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978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

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 3 covers areas including Bengal and Bihar, Agra, the central and north-west, Oudh and Lucknow, and includes character assessments and discussions of conditions and causes.

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Frontmatter

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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VOLUME 3

SIR JOHN KAYE
GEORGE BRUCE MALLEESON



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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INDIAN MUTINY

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Cambridge University Press

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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OF
1857-8

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John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TO
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I., C.B.

A FRIENDSHIP OF THIRTY YEARS'
DURATION, THE VALUE OF WHICH I NEED NOT
HERE ESTIMATE, IS MY SOLE, BUT SUFFICIENT, REASON
FOR THE EXERCISE OF THE MOST GRACEFUL
PRIVILEGE OF AN AUTHOR, IN DEDICATING TO YOU THESE
PAGES, WHEREIN YOUR NAME OCCUPIES
A CONSPICUOUS PLACE IN CONNECTION WITH THE
MEMORABLE EVENTS WHICH I HAVE
ENDEAVOURED, FAITHFULLY AND IMPARTIALLY,
TO RECORD.

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John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PREFACE TO THE CABINET EDITION.



IN offering this volume to the public I take the opportunity of stating that I have re-read and re-examined all the documents and authorities on which the first edition was based; and that, while I have found it impossible to change the opinions then recorded with respect to any one phase of the history or any one individual therein mentioned I have re-written many passages which seemed obscure, and have added notes on all points, the meaning of which might be misinterpreted. If I may judge from the criticisms which appeared on the previous editions, there were but two matters on which any difference of opinion really existed. The first of these differences related to the case of Mr. William Tayler of Patná; the other to Lieutenant-General Lionel Showers. The second of these I have treated alike in the text and in the Appendix. The first needs some further remark here.

The treatment in this edition of the occurrences of 1857 in the Bihár division of which Patná was the capital and Mr. William Tayler the Commissioner, stands precisely as it did in the first edition. When I first wrote on this subject in the year of the Mutiny, in a work which obtained honourable mention as "The Red Pamphlet," not only did I not know Mr. Tayler, but I had felt a strong prejudice against him, based upon his reputation as a caricaturist. In the presence, however, of facts which I witnessed on the spot, all my prejudices disappeared, and when I wrote of him, still not knowing him, I strove to render him the justice which his splendid conduct under most trying circumstances seemed to me to deserve.

Called upon, twenty years later, to complete the work which

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

PREFACE TO THE CABINET EDITION.

Sir John Kaye had left unfinished, I again approached the subject with a mind absolutely unbiased. I had never looked forward to the prospect of writing a History of the Mutiny, and I had not concerned myself with Mr. Tayler's case since the days of the "Red Pamphlet." I determined then to study the subject *de novo*, and to record only such facts as would stand the test of the most minute inquiry. Had I been capable of being biased by my interests, I should not have inclined towards Mr. Tayler, for while he, comparatively poor, and possessing few influential friends, sat in the cold shade of the displeasure of the ruling powers, his opponent, Sir Frederick Halliday, basked in the warm sunshine of a seat in the Indian Council. But I thought only of finding out the truth, and of submitting the results of my investigations to my fellow-countrymen. The end of it was that my investigations confirmed the impressions which had been made upon me and upon all the independent minds of Calcutta and Bihár in 1857. I had the satisfaction also of knowing that the same process had led minds such as those of Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir John Low, Sir Vincent Eyre, Sir Henry Havelock, and most of the chief actors in the Mutiny, to the same conclusion; that Sir John Kaye, with all the resources of the India Office at his disposal, had recorded a similar verdict. Subsequently other gentlemen who approached the subject from a different standpoint—Mr. T. R. E. Holmes on the one side, and Captain Lionel Trotter on the other—equally resolved to search out the truth and to record it, were impelled to the same conviction. The evidence, in fact, is overwhelming; it has never been met; it is incontrovertible.

Ten years have elapsed since the volume containing my deliberate conclusions on the Tayler-Halliday question was published. Those conclusions were not questioned by a single critic. It soon appeared, in fact, that the minds of the thinking portion of the people of England had previously arrived at the conclusion that a great miscarriage of justice had occurred. My book was the spark which kindled that feeling into action; for, shortly afterwards, several members of the House of Commons, representing a very much larger body of men outside, petitioned the Government for an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the removal of Mr. Tayler from the office which he had held with such enormous advantages to the country. Amongst those who signed that petition was the present Under Secretary to the India Office, Sir John Gorst.

