

of the man himself, and thoroughly in accordance with his particular views of duty, his ordinary abnegation of self, and his repugnance to become a passive instrument of injustice, or even apparent injustice, to a gallant brother officer. To the majority of men such conduct may seem exceptional: to Outram—as more than one episode of his previous career must have already made manifest—it was part of his rule of life. But we are now able to show what actually passed through Outram's mind on this occasion, and it would be injustice did we refrain from doing so. Everyone can appreciate what it must have been for an ambitious soldier to surrender the glory and satisfaction of conducting to a triumphant issue, under the eyes of the whole world, such an enterprise as the rescue of the imperilled garrison of Lakhnau. But this was not all; he believed, on what were at the time good grounds, that the rebellion would virtually collapse after the capture of Dehli and relief of Lakhnau, and that any subsequent operations would be of a desultory character, unlikely to afford any opportunity of distinction to an officer of his rank. In short, he believed that this month's campaign would in all probability bring his military career to a close. He was already a G.C.B., and any additional reward must necessarily assume the form of a permanent title with a pension attached. He therefore believed he was irretrievably surrendering the certainty of a baronetcy and its accompaniment. Further, it was understood that the treasure in the Residency, stated to be from 23 to 32 lakhs of rupees, would, in accordance with precedent, be adjudged prize-money. He elected to receive the insignificant share of a civilian volunteer, instead of the very substantial one of the General in actual command. Thus he deprived himself 'not only of all honours, but' [we quote an allusion to the subject in a private letter of his own] 'of the only means of support for the declining years of a life the

chequered vicissitudes of which have afforded no opportunity of making any provision for the requirements of age.' If, in after years, the matter was mooted in his hearing, he was wont, as his custom was when his own good deeds were spoken of, to turn it off by some self-depreciatory remark, such as, 'People have made too much of it.' 'I had the chance of obtaining the highest object of my ambition, the Victoria Cross,' and so on. But it is only fair to the memory of an unselfish man, now to make public what he only revealed in confidence. The surrender of the command was no mere chivalrous impulse, but a deliberate act of self-sacrifice.

It so happened that the start from Kánhpur could not immediately follow the junction of the forces. The situation of that city on the right bank of the Ganges rendered it necessary that the troops should cross the river before a march could be made in the direction of Lakhnau; and means were yet wanting to effect this object. Outram's telegram of August 28 suggested the despatch, if feasible, of a detachment to the left bank, to distract the enemy's attention from Lakhnau, besides facilitating the passage of the relieving column when the time for that movement should arrive. To this Havelock had replied: 'The reinforcements announced will reduce the relief of Lucknow to a certainty, if the garrison can hold out till their arrival. I have written to Colonel Inglis to defend himself to extremity, and propose, so soon as the first detachment reaches me, to recross to the left bank, and resume my strong position of Mungulwar.' On September 5, Outram had expressed the hope that the crossing arrangements would be ready by the 12th, when he expected to reach Kánhpur; but Havelock's letter of the 8th, while noting that the preparations contemplated would be made, had shown the enemy to be increasing their force in men and guns on

the left bank. Again, on September 9, when the date of his arrival could be more surely calculated, Outram had written: 'If you can have the bridge . . . prepared, and have established your position on the opposite side before we join you on the 15th, no time would be lost, as we should cross at once.' And his further letter, dated the next day, was much to the same effect. On the 11th, Havelock had expressed his regret that he could not find a place well fitted for crossing. A bridge could easily be thrown to certain islands directly opposite, but, as these were too swampy for occupation, he suggested for consideration whether it might not be well for Outram to cross before reaching Kánhpur, at a point lower down the river. Though a postscript to Havelock's letter was unfavourable to this suggestion, Outram was for the moment not indisposed to act upon it; but, to avoid being attacked in detail, he preferred selecting a point nearer Kánhpur than that proposed. After-information, however, decided him to revert to the original programme, and he had pushed on. The march to a junction at Kánhpur itself was not interrupted.¹ At the

¹ 'Time presses,' wrote Havelock, 'but I regret to say I cannot find a place well fitted for crossing to the opposite bank. The islands directly opposite are too swampy for occupation. I could easily throw a bridge direct to them; but to remain on them, or get out of them, would not be easy, as there are muddy channels between them, fordable perhaps, but not under the fire of a numerous enemy who warily watches the whole bank. Under these circumstances I would suggest for your consideration whether it might not be feasible for you to cross to the left bank lower down—say at Nudjufghur Ghat, below Sirsood: I could send you down the steamer and as many boats as she could tow, and though this might attract the enemy's attention, you might anticipate him, and get your men and a battery across. Then, if it were previously ascertained that there is no impassable obstacle on the route, you might march up and turn the enemy's entrenchments whilst we crossed by the bridge thrown direct over to the islands. You would in this case, however, have to leave on the trunk road troops sufficient to convoy the stores of various kinds coming up for us. Pass as we will, some risk must be incurred, so the above idea may be worthy of consideration.

