *Jālandhar*, *Hoshiārpūr*, and *Kāngrah*.

**JAUNPŪR**, a town on the *Gumti*, formerly capital of the ancient kingdom of *Jaunpūr*, and now chief town of the district of the same name in the *Banāras* division. It is famous for a bridge over the *Gumti*, built by a general of the famous *Akbar*, in 1573.

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## SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

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**JHELAM**, a district of the Ráwalpindí division. Its chief town, a military station in 1857, bears the same name. Jhelam is also the name of one of the five great rivers of the Panjáb. It has a length of about 450 miles.

**KÁNHPÚR** (sometimes illogically written Cawnpore), is derived from two words: "Káuh," a name of Krishna, and "Púr," a city. It lies on the right bank of the Ganges, 628 miles from Calcutta, and 130 from Alláhábád.

**KARNÁL**, the chief town of a district in the Dehli division, formerly a military station. It is on the high road between Dehli and Ambálah.

**KASHMÍR**, as now constituted, is bounded on the north-west by the district of Hazárah; on the west by the districts of Hazárah, Ráwalpindí, and Jhelam, the river Jhelam forming the boundary; to the south by the districts of Gujrát, Siálkot, Gurdáspúr, and Kángrah; by the States of Chambá, Láhul, and Spiti; to the east by the Chinese empire; and to the north by the Karákoram range.

**KOHÁT**, capital of district of same name, lies on the road from Pesháwar to Kalábágh. It is thirty-seven miles south of Pesháwar.

**LÁHOR**, on the Ráví, is chief town of the division of the same name, and capital of the Panjáb.

**LAKHNAO**: *vide* OUDH.

**LODIÁNÁ**, chief town of the district of the same name in the Ambálah division. Lodiáná was built by some generals of Sikandar Lodí, and was named after that prince. The town is eight miles south of the Satlaj.

**MIAN-MÍR**, the cantonment of Láhör, three miles distant from the civil station. It derives its name from a famous saint.

**MÍRATH**, the chief town of a district and division of the same name, sometimes incorrectly spelt Meerut, is on the river Kálnadi; it is twenty-five miles from the Jamnah, and twenty-nine from the Ganges.

**NAOSHÁHRA**, a village and cantonment in the Pesháwar district, twenty-six miles east of Pesháwar, on the Kábul river.

**OUDH**, a province bounded on the north by Nipál, and on the three other sides by the north-western provinces of India. The principal stations in Oudh are Lakhnao, the capital; Barahbankí, Unao, Rái-Baréki, Sul-tánpúr, Partágarh, Faizábád, Gondah, Báhraich, Sitápúr, Harduí, and Khéri. The total area is 23,992 square miles, and the population, in 1857, amounted to nearly eleven millions.

**PÁNÍPAT**, a town in the Karnál district of the Dehli division, famous for the decisive battles fought there, and for the turbulent character of its people.

**PANJÁB**, the—the land, as its name signifies, of five rivers—is bounded in the north by Kábul and Sawád (commonly Swat), Kashmir, Thibet; to the east by Thibet, the Jamnah, and the North-West Provinces; to the south by the same Provinces, by Bikánír and Jaisalmir in Rajpútána, and by Sindh; to the west, by the Sulaimáni range and Afghanistan. In 1857, the Dehli division was not included in the Panjáb territory.

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## SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

**PESHÁWAR**, more correctly Pasháwar, (it was formerly spelt Pársháwar), is the chief town of the division of the same name. It lies near the left bank of the Bára stream, thirteen and a half miles south-east of the junction of the Sawád and Kábul rivers, and ten and a half from the fort of Jamrud at the entrance of the Khaibar Pass. It is 276 miles from Láhor and 190 from Kábul.

**PHILUR**, a town in the Jálándhar division, on the right bank of the Satlaj, eight miles north-north-west of Lodiána.

**RÁWALPINDÍ**, the chief station of the division of the same name in the Panjáb. The division comprises the district also called Ráwalpindí, the fort of Atak, on the Indus, built by Akbar in 1583, and the districts Jhelam, Gujráat, and Sháhpúr.

**RÚRKÍ**, a cantonment for sappers and British troops in the Mirath division. The Thomason Engineering College is here. Rúrkí is twenty-two miles east of Saháranpúr.

**SIÁLKOT**, chief town of a district in the Amritsar division of the Panjáb. It is seventy-two miles north-east of Láhor.

**SRIRÁMPÚR**, on the Húglí, opposite Barrackpúr. Noted for the labours of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, in missionary enterprise. Was formerly incorrectly called Serampoie.

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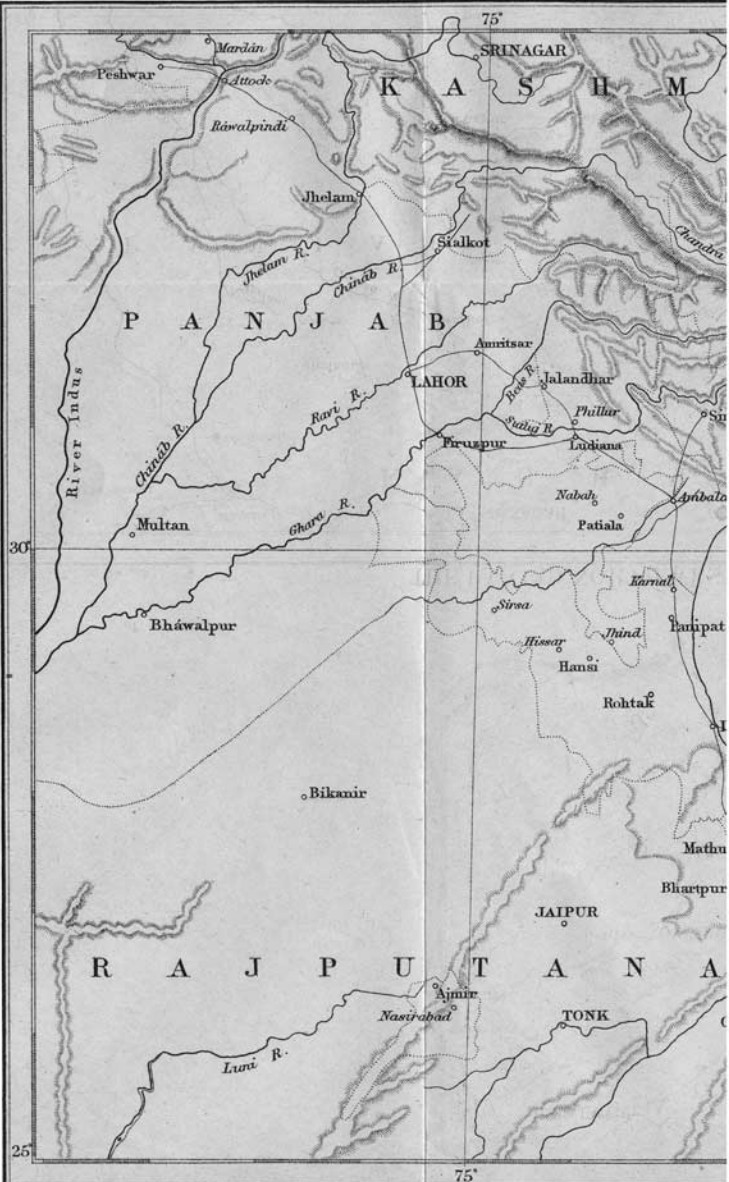
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