Cambridge University Press

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John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PREFACE TO THE CABINET EDITION.

ix

But, although, as I have said, ten years have elapsed, no inquiry has been allowed. The Government of the day, whichever side was in power, has always shirked the question. When, in the course of last year, Sir Roper Lethbridge and Sir Henry Havelock did ask for an inquiry, their demand was at once met by putting forward a side-issue, and by successfully persuading the House of Commons that this side-issue was the main issue. The arguments for the main issue, ably put by the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned, were left absolutely unanswered. They were not even referred to. The action of Sir John Gorst on this occasion reminded me of the action of a certain Counsel for the Crown, who, desiring to move the court against the pardon of a man who had been wrongfully transported for life, remarked, that whatever might be the merits of the case on which the man had been transported, it could not be denied that when he was a boy he had stolen an apple!

There can be no stronger testimony to the soundness of Mr. Tayler's case than the persistency with which Officialdom has always declined and still declines to meet it fairly.

Apart from this case and from the solitary objection of General Showers to the "merciful silence" with which I treated him in previous editions, there is no criticism which calls for remark. In many places the additions I have made are tantamount to a re-writing; I have endeavoured, in fact, as far as possible, to make the work complete. Conscious of the spirit in which it has been written, and the long labour freely given, I would fain hope that this volume, its predecessors, and its successors may find a permanent place on the shelves of those who are desirous of possessing a true record of the events of the great Indian Mutiny.

G. B. MALLEESON.

27, West Cromwell Road,
February 14, 1889.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

LIST AND SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES
MENTIONED IN THIS, AND NOT DESCRIBED
IN THE PRECEDING VOLUME.



ÁBÚ, Mount, a sanitarium in the Sirohí principality of Rájputáná. The highest peak is 5,700 feet above the sea. It is forty miles from Díśá.

AJMÍR, the division of, is separated from the bulk of the north-western provinces by Jaipúr, Tonk, and other allied states. Its area is 2,672 square miles, and its population, in 1857, was 415,000 souls. The south-western part of it is called Mairwára. The chief town, also called Ajmír, lies at the foot of a fortified hill, on which is the mausoleum of the first Muhammadan saint of India, Muñuddín Chishtí, of Sijistán, to whose tomb Akbar and his successors frequently made pilgrimages.

ALÍGARH, a district containing 1,860 square miles. The chief town, also called Alígarh, is defended by a fort, which was stormed by Lord Lake in 1803. It is on the high road between Kánhpúr and Mírath.

ALWAR, a native state in Rájputáná, north of Jaipúr, and west of Mathurá. Area, 3,573 square miles; population, 700,000. The chief town, Alwar, has a fort.

AURANGÁBÁD, a city in the dominions of the Nizam, on the Dúdná; is famous for its manufacture of silks, brocades, and tissues, and for its gardens. It lies 250 miles north-east of Bombay.

ÁRAH, chief town of the district of Sháhábád, in the division of Patná.

BUDÁUN, a district in the Rohilkhand division. The chief town is also called Budáun.

BHARATPÚR, the district of, in Rájputáná, is bounded to the west by Alwar; to the south by Jajpúr, Karaulí, Dholpúr, and Ágra district; to the east by Mathurá and Ágra; and to the north by the Panjáb. The inhabitants are principally Játs. The chief town, also called Bharatpúr, is famous for the sieges it sustained against Lord Lake and Lord Combermere.

BHOPÁL, a native state in Málwá, ruled over by a Muhammadan lady. The Narbadá forms its southern boundary. The chief town, near the Betwá, is also called Bhopál.

CHAMBAL, the river, rises near Máu, flows by the towns of Kotá and Dholpúr, and falls into the Jamnah forty miles below Itáwah.