'P.S.—Since writing the above, it appears certain that the enemy have troops and guns at each of the several points to which we could cross, excepting

led on his 'little troop of horse with as much ardour as when he started in pursuit of Dost Muhammad, nineteen years before;' but also noting the material aid afforded by the gallant band which he commanded. The weapon he himself wielded on this occasion was no sword, but a stout stick. How Havelock's troops continued their march to the capital of Oudh has been told, and well told, in history. There, also, we read how they were able to cross the Banni bridge over the Sâi, and move on, practically unopposed, up to the 'Alam-bâgh; how they fired a salute when at about sixteen miles from Lakhnau, in the vain hope that the sound would reach the Residency; how again, in the action at the 'Alam-bâgh, Outram, at the head of the volunteer and native cavalry, pursued the flying enemy to the Chhâr-bâgh bridge. This last day's work is thus narrated by Havelock:—

'On the 23rd, I found myself in presence of the enemy, who had taken a strong position, his left resting on the enclosure of the Alum Bagh, and his centre and right drawn up beyond a chain of hillocks. The head of my column at first suffered from the fire of his guns, as it was compelled to pass along the trunk road between morasses, but as soon as my regiments could be deployed along his front, and his right enveloped by my left, victory declared for us, and we captured five guns. Sir J. Outram, with his accustomed gallantry, passed on in advance, close down to the canal. But as the enemy fed his artillery with guns from the city, it was not possible to maintain this, or a less advanced position for a time taken up; but it became necessary to throw our right on the Alum Bagh, and refuse our left, and even then we were incessantly cannonaded throughout the 24th; and the enemy's cavalry, 1,500 strong, crept round through lofty cultivation, and made a sudden irruption upon the baggage massed in our rear. The soldiers of the 90th, forming the baggage-guard, received them with great gal-

lantry, but lost some brave officers and men, shooting down, however, twenty-five of the troopers, and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven to a distance by two guns of Captain Olpherts's battery.'

The despatch further sets forth that, as the troops had been 'marching for three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages, it was thought necessary to pitch tents, and permit them to halt on the 24th.' Of the occurrences of that day, we know from other evidence that the enemy's guns were constantly firing into the camp, and that a reply on our side was found necessary.¹ And we learn, in like manner, that the enemy's cavalry, as well as his 9-pounders, kept our troops on the alert, and forced them into active opposition.² During the halt, moreover, the superior officers deliberated on a plan of advance for the day following, so as to reach the Residency with the least possible loss and difficulty. Outram had written to Colonel Inglis from Kánhpur reporting progress, and advising caution. 'My only apprehension,' he said, 'is lest your garrison, in its eagerness to aid us by a sortie, should be tempted to go too far from your works, so that too few European troops might be left to guard your defences. In the probability of this occurring, it is not unlikely the enemy may have a strong body concealed near you, ready to make a rush upon your works . . . as their last chance of getting at you. If a small and compact body can with safety be spared to penetrate a short way in the direction in

¹ *Calcutta Review*, March 1859, Article II.

² *Marshman's Memoir*. A *Morning Post* correspondent, writing from the camp at the 'Alam-bagh, a few weeks later, says of that occasion: 'The enemy still sent us round shot in pretty fair numbers, and knocked over a man or bullock occasionally. We replied with our 24-pounders. . . . They attacked our baggage, and the men of the 90th, mistaking them for some native cavalry we had with us, allowed them to come close up before they found out their mistake. We lost nine of the rear-guard, and emptied about 35 saddles of the enemy's cavalry.' The 35 should doubtless have been 25.

which we are engaged, it might have a beneficial effect by opening a fusillade towards the rear of our opponents.' He wrote also to the same officer from the 'Alam-bâgh, mentioning the proposed advance of the force on the morrow, and adding, 'but it may be late in the day ere it reaches you: don't risk any sally from your post that might expose your position to assault or surprise.'

Truly the heroic defenders of the Residency had been, and still were, in sore straits; and nobly did they maintain the honour of their country throughout the stern ordeal to which they were subjected. Not India alone, but, so to speak, the whole world had become interested in their behaviour. Painfully keen was the attention with which the Governor-General and Government of India regarded their critical situation. As for Outram, Havelock, and the officers and men who accompanied them, their senses were strained in the direction of Lakhnau with an eager anxiety which could not have been greater had the Residency contained none but near relations or personal friends. Some such indeed there were: but no relationship however close, no friendship however sincere, could have proved a stronger incentive to push on to the goal before them than the zeal and patriotism which animated their breasts. Since the death, early in July, of Sir Henry Lawrence, and, later in the same month, of Major Banks, the control of affairs had been vested in Colonel Inglis, between whom and General Havelock letters had constantly passed to and fro during the eleven chequered weeks of victory and disappointment which had preceded Outram's arrival at Kânnpur. The state of the beleaguered garrison was therefore no secret. On August 16, it was notified that by putting the force on half-rations, the provisions would last till September 10; but the enemy had then arrived to within a few yards of the defences, were doing hourly damage with heavy guns, and sedulously strove

to advance their mines. There were on that date, for defensive purposes, 350 Europeans and 300 natives; but the number of sick and wounded exceeded 120, and there were, at least, 220 women and some 230 children. About a fortnight later, in consequence of further information from Havelock, Inglis reported that, with still reduced rations and diminution in numbers from casualties, he trusted to hold out until September 25. That was the day on which the advance was to be made from the 'Alam-bâgh; and the morning had scarcely dawned when the camp was alive with expectation, and the gallant force detailed for the relief of their hardly-pressed brethren eagerly awaited the order to move.