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John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

xi

- DHOLPÚR**, a native state in Rájputáná. The capital, of the same name, possesses several fine mosques and mausoleums, built by Sádik Khán, an officer of Akbar. The state is bounded on the north and north-east by the Ágra district; on the south-east by the Chambal; and on the west, by the Karauli and Bharatpúr states.
- FATHPÚR-SÍKRÍ**, south-west of Ágra; the residence of the Emperor Akbar, who gave it its prefix to commemorate his conquest of Gújrát, the original name having been SÍKRÍ.
- GAYÁ**, chief town of the district of the same name in the division of Patná; famous for its places of pilgrimage and its Buddhistic remains.
- GHÁGRÁ**, the, a river in Oudh, which, rising in Nípál, runs through the districts of Kherí, Bahráich, Gondah, Bárah Bankí, and Faizábád, and falls into the Ganges at Chaprá.
- GORÁKHPÚR**, a town in the division of the same name, on the Ráptí. The division is bounded on the north by Nípál; on the east by the Ghandak; on the south by the Ghághrá; and on the west by Oudh.
- GUMTÍ**, the, a river in the Sháhjahánpúr district; runs a course of 500 miles through the Oudh districts of Kherí, Lakhnao, and Sultánpúr, and falls into the Ganges not far from Banáras.
- GWÁLÍÁR**, chief town of Sindhiá's dominions, on the Súbanrekhá, between Dholpúr and Jhánsí. The fortress is one of the most famous in India.
- HAMÍRPÚR**, chief town of a district in the Allahábád division, at the confluence of the Jannah and Betwá.
- INDÚR**, capital of the possessions of Máhárájah Holkar, situate on a plain on the left bank of the Khán river. It is distant, from Ágra, 402 miles; from Dehli, 494; from Nímach, 142; from Ságar, 224; from Allahábád, 557; from Calcutta, 1,030; from Bombay, 377.
- ITÁWAH**, chief town of a district of the same name in the Ágra division, on the river Jannah.
- JALPÁIGURÍ**, on the Tístá, chief town of district of the same name in Koch Bihár.
- JAMNAH**, the, rises at the south-western base of the Jamnatri peaks, in Gahrwál, at an elevation of 10,849 feet, traverses the districts of Dehrá Dún, Saháranpur, Muzaffarnagar, Ambála, Karnál, Gurgáon, Míráth, Balandshahr, Aligarh, Mathurá, Ágra, Itáwah, Kánipúr, Jaláun, Hamírúpúr, Fathpúr, Bandah, and Allahábád. After a course of 860 miles it mingles with the Ganges at the last-named place.
- JHÁNSÍ**, chief town of the division of the same name in Bundelkhand, south of Ágra.
- JODHPÚR** (also called Márwár), a native state in Rájputáná. The capital is also called JODHPÚR.
- KOTÁ**, capital of a native state of the same name in Rájputáná. It lies on the Chambal, and is strongly fortified.
- LALATPÚR**, chief town of a district of the same name in the Jhánsí division.
- MATHURÁ**, a town in the Ágra division, renowned in Hindu mythological history. It is on the Jannah, thirty miles from Ágra.

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978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

MÁU (incorrectly written Mhow, in spite of the fact that the original name is innocent of the letter "h"), a town and cantonment in the Indúr state (Holkar's); thirteen miles south-west of the town of Indúr.

MEWÁR: *vide* UDAÍPÚR.

MÍRZÁPÚR, a town on the Ganges, fifty-six miles from Alláhábád.

MURÁDÁBÁD, chief town of the district of the same name in Rohilkhand, on the right bank of the Rámgangá river.

MOTÍHÁRÍ, capital of the Champáran district, Patná division; is also called Champáran. The largest town in the district is Bhetíá.

MUZAFFARGARH, chief town of the district of the same name in the Multán division, Panjáb. The district is bounded on the north by the Derá Ismáíl Khán and Jhang districts; on the west by the Indus; on the east and south-east by the Chanáb. It forms the inmost triangle of the Sind Ságar Duáb, and is watered by the Chanáb and the Indus.

MUZAFFARNAGAR, chief town of the district so named in the Mírath division, on the road from Mírath to Landáur.

MUZAFFARPÚR, chief town of the Tirhut district of the Patná division. It is bounded to the north by Nipál. The town lies on the right bank of the Little Ghandak river.

NÁGPÚR, chief town of the district and division in the central provinces of the same name; formerly the capital of the dominions of the Bhoṣṣlá. The town is on the river Nág: hence its name. The civil station is Sítábalḍi, famous in the military history of British India.

NARBADÁ, the, rises in the Biláspúr district, central provinces, and runs a course nearly due east to the Gulf of Cambay, thirty miles beyond Bharóch. From Talakwára to the sea, a distance of eighty-five miles, it is navigable for boats of considerable burthen. At Bharóch it is two miles wide, even when the tide is out. It is considered to be the boundary between the Dakhan and Hindustan, and, as a sacred stream, ranks second only to the Ganges.

NASRÁBÁD, a cantonment in the Ajmír-Mairwára district of Rájputána.

NÍMAOCH, a cantonment in the Gwáliár state, situated near the frontier of the native state of Udaipúr. It lies 155 miles north-west of Máu, 371 south-west of Delhi, 312 south-west of Ágra, 306 west of Ságar, and 1,114 west of Calcutta.

NÍPÁL, an independent state in the mountain range north of B́ihar and Oudh. It is 500 miles long from east to west, and about 160 miles broad. It abounds in long, narrow, fertile valleys, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, well watered and cultivated. The inhabitants are the Newárs, a Mongolian tribe, and their conquerors, the Gurkhás.

RÁJPUTÁNÁ, a portion of Western India, comprising eighteen principalities, with an area of 120,000 square miles, and nine millions of inhabitants. It is under the protection of the British.

RÁJSHÁHÍ, a division in Bengal, comprising the districts of Murshidábád, Dínájpúr, Máldá, Rájsháhí, Rangpúr, Bagúrá, and Pabná.

Cambridge University Press

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John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

xiii

SÁGAR, chief town of district of same name in the Central Provinces. It lies ninety miles north-west of Jabalpur, 185 north of Nagpur, and 223 south-west of Allahabad. A large fort, built by the Maráthás, commands the town.

SAHÁRANPÚR, chief town of district of same name in Miráth division. It is on the Jamnah canal, and forms the head-quarters of its superintendent.

SHÁHÁBÁD, district in the Patná division, having Árah as its chief town.

SHÁHJAHÁNPÚR, chief town of district of same name in Rohilkhand.

SÍTÁPÚR, capital of district of same name in Oudh; lies on the banks of the Sarázan river, midway between Lakhnao and Sháhjahánpúr.

SULTÁN PÚR, chief town of district of same name in the Rai-Bareílí division, Oudh; lies on the right bank of the Gúntí, fifty-nine miles north of Allahabad, and ninety-two south-east of Lakhnao.

UDAI PÚR or **MEWÁR**, chief town of the native state of the premier ruler, here called Rána, of Rájputána. It lies seventy miles to the west of Nimach.

UNÁO, chief village of district of same name in Oudh; it lies nine miles north-east of Kánhpúr and forty-three miles south-west of Lakhnao.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleon's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

Preface	PAGE vii
-------------------	-------------

BOOK VII.—FEEBLENESS IN BENGAL AND STRENGTH
IN BIHÁR.

CHAPTER I.

PANIC AND PANIC-MONGERS IN CALCUTTA.

Mr. Beadon's Line of Six Hundred Miles	1
Views of the Government	2
Their First Awakening	5
Character of General Anson	7
Further Awakening of the Government	8
Mr. Grant's Practical Advice	9
Lord Canning Acts on the Advice	10
The Press of India	11
The Gagging Act	12
The "Feigning Confidence" Policy	14
Its Collapse	14
Panic Sunday	15
Disarming of the Barrákpúr Sipáhis	17
The King of Oudh	18
Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B.	19
Unfavourable News from outside Calcutta	22
Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.	23

CHAPTER II.

PATNÁ AND ÁRAH.

Danger of Mr. Beadon's Line	24
Major MacDonald at Rohní	24
Patná	25
Mr. William Tayler	27
Early detects the Character of the Crisis, and meets it boldly	27
Mr. Halliday	29
Major-General Lloyd	30
Reasonings for Leaving the Dánápúr Brigade armed	31
The Latent Feeling at Patná	31
Mr. Tayler shows a Bold Front	32
He Arrests the Wahábi Conspirators	34
Fresh Discoveries of Treason	35