In some respects, Sir James Outram was in an anomalous position; in every respect it was singular, but in no respect was it undignified. Nor was General Havelock a man to take advantage of the authority vested in him by keeping his comrade to that background which the latter had chosen, for the nonce, as his own particular range. The formation of the troops into brigades, with a separate brigade staff to each, was, for instance, an arrangement carried out at Outram's recommendation before the troops had left Kânhpur; and his advice was the more valuable in the consultation held upon the mode of advance upon Lakhnau, now that they had arrived at the outskirts of the city, from the fact of his intimate personal knowledge of the locality. This knowledge had been derived not only from residence there in 1855-6, but from a military study of it in view to probable resistance to the annexation which it had been his unpleasant duty to carry out. In truth, it has been asserted by those qualified to do so that, owing to the presence in the force of so few officers possessing local knowledge, his guidance mainly, if not solely, enabled the column to thread its way through the streets, especially intricate near the Residency.

The 'Alam-bâgh was a pleasure-garden of one of the

princes of Oudh—a large space, with a house, or palace, and outhouses enclosed within high walls. It was on the right of the road in coming from Kánhpur to Lakhnau; a little farther on was a prominent building called the Yellow House, and farther still, an enclosure known as the Chhár-bágh with village adjoining. Beyond these there was a canal which it was necessary to cross before entering the streets of the town, and the crossing in this quarter could only be effected by a bridge, named Chhár-bágh after the neighbouring enclosure.

From the 'Alam-bágh there was a choice of three roads. One was a continuation of the so-called high road from Kánhpur, across the canal by the said Chhár-bagh bridge, and thence in a more or less direct line for about a mile and a half to the Baillie Guard gate of the Residency. This was the shortest available; but it was known to be defended, as one writer has expressed it, 'by entrenchment behind entrenchment, and battery upon battery.'¹ It led certainly through the heart of the city, and, independently of the impediments caused by digging or constructing across the street, the houses on either side were loopholed, and filled to the tops of the roofs with musketeers. Progress here could only be attempted as a last resort. The second road involved a *détour* to the right by the Dilkushá palace and park, whence troops might advance by a circuitous route on the right bank of the Gúmti, or, crossing the Gúmti, might march along its left bank to an advantageous site nearly facing the Residency. The latter project had commended itself to General Havelock, not only as a means of avoiding the strong positions taken up by the enemy in the streets and outlying buildings of the city, but also because it seemed to present facilities for withdrawing the occupants of the Residency to the north of the river. But, setting aside discussion on other

¹ *Calcutta Review*, March 1859: Article X.

grounds, the season was unfavourable to this movement. Incessant rain for three days had thoroughly soaked the earth, and its effects would be felt for too long a period to admit of delaying the advance. A reconnaissance made under Sir James Outram on September 24 had resulted in the decision that it was 'absolutely impossible to move even the light field-pieces across the country.'¹ This opinion was adopted, and the proposal consequently abandoned. The third plan was a kind of compromise, and pointed to a middle course between the other two. It was to force a passage across the Chhár-bágh bridge, thence to turn to the right and move along the bank of the canal, for nearly two miles, to the bridge of the Dilkushá, on the road to the palace of that name; from which point a rectangular sweep of about three miles might be made to the Residency through the open ground east of the city. Outram was in favour of the last proposition; it was based upon a route drawn out by the engineer officer at Lakhnau, and, although it threatened a perilous struggle on the near approach to the goal, there was no long line of street to be threaded such as presented on the Kánhpur side.

At 8 A.M. on September 25 the force started. We here borrow the words of an intelligent reviewer, writing with evident personal knowledge of his subject some eighteen months after the events narrated:—'It consisted of the 5th, 78th, 90th, and Madras Fusiliers; portions of the 64th and 84th, and 200 Sikhs; Maude's and Olpherts's batteries, and some heavy guns. . . . The enemy were found strongly posted close to the camping-ground; their position did not admit of attack. A hot fire was therefore kept upon them till the force had passed. At the Chhár-bágh was the first severe opposition. Aware of some commanding ground where the enemy's fire might be kept under, Outram hastened thither

¹ *Marahman's Life of Havelock.*

with a chosen body of rifles, but he was there only in time to see a party of Fusiliers storming the bridge with young Havelock leading on horseback. The enemy's battery was taken, the adjacent houses were stormed and held, and the 78th were directed to occupy them until all the troops and baggage had passed, and then to follow, protecting the rear.

'The main body advanced by the canal; on reaching the Dilkushá bridge, it turned to the left towards the 32nd barracks; thence towards the Secundra-bágh, Shah Najaf, and Moti Mahal. Between the Chhár-bágh and the Moti Mahal the force met with very slight opposition. But at the Moti Mahal and the farther advanced posts, Martin's house, the stables, steam-engine and Hirun Khána, it came under a strong fire from the Khurshid Manzil and the Kaisar-bágh. Eyre's guns were brought into position to reply, and they replied successfully. . . .'¹

It was between the Moti Mahal and a building used as the mess-house of the 32nd Regiment that the real contest began; and this was continued with deadly vigour for about three-quarters of a mile, or the whole remaining distance to the Residency. Opposite the Kaisar-bágh, where two guns and a body of mercenary troops were entrenched, a murderous fire of grape and musketry was opened, under which we have Havelock's testimony that 'nothing could live,' yet partially exposed to which our undaunted 'artillery and troops had to pass a bridge.' The shelter afforded by the wall of the Farid Bakhsh palace, and the occupation of the Chattar Manzil, one of the palatial buildings along the line of river, allowed a lull to take place in the busy proceedings of that eventful day. Darkness was coming on; if there was any doubt as to immediate action, the opportunity was favourable to deliberate. Outram proposed a short halt to enable the rear-guard with the heavy guns, baggage, and wounded men