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

XV

	PAGE
Mr. Lewis	35
The Patná Rising	36
The Rising crushed	37
Major Holmes and the 12th Irregulars	38
Mr. William Tayler and Mr. Halliday	38
The Government refuse to order Disarming	40
They cast the Responsibility on General Lloyd	40
Remonstrance of the Calcutta Merchants	41
Their Remonstrance disregarded	42
General Lloyd's Half-measure	43
Its First Consequence	44
Consequence of the Development of the Half-measure	45
Reflections on the Event	46
Murder of Major Holmes	47
Mr. Tayler faces the Emergency	48
Inaction of Major-General Lloyd	49
Kúnwar Singh joins the Mutineers	50
Mr. Tayler urges vigorous action	50
Captain Dunbar's Detachment starts for Árah	51
Foresight of Mr. Vicers Boyle	52
The Defence of Árah	53
Captain Dunbar's March	55
His Force is surprised, and compelled to retreat	56
The Garrison of Árah still holds out	58
Vincent Eyre	61
Eyre resolves to attempt to relieve Árah	62
Assumes the Entire Responsibility	63
Is undeterred by the defeat of Dunbar	64
Advances and attacks the Enemy	65
A Severe Contest is decided by a Bayonet Charge	66
Eyre relieves Árah	67
Eyre and Tayler jointly save Bihár	67
Critical Position of Bihár during Eyre's Advance	69
Mr. Tayler prudently contracts his line	70
The Result at Muzaffarpúr	71
Mr. Alonzo Money and Gayá	72
Mr. Money's Conduct Inexplicable	75
How Mr. Money's Action and Eyre's Triumph affected Mr. Tayler	76
Mr. Halliday dismisses Mr. Tayler from his Post	77
The Dismissal as Ungenerous as Unjust	77
What Mr. Tayler had accomplished	79
Recantation of two of his Judges	80
Justice notwithstanding is still denied him	81
The Denial a Scandal to England	81

CHAPTER III.

BIHÁR, BENGAL, AND BÁNARAS.

Árah after the Relief	83
Eyre resolves to follow up his blow	83
Marches against Kúnwar Singh's stronghold	85

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
Fights a Battle and captures it	85
Eyre is ordered to Alláhábád	86
Sir James Outram arrives in Calcutta	87
Is appointed to command the Lakhnao Relieving Force	88
Mr. Grant sent to administer the Central Provinces	88
Resolution in Council regarding the treatment of Mutineers	89
The Disarming Order	90
Colonel G. M. Sherer at Jalpaiguri	91
Arrival of Lord Elgin in Calcutta	93
Formation of the Naval Brigade	93
Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell in Calcutta	94
Who saved Bihár and Banáras?	94

BOOK VIII.—THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES, CENTRAL INDIA, AND RÁJPÚTÁNÁ.

CHAPTER I.

ÁGRA AND GWÁLÍÁR.

The North-West Provinces	95
Mr. John Colvin	96
The News of the Mírath Mutiny reaches Ágra	97
The Magnitude of the Crisis is not recognised	99
Mahárájah Sindhiá	100
Mr. Colvin applies to Sindhiá and Bharatpúr for Aid	101
Revolt at Aligarh	102
Revolts at Balandshahr and Mainpúri	103
Gallantry of the Powers and of De Kantzow	104
Revolt at Itáwah	106
Mr. Colvin's Proclamation	108
The Sipáhis' answer to the Proclamation	108
Mr. Colvin resolves to disarm them	110
He disarms them	110
Increasing Difficulties of his Position	111
Sindhia sends his Body-guard to Ágra	112
Forebodings of Mutiny at Gwáliár	112
The Crisis there arrives	114
Mutiny of the Gwáliár Sipáhis	115
Some escape to Ágra	116
The Clouds in the Distance	116

CHAPTER II.

JHÁNSÍ AND BUNDELKHAND.

Jhánsí	118
Its Garrison in 1857	121
The Civil Officers trust the Rání	122
Outbreak of Mutiny at Jhánsí	123
The Surviving Officers are besieged in the Fort	124
After a Gallant Defence they accept terms from the Rání	125

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

xvii

	PAGE
They are betrayed and massacred	126
The News of the Jhānsī Massacre reaches Naogang	127
The Sipāhis at that Place mutiny	128
Adventures of the Retreating Europeans.	128
Loyalty of the Nawāb of Bandā	130
Action of the 50th Native Infantry	131

CHAPTER III.

DURAND AND HOLKAR.

Colonel Henry Marion Durand	132
Takes up the Office of Governor-General's Agent for Central India	135
Geographical Position of Central India	135
Its Military Occupation	136
Garrison of Máu	137
The Line of the Narbadā	137
Early Policy of Colonel Durand	138
Durand accepts a Guard of Holkar's Troops	138
Gloomy News arrives from Without.	139
General Woodburn's Column diverted to Aurangābād	141
A Native Banker learns that the favourable News from Delhi are Untrue	142
The Mahārājah's Troops attack the Residency	142
Description of the Residency	143
Description of the Mutineers and their Leader	144
Colonel Travers	146
Travers makes a Gallant Charge and drives the Rebels from their Guns	146
Durand sends to Máu for Hungerford's Battery	146
Gallant and Persistent Efforts of Travers.	147
They are frustrated by the Refusal of his Men to act	147
All the Native Troops refuse to face the Rebels	148
Summary of the Situation	149
Courses open to Durand.	149
Was Holkar Loyal or Disloyal	150
Hungerford's Battery	155
The Troops at Máu mutiny	156
Durand evacuates the Residency	156
The Impossibility of a Retreat on Máu	157
Is forced to retire on Sihor	159
Summary of Durand's Conduct	160
Durand's Subsequent Proceedings	161

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE LAWRENCE AND RÁJPÚTÁNÁ.

Rájpútáná	163
Colonel George St. Patrick Lawrence	163
The Condition of Rájpútáná in May 1857.	164
Colonel Lawrence sends to Díśá for European Troops	166

VOL. III.

b

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
The Arsenal at Ajmir is secured	166
Colonel Lawrence appeals to the Rájput Princes	167
The Sipáhis at Nasirábád mutiny	168
Those also at Nimach	169
European Troops arrive from Dísá	170
They occupy Nimach and Nasirábád	171
Major Eden and the Events at Jaipur	171
Captain Monck-Mason and Jódhpúr	172
Captain Showers and Udaipur	173
Summary of Colonel Lawrence's Action	174

CHAPTER V.

ÁGRA AND SASSIAH.

Ágra in the Last Fortnight of June	175
Mr. Colvin authorises Retirement within the Fort	176
Disposition of the Native Troops and Levies at Ágra	177
Mr. Colvin is forced by illness to resign his Authority to a Council	177
Brigadier Polwhele	178
The Kotá Contingent at Ágra mutinies	179
Mr. Colvin recovers and resumes Authority	179
Brigadier Polwhele determines to advance and meet the Enemy	180
Battle of Sassiah	181
The British retire before the Enemy	184
Ágra is plundered	185
Order is at last restored	186
Life in the Ágra Fort	187
Military Measures adopted	191
Expedition to Áligarh	192
Mr. Colvin's Health fails	193
Mr. Colvin dies	194

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Lieutenant Cockburn at Háthras	196
The Cavalry of the Gwáliar Contingent mutiny	196
The Officers and Volunteers fall back on Ágra	197
Saháranpúr	198
Muzaffarnagar	201
Baréli	202
Reasoning of the Sipáhis at Baréli	202
Favourable Antecedents of the 8th Irregular Cavalry	204
Their Commandant, Captain A Mackenzie	204
Forewarnings of Mutiny	206
The Native Infantry at Baréli mutiny	207
The Officers collect at the Cavalry Lines	208
Action of Captain Alexander Mackenzie	209
His vain Endeavours to lead his Men against the Rebels	210

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

xix

	PAGE
The Officers retire on Nainí Tál	212
The Rebel rule in Baréí	212
Sháhjahánpúr	213
The Mutiny and Slaughter there	213
The Survivors retire towards Oudh	214
Budáun and Mr. William Edwards	215
The Mutiny of the Troops and his Flight	216
Muráábád	218
The 29th Native Regiment on its Trial	218
They rise in Revolt	221
Escape of the English	222
Political and Social Life in Rohilkhand under Khán Babádur Khán	222
Fathgarh	224
Doubtful Behaviour of the Sipáhis there	225
They mutiny on being joined by the 41st Native Infantry	226
The Europeans enter the Fort	226
Siege of the Fort of Fathgarh	227
The Garrison are forced to take to Boats	229
They are pursued	230
Events of the Pursuit	230
The Gains of the Nawáb of Farrukhábad	232

BOOK IX.—OUDH.

CHAPTER I.