¹ *Calcutta Review*, March 1859.

to come up. The whole force, he reasoned, would by that time have occupied the Chattr Manzil in security, and, from that post, communication with the Residency could be effected through the intervening palaces; less brilliantly, perhaps, but with less exposure of life than by the street. At the same time, if the latter alternative were preferred, he was ready to act as guide—a duty he could conscientiously undertake from previous acquaintance with the locality. Havelock, on the other hand, was desirous of pushing on without delay. The main reasons given for haste were:—the straits to which the inmates of the Residency were reduced; the danger to which they were exposed from mines which might be sprung by the enemy at any moment; the possible desertion of natives under the disappointment occasioned by failure in long-anticipated relief; and the want of power in their enfeebled state to resist a new assault of the insurgents, if attempted as a desperate but not unlikely venture. There was, moreover, the advantage to be gained by following up a success before its first effects could subside. Then again, last not least inducement, ‘not half a mile distant were there anxious hearts, for whose sake he had been struggling and pressing for the last three weary months; the goal was in Havelock’s sight; he determined to win it at once.’ Outram’s consent was not withheld; nay, he would show the way as he had said. Thus onward went the gallant and devoted band—Highlanders and Sikhs, with Havelock and Outram at their head. Neill and the Madras Fusiliers followed—charging through a very tempest of fire. ‘The Baillie Guard was reached: the garrison was saved.’¹ But the cost was heavy. Neill fell like a true soldier, shot through the head; while, of the entire force of about 2,000, one-fourth were killed and wounded. The rear-guard with

¹ These, and the few preceding words in inverted commas, belong to the writer in the *Calcutta Review*.

many wounded remained at the Moti Mahal, beyond which they were unable to pass until extricated by a force sent out the following day. In the words of the despatch:—‘Sir James Outram received a flesh wound in the arm in the early part of the action near Chhár-bágh; but nothing could subdue his spirit; and though faint from loss of blood, he continued to the end of the action to sit on his horse, which he only dismounted at the gate of the Residency.’ The welcome given to the new comers by their comrades belongs to one of those sudden phases of life which can never be adequately described. But the story has been well and eloquently told, and no new words could enhance the interest of that page of history as it is already found recorded.

We have spoken of a difference of opinion between the Generals, but we shall neither dwell upon nor revert to it, for the simple reason that controversy in such case is out of place at the present hour. It would have been strange indeed had each seen alike; and it is almost strange that variance was so seldom exhibited. In one thing both were agreed: that it was necessary to reach their comrades in distress; and in this one thing their joint efforts were triumphant. They would never suffer any diversity of views to disturb a harmony which was essential to successful action; and concession in this respect was mutual. The honour of his country was to the one what it was to the other—a dear and sacred trust; and it was preserved inviolate by both. A grateful country has acknowledged these truths; and time and study have made no change in their acceptance by the historian.

In a general order issued on September 26, on resuming the command of the forces, Outram thus refers to the advance on the previous day:—

The Major-General deeply laments the heavy cost at which the relief of our countrymen has been purchased; but the glorious

devotion with which the gallant dead, and equally gallant survivors, staked their lives to rescue the Lucknow garrison, will be deeply appreciated by our Queen and our country ; and the safety of those whom we, under God's blessing, have been permitted to redeem from a dreadful fate, must be our consolation for the loss of so many of our noble comrades.

The Major-General begs to return his most sincere and heartfelt thanks to the General and his gallant army for their glorious exertions, the only acknowledgment of their achievements which it is in his power to render. On General Havelock it will devolve, in his reports to the Commander-in-Chief, to do justice to the army which has so devotedly carried out his orders. But while fully aware that every arm was stimulated by the same brave spirit, the Major-General deems it right to bear his personal testimony to the admirable conduct of such of the troops as acted under his immediate observation. He would specially note the behaviour of the 90th Regiment, who led the advance of the left attack at Mungulwura ; that of the Volunteer Cavalry, who charged the artillery of the retiring enemy, and captured two of their guns ; that of the 84th and detachment of the 64th attached to it, who led the attack on the enemy's left at Alumbagh ; that of Captain Olpherts's battery, who so bravely followed up their retreat on that occasion—as of Major Eyre's battery, in opposing the enemy who afterwards bore on their position ; that of the 5th Fusiliers and Captain Maude's battery, who led the column on the 25th instant, under a most murderous fire ; that of the 1st Fusiliers (Madras), who charged the bridge and battery at the entrance of the city, headed by the gallant Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Havelock ; and finally that of the 78th Highlanders, who led the advance on the Residency, headed by their brave commander, Colonel Stisted, accompanied by the gallant Lieutenant Hargood, aide-de-camp to General Havelock ; Captain Grant, 1st Madras Fusiliers ; Lieutenant Hudson, 64th Regiment, and Lieutenant Chamier, aide-de-camp.

A supplementary order supplies an inadvertent omission to mention the good service rendered by the gallant Captain Brasyer and his regiment of Firuzpúr, which had come under the Major-General's personal observation.

In his despatch of September 30 he alluded to the

completion by the enemy of six mines. To the credit of the ever-honoured garrison it should be stated that, however skilfully these were designed, and however cautiously worked out, our vigilant engineers had become aware of their existence in time to render them innocuous by countermining. But there was no question of the risk of delay; and the following extract from the same despatch notices the course pursued in hastening the expected succour:—

To force our way *through* the city would have proved a very desperate operation, if indeed it could have been accomplished. After passing the bridge, therefore, which is at the entrance, General Havelock took his force by a detour to the right, where but little means comparatively of opposition had been prepared, until he approached the front of the 'Kaisar Bagh,' whence a heavy fire was opened upon us; and from that point (through a limited extent of about a quarter of a mile of street which then intervened before reaching the Residency), the troops were much exposed to the fire of the enemy occupying the houses on both sides, as well as to some of the besieging guns which had been turned against us, besides being obstructed by ditches which had been cut across the street—all which obstacles were overcome by the usual gallantry and dash of British troops, but at a heavy cost. The Residency was gained in the evening; and the cheers of our rescued comrades overcame for the time our regrets for the many who had fallen in their cause.

Relief or reinforcement—or whatever name be applied to it—the great feat of arms achieved on this occasion has been commemorated in Brigadier-General Havelock's official report from which we have already quoted. But the details supplied by minor actors in, and independent historians of the Indian Mutiny must be studied and understood if justice is to be done to the glorious march of the 2,000¹ from the 'Alam-bagh to the Lakhnau Residency on September 25, 1857.

¹ The number roughly given in Outram's telegram as having 'forced their way into the city,' 3,179 of all arms, was the estimated force at Havelock's disposal: but from this must be deducted the garrison, and sick and wounded at the 'Alam-bagh.

CHAPTER III.

1857.

Lakhnau, from September 25 to November 22, 1857—Relief and withdrawal of the garrison—Death of Sir H. Havelock.

THE Generals had not needed to speak face to face with the gallant defenders of the Residency, to realise the stubborn fact that the bold stroke which they had accomplished—whatever its moral effect—was no literal or effectual relief. Outward signs had suggested this truth to them before they had crossed the canal south of Lakhnau; and every step of their passage through the occupied part of the town had tended to confirm their belief in the persistent character of the local rising. But it turned out, notwithstanding, that Outram had been right in his anticipation that a decided success at that particular time would have been followed by immediate restoration of British ascendancy in Oudh. It was, in fact, a crisis with our foes as with us; and if the relieving force had been large enough and mobile enough to follow up its victory, every purpose might then have been accomplished. It is probable that aggression would have ceased and resistance become desultory; while provisions would have been obtainable, together with transport for the withdrawal of the garrison and for further operations. Some of the enemy's positions around the Residency were accidentally found to be empty that night, which confirmed the intelligence, afterwards collated from various sources, to the effect that the same state of things prevailed generally, that

the regular *sipahis*, with the exception of the artillerymen, had in fact fled, and that opposition was confined to the irregulars and *bad-ma'ashes*.¹ The great Zamindárs and their retainers, as yet half-hearted and but partially compromised, were ready to accept the proffered mercy, while the mass of the trading population of the city were eager only for restoration of peace and security. But our true position became manifest in the morning; and the heads of the many soldiers who had fallen into the enemy's hands were despatched in all directions as unquestionable proofs of victory to our assailants and of disaster to ourselves. Then a reaction set in which brought back the fugitives to their abandoned positions, decided all waverers against us, and effected a cohesion among the discordant elements of rebellion such as had not before existed. Under the Bigam and Maulavi the armed hosts of Lakhnau became a fairly coherent army which, well equipped as it was, attracted to itself the scattered remnants of *sipahis* and fanatics dislodged from Delhi and other centres by our advancing armies. Thus it became more formidable week by week, and the worn defenders of the Residency, waking to the bitter reality, found themselves only reinforced after all, and that without being revictualled. True that they would be hard pressed no longer, and the incessant hail of bullets and round shot which they had so long endured was to be modified into an occasional visitation of such missiles. But privations must be increased rather than otherwise, and the long-deferred release indefinitely postponed once more. Nobly did they respond to this severe test, and no less nobly did the brave men who had hazarded all for their rescue take their place beside them, and share their hardships.

Varied then were Outram's emotions as he, almost the

¹ The *bad-ma'dash*, lit., man of 'bad life,' is the Indian vagabond or black-guard.

first to enter the battered entrenchment, received the enthusiastic greetings of many an old and many a new friend on that eventful evening—among them standing safe, though hardly well, a valued brother-in-law, Lieutenant J. C. Anderson, then Commanding Engineer officer. All was rejoicing around him, and he shared in it with the full warmth of his sympathetic nature. But there, in the gloom, stood the shattered ruins of what had been his home, and around its crumbled walls clustered sad memories. There had the noblest of his friends made his last glorious effort ‘to do his duty.’ Of all contemporaries, perhaps, Henry Lawrence had been most akin, in spirit and in career, to James Outram, and, though seldom brought into personal contact, each held a very high place in the other’s heart.¹ There it had been the great delight of his own and Lady Outram’s daily life to make all comers welcome to their ‘open house.’ And of these, how many a brave heart, full of life and hope and zeal, had been stilled for ever—how many a bright young form had been bowed to death or bitter widowhood, during the few short months of his absence! Truly, sorrow could not but intrude on joy. And now came a burden of responsibility such as falls to the lot of few men in a century. Never in his life did he experience anxiety such as he passed through during that closing week of September. The strain was great, indeed terrible. Before him loomed the near prospect of utter failure of provisions, and it soon became evident that to withdraw the non-combatants from the garrison and to obtain supplies would be alike impossible. As he brooded over this, one thing he inwardly resolved, that whatever the extremity, the surrender of Kánhpur should not be imitated.