OUDH AND HENRY LAWRENCE

Effects of the Annexation of Oudh	233
Sir Henry Lawrence	234
The "Caste" Question	235
Reasons why the Danger in Oudh was likely to be excessive	236
The One Chance of averting Danger	237
The Garrison of Lakhnao	239
First Symptoms of Disaffection at Lakhnao	239
Sir Henry Lawrence appeals to the Native Soldiers	240
The Appeal is too late	241
He recognises the coming Danger and prepares	241
The 7th Oudh Irregulars mutiny	242
They are deprived of their Arms	243
Sir Henry holds a grand Durbar	244
The good Effect of it is but transitory	245
Sir Henry is nominated Brigadier-General	246
The City of Lakhnao and the Location of the Troops	246
The Ladies and Children are brought within the Residency	247
Captain Gould Weston is sent to restore Order in the Districts	248
Captain Hutchinson is sent on a similar Errand	248
The Results of the two Missions	249
The Sipáhis at Lakhnao mutiny	250
The Position improved by the Outbreak	252
Sítápúr	252

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xx

CONTENTS OF VOL. III

	PAGE
Precursors of Mutiny there	253
The Mutiny and its Consequences	254
Maláun and Mr. Capper	256
Muhamdí	257
The Preparations there	258
The Fugitives from Sháhjahánpúr arrive there	258
The Retreat and Massacre	259
The Fugitives from Sítápúr	259
Sikrorá	261
Mr. Wingfield, C.S.	261
Mutiny at Sikrorá	263
Mutiny at Gondah	263
Mr. Wingfield and others are received by the Rájah of Balrámpúr	264
Murder of the Bahráich Officials	264
Málápúr, and its Officials	265
Faizábád	265
Rájah Mán Singh	267
Mutiny at Faizábád	268
Many of the English leave in Boats	268
Murder of the Fugitives	269
Sufferings of Mrs. Mills	270
Escape of Colonel Lennox	270
The Civil Officials of Fáizábad escape	271
Murder of Colonel Fisher and Others	272
Generous Behaviour of Rájah Hanwant Singh	273
Wonderful Escape of Captain W. H. Hawes	274
Sir Henry Lawrence's Opinion on the Situation in Lakhnao on the 12th of June	275

CHAPTER II.

THE LEAGUER OF LAKHNAO.

Illness of Sir Henry Lawrence and its Consequences	276
Major Banks and Colonel Inglis	277
Mr. Martin Gubbins	278
Views of Sir Henry Lawrence regarding the Native Troops	279
The Military Police at Lakhnao revolt	279
Presence of Mind and Daring of Captain Gould Weston	280
Colonel Inglis follows up the Mutineers	280
Personal Daring of Mr. Thornhill, C.S.	281
Sir Henry fortifies the Residency and the Machhí Bhawan	281
His Anxiety regarding Kánhpúr	282
Soundness of his Reasons for not attempting to relieve that Place	282
Hears of the Surrender of Kánhpúr, and resolves to strike a Counter Blow	283
Battle of Chinhat	283
Sir Henry's Decision to fight that Battle vindicated	286
Gallantry of Captain Anderson	287
Sir Henry concentrates his Forces in the Residency	288
The Weakness of his Defences	289

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleon's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

xxi

	PAGE
Comparison between the European and the Asiatic Soldier	290
Description of the Residency Enclosure	291
Proceedings after Chinhat	291
Sir Henry Lawrence is killed	292
His Character	293
The Debt of England to Sir Henry Lawrence	296
The " Posts " of the Residency described	297
Difficulties in the Way of the Defence	298
That Defence as described by Brigadier Inglis	299
Tactics of the Mutineers	299
Proceedings of the Garrison	300
Lieutenant Sam. Lawrence and the First Sortie	301
The First Grand Assault	302
Gallantry of Young Loughnan	302
The Repulse, and its Effect on both Parties	303
Death of Major Banks, and Assumption of Supreme Authority by Brigadier Inglis	304
The Three Weeks following the First Grand Assault	304
Angad, the Pensioner and Spy	305
The Second Grand Assault	306
The Repulse, and its Effect on both Parties	307
The British Soldier during the Siege	307
The Kánhpúr Battery	308
The Third Grand Assault	309
The Assault is repulsed with great Advantage to the Garrison	310
Reasons of the Author for dwelling specially on the Four Grand Assaults made during the Siege	310
Peculiarities which distinguished this Garrison from ordinary Garrisons	311
Description of the Devices adopted by the Garrison in Loop-holing, Reserve of Fire, Looking-out, and Mining.	312
The Fourth Grand Assault	317
The Assaultants are greatly dispirited by its Repulse	318
Sickness increases within the Residency	319
Angad brings Tidings of Havelock's certain Approach	319
The Advance of the Relieving Force is heralded	320
Intense Excitement of the Garrison.	320
They notice Signs of the Enemy's Defeat	321
The Relieving Force in Sight.	321
The Meeting of the Relievers and the Relieved	321
The Early Discovery that it is not a Relief, but a Reinforcement	322
Honour to whom Honour is due	322
Brigadier Inglis	323
Captain Wilson	323
Captain Fulton	324
Lieutenant James	325
Mr. Couper, C.S.	325
The Glorious Dead	326
The Native Troops, Captain Germon, Lieutenant Aitken	326
The Native Pensioners	327
The Ladies	327
The Losses sustained	328

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleison's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleison

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxii

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
CHAPTER III.	
NEILL, HAVELOCK, AND OUTRAM.	
Brigadier-General Neill arrives at Káhnpur	329
Havelock crosses into Oudh	329
He bivouacs at Mangalwár	330
Havelock beats the Enemy at Unáo.	331
Resolves to follow up the Blow	332
The Advantage he draws from his extensive Military Reading	332
He finds the Enemy at Bashiratganj	332
He attacks and defeats him there	333
Considerations respecting a further Advance force themselves on his Notice	333
Dominating Force of those Considerations	334
Neill at Káhnpur	334
Character of Brigadier-General Neill	334
He shows great Vigour at Káhnpur.	335
Neill sends Captain Gordon to clear the River	336
His Correspondence with Havelock.	337
Havelock, having been reinforced, again advances	338
He beats the Enemy, but again retires	339
His Resolution to retire justified	340
He again advances in order to cover the Passage of the Ganges	340
Success of his Operations	341
Neill at Káhnpur	341
Havelock's Action again considered and vindicated	343
He marches on Bithúr	343
He fights a Severe Battle with, and beats, the Rebels	344
Havelock returns to Káhnpur to find himself superseded	345
Reflections on the Policy adopted by the Government of India of judging, without Discrimination, only by Results	345
Dangers of the Position at Káhnpur	347
Havelock resolves to hold it	347
Captain John Gordon again sweeps the Ganges	348
Neill is appointed to command the Right Wing of the Expeditionary Force	349
Specialities of Sir James Outram's Character	349
He arrives at Alláhábád, and marches thence to Káhnpur.	349
Learns that Mutineers have landed from Oudh to cut him off from Alláhábád	350
Outram sends a Force under Major Eyre against that Enemy	351
Eyre marches against and crushes the Enemy	351
Outram arrives at Káhnpur and continues Havelock in command	352
The unparalleled Self-abnegation and Generosity of his Act	353
The Orders on the Subject expressed by Sir Colin Campbell and by Havelock	353
The Strength of the Force destined to march on Lakhnao	354
Measures taken to ensure the Passage of the Ganges.	355
The Passage, and the Manœuvres immediately subsequent	355
Havelock drives the Enemy from Mangalwár	356

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-02325-2 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Volume 3

John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

xxiii

	PAGE
The Force bivouacks at Bashíratganj	357
The Temper of the Men.	357
The Force advances, and the Enemy flee before them	358
Approaching the Álambágh, they find it occupied	358
Havelock captures the Álambágh and bivouacs for the Night	359
The Enemy turn upon him	359
Havelock changes his Position, and halts the next Day	360
On the 25th he advances on the City	360
He reaches the Chárbágh, whence he determines to turn the Main Streets	361
Splendid gallantry of young Havelock,	362
The Force encounters enormous Difficulties	362
General Neill is killed	364
The Troops reach the Residency	365
The Rear-Guard enters on the Morning of the 27th	366
It is soon found that it is Reinforcement not Relief	367
Reflections on the Event	367
The Gallant Survivors	368
 Appendix A.—Sir George Lawrence and General Showers	 371
Appendix B.—The Official Report of the Defence of Lakhnao	376

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

The House at Árah	<i>To Face page</i> 54
Plan of the intrenched position covering the Lakhnao Residency	<i>To Face page</i> 290