¹ In a letter addressed to Outram in Persia, Henry Lawrence thus alludes to his acceptance of the Oudh appointment offered to him by Lord Canning:—‘I felt I could hardly refuse. I go, however, with a faint heart, and would much rather be your Chief of Staff. Will Lugard change? Ask him, with my love.’

The alternative was a fearful one, but he felt that it must be faced, and that, for the present at least, all idea of it must be confined to his own breast.

The following reminiscence, by his private secretary, Mr. Money, tells its own suggestive story:—‘On one occasion—it was while the stay or departure of a portion of our force was yet undetermined—in the still hours of the night I saw him, by the dim light there was in the room, kneeling on the bed with his head on his pillow, deeply engaged in prayer. It was a grand sight to see the brave, stern, fearless soldier, bending in humility before the Great Disposer of all things.’ But whatever the crushing load on his mind, he kept it to himself until the crisis had long passed, and neither word nor manner revealed the inward struggles of the night. It need hardly be added, that his energetic spirit was active as ever in attending to the exigencies of the hour—and they were many.

Sir James and his staff took up their quarters with his good friends Dr. and Mrs. (now Sir Joseph and Lady) Fayrer, and were made heartily welcome to the best the Residency could afford, such as it was. Next morning the General was to be seen, his only coat in his hand, begging that some lady would kindly mend the bullet-holes in the sleeve. His wound caused him no trouble. Indeed, he had to give attention to much more serious matters than this. He resumed command on the morning of the 26th, and his first care was to reinforce, and then extricate, the rear-guard under Colonel Campbell, which, with wounded, heavy guns, and ammunition waggons, had not been able to get beyond the Moti Mahal the previous evening. This was effected in a masterly manner by Colonel Napier. During the night of the 26th, the wounded and camels were safely brought in through the Palaces and along the river bank, while the guns and waggons were withdrawn to a secure position.

Meanwhile the space known as the 'Captain Bazaar' had been also on the 26th occupied by H.M. 32nd Regiment under Brigadier Inglis, who effected his purpose, capturing five guns, but with the loss of one officer¹ and two privates killed, and seven privates wounded; and, on the day following, the palaces towards the river, between the Residency and Kaisar Bagh, were taken possession of and utilised for the accommodation of the troops. Outram, in reporting these occurrences, gives the further information that, on the later date, 'at noon, a party consisting of 150 men made a sortie on another of the enemy's positions and destroyed four guns, at a loss of eight killed and wounded:' also, that 'at daylight on the 28th, three columns, aggregating 700 men, attacked the enemy's works at three different points, destroyed ten guns, and demolished by powder explosions the houses which afforded position to the enemy for musketry fire.'² This,' he continues, 'has effectually destroyed his attacks excepting on one point, where he has still three guns which it is difficult to get at, but it is not likely the enemy will attempt to maintain that isolated position; and as there has been no fire from thence this morning, it is probable he may have abandoned it.'

General Havelock was placed in command of the troops occupying the palaces and outposts; and Brigadier Inglis continued in command of the Residency garrison. As to the detached portions of Sir James's force, it was only on the third day after the great struggle, that he could address a few lines to Major MacIntyre, informing him that it was then impracticable to open communications between the Residency and the 'Alam-bagh, on account of the 'band of rebels

¹ Captain Hughes, of the 57th Bengal Native Infantry.

² Major Simmons, commanding H.M. 5th Fusiliers, was killed in this affair, an officer 'most deeply regretted by the whole army.' There were, besides, fifteen men killed and missing, and one officer and thirty-one men wounded.

swarming' in their rear. Pending the accomplishment of this object all that he could suggest was to make the best of the means of defence available. 'Should you be assailed,' he wrote, 'you will be able to hold your own. The only damage they can do you is by firing long shots into the garden, but I trust the four guns left with you will soon silence such fire.' Four days later, he reported to the Chief that the insurgents were too strong to admit of any retirement but that of surplus troops from the Residency. This measure it might, for many reasons, be advisable to attempt carrying out: not that complete withdrawal which had formed so essential a part in the plan of relief. The state of affairs was thus explained :

'The sick, wounded, women and children, amount to upwards of 1,000. The force will retire, therefore, after making arrangements for the safety of the garrison, by strengthening it with all but four of our guns, and leaving 90th Regiment; then destroying all the enemy's works; exploding all the six mines which have been found since our access to the interior, and so disturbing the ground in front of each work as to render future mining a difficulty, and demolishing the houses in the neighbourhood which command the entrenchments. The remainder of our force, reduced by casualties, will make its way back to Cawnpore, and will leave two or three days hence.' He concluded by stating that 'two additional brigades, with powerful field artillery, would be required to withdraw the garrison, or reduce the city;' expressing the hope that these brigades might be 'speedily assembled at Cawnpore.'

On the same date he requested Brigadier Wilson, through Captain Bruce, at Kánhpur, to prepare a detachment to advance to the relief of the retiring column. 'Send rockets,' he added, 'to give us notice of its position when they are

supposed to be in the vicinity. . . . Draw from Futtehpoore, Allahabad, and Benares, all men that can be spared to be sent to Cawnpore with all practicable dispatch.

‘Request the authorities at Agra to make known to the General at Delhi the urgent necessity there is for reinforcements being pushed on to Cawnpore as speedily as possible, without which the Lucknow garrison cannot be withdrawn. . . . it is to be hoped, at least one strong brigade may be spared from there, and another may be completed by the troops from the eastward.’

To the Governor-General the following telegram was transmitted for despatch: ‘My hopes of a reaction in the city are disappointed; the insurgent sepoys have inspired such terror among all classes, and maintain so strict a watch beyond our picquets, that we have not been able to communicate with one single inhabitant of Lucknow since our arrival. Nothing but a strong demonstration of our power will be of any avail.’

By reference to Outram's later official report, we learn that, after the 30th September, ‘the first work required was to open a roadway through the palaces for the heavy train, which had been brought into one of the gardens on September 27, and by October 1 was safely parked within the entrenchment.’ He then states that, contrary to expectations, ‘the enemy, relying on the strong position of their remaining battery (the one known as “Phillips' Battery”), continued to annoy the garrison by its fire, and to maintain there a strong force. Its capture, therefore, became necessary, and this was effected on October 2, with the comparatively trifling loss of two killed and eleven wounded; a result which was due to the careful and scientific dispositions of Colonel Napier, under whose personal guidance the operation was

conducted. Three guns were taken and burst; their carriages destroyed; and a large house in the garden, which had been the enemy's stronghold, was blown up.'

On October 6, Outram's correspondence shows that he had been compelled to abandon for the time the intention¹ of withdrawing *any* portion of his force; and his hopes for support to the 'Alam-bâgh detachment became centred in Kânhpur. His instructions of the next day to Major MacIntyre regarding one 'Bhowanee Deen,' a friendly pensioner who was to procure him supplies, are unique of their kind:— '*Arrange with him,*' he writes, underlining certain words to emphasise their meaning, 'to introduce what he gets in such way as to make it appear that *you looted his carts* in passing near your post. Otherwise you would get no second supply. He might be instructed to bring his carts into the vicinity of 'Alam-bâgh, when you would creep out and rush upon him with a cheer, and pretend to plunder, taking him and the banians with him (to whom the grain belongs) prisoners, and, when out of observation, paying them most liberally, in hard cash, from the public treasury, five rupees for every rupee's worth of supplies, and sending them off again with the carts *after dark*, with instructions to repeat the experiment. It is obviously necessary to arrange it so that our friends must appear victims.'

Within Lakhnau matters had grown daily worse. Nevertheless Outram's mind had been relieved of its most pressing burden, and he could await succour with equanimity, if not with patience, after securing his position by external action so far as due regard for the lives of his men would permit. The strict scrutiny of the Commissariat stores which he had

¹ The draft of a Farewell Order written at this period, to be issued after his departure, is given in Appendix N. Expressing his disappointment at not carrying out the relief originally purposed, it explains the arrangement he had proposed to make to meet the urgency of the case, had a partial withdrawal of troops been practicable.

ordered revealed the joyful fact that they had somehow been under-estimated. Immediate danger of actual starvation was therefore averted, although reduced rations must be still further reduced to not very far above starvation limit. It is remarkable that so much difficulty was experienced in calculating the grain heaps. The generals were of course dependent upon the reports of the Commissariat officers; but as Inglis had been, so Outram was to be, more than once, misled by these, notwithstanding the careful surveys made under his strictest orders. We are told that the hurried manner in which the stores had been deposited, in all sorts of apartments and receptacles, rendered accuracy of measurement impracticable. Well indeed might the inmates of the Residency bless the foresight of Sir Henry Lawrence, when it was found, time after time, that his accumulations had been even larger than imagined; and they *did* revere the memory of him to whom, under Providence, they owed their preservation. On October 7, Outram told Captain Bruce: 'Our force is now besieged by the enemy, who have increased in number and audacity, which leads me to think the Delhi mutineers must now be here. Our position is more untenable than that of the previous garrison, because we are obliged to occupy the neighbouring palaces outside the entrenchment to accommodate the Europeans, which positions the enemy are able to mine from cover of neighbouring buildings. Still no communication with the town, and little prospect of procuring provisions: the neighbouring streets, into which we have made sorties at much cost of life, containing nothing. We have grain and gun-bullocks, and horses, on which we may subsist a month, I hope, but nothing else. No hospital stores, and but little medicine.'

About the day on which this was written, a party of some 270 Europeans, with two guns, conveying Commissariat

stores, reached the 'Alam-bágh from Kánhpur under command of Major Bingham, H.M. 64th Regiment ; but, owing to some strange mischance, it brought no supplies for natives. The convoy was welcomed and with heartiness, but it did not fulfil all requirements, and the despatch of fresh stores was urgent. Brigadier Wilson, commanding at Kánhpur, himself a gallant soldier—while he considered that a strong detachment with guns might proceed safely along the Lakhnau road as far as the 'Alam-bágh—laid much stress on the risk incurred in sending small detachments, a measure to which he was strongly opposed. It was evident to his mind that the revolt in Oudh was no mere mutiny of *sipahis* in British pay ; and in his judgment nothing less than '1,500 European bayonets and six guns' should be despatched to the vicinity of the rebellious city, so as to co-operate with the beleaguered garrison in any combined movement ; and these, only provided that a second detachment of equal strength could follow in ten days. The bridges, however, between the Residency and 'Alam-bágh having been destroyed, and communication otherwise cut off, the necessity so strongly impressed upon him by Outram, of numerically strengthening and provisioning the latter post, was self-evident. Accordingly, on October 18, the Brigadier moved out with 600 infantry and six guns to Shivrájpur, there to attack a body of rebels of whose approach he had received intelligence, and with whom it was understood that the Nānā was in immediate communication. An easy victory having been obtained and the road cleared, a new convoy left for the 'Alam-bágh on October 22, composed of 500 infantry, fifty cavalry, and two guns. Outram's instructions to Major MacIntyre regarding this detachment, authorised retention from its ranks of any additional men required to hold their position. But news had been received of a more important reinforcement coming from another quarter. Colonel Greathead's column,

expected at Agra from Dehli, had been ordered to move at once to Kánhpur for service in Oudh, and it was now but a few marches from its destination under command of Sir Hope Grant. The Commander-in-Chief, moreover, was about to appear in person in the same field. His telegram to this effect to Captain Bruce, dated the day that the later and larger convoy of stores left Kánhpur for the 'Alam-bágh, commenced with a request that his 'best regards, by *cossid*'¹ be sent to General Outram, who was to be informed that he (the Chief) had never ceased from his exertions 'to press every available soldier up to his support.'

History has told us how Sir Colin Campbell left Calcutta on October 27, and travelled day and night by horse *dák* to the seat of war; also that Sir Hope Grant's column was, during the first week in November, awaiting the Chief's arrival between the Banni bridge and 'Alam-bágh. We have from the same source full particulars of the second advance into Lakhnau up to the meeting of the commanders. Without again going over this ground, we have yet something to say on Outram's more than seven troublous weeks of command, passed in maintaining the position taken up both within and outside the walls of the continuously besieged Residency. Not that history has omitted to record this chapter of the Indian Mutiny; but that a summary of its contents is essential to the work we have undertaken.

We have spoken of his care for strengthening and supplying the detachment at the 'Alam-bágh. But the question, as it appeared to his mind, was not one of mere men and rations. Commanding the forces, near, as well as within, the rebellious city, he felt it a duty to attend to the security of his whole charge and the well-being of his soldiers in the most comprehensive sense. The letters which he sent to Major MacIntyre or Captain Sibley refer to minutiae of

¹ *Cossid*, strictly *kásid*, a messenger or courier.

interior defence—to the strength and equipment of escorts—to sanitary arrangements—to foraging—to working parties—to the administration of punishments—to the *narakh*, or authorised charge for bazaar supplies to Europeans and natives—to the better mode of carrying on intercommunication by signals, and other matters, inclusive of the disposal of particular exigencies. Examples may be readily found under each of the heads. The officer addressed is told at one time:—

Occupy the mosque in front of your gate by a small picket of Rifles, night and day; for if seized by the enemy they might harass you much thence. Burn all huts and cover within gunshot of your post. If you can spare time and followers to work, erect an earthen banquette inside your wall—at least at the most exposed spots, if not all round—and some flanking defences round your towers, or in front of your curtains.

At another, while enjoined not to relax in strengthening his position till the arrival of the Dehli column, he is thus instructed:—

In addition to the ramp inside the wall, loopholes and a redoubt outside each corner curtain, you should make a ditch outside all round, commencing with the most exposed places, of course. A traverse should also be constructed, connecting the mosque with four squares. . . . Surround your corner towers with a rampart of sandbags.

In reply to his report that the convoy under Major Bingham's orders had reached the 'Alam-bāgh, Outram issues orders which were obeyed with complete success:—

It is now most necessary to send back the elephants and camels, which, if the road is clear, might, unladen, make their way to Cawnpore in one forced march, if started off after dark under guidance of an intelligent officer who knows the fords of the Bunnee River. They should keep a sharp look-out in passing Bunnee and Busseerutgunge, making a *détour* should there be any appearance of opposition; which, however, could hardly be pre-

pared if they moved rapidly on, and strict precautions are taken to prevent traitors in your post sending notice of your intention, by preventing a soul getting outside your walls from the moment your preparations begin. But they must be well guarded, for the capture of our elephants would be an irreparable loss to us. One hundred riflemen at least should escort them, half of whom might be mounted on the elephants—the animals to be kept well together—as many Europeans as can be spared, who understand the native language (such as conductors, &c.), to be sent with the party, to prevent misunderstanding between the soldiers and the *mahouts* (elephant drivers), and to guard against the latter taking their animals off the road on any pretext, lest they should walk off with them to the enemy.

That the health of the detachment is also a primary consideration, he exemplifies in the following brief but essential warning:—‘Should elephants or camels die in the enclosure, the carcase should be yoked to bullocks and taken out sufficiently far to prevent them tainting the air.’

‘Be careful in not attempting forays beyond reach of your guns’ is one of his practical monitions. ‘It is most dangerous to weaken your position for ever so short a time; and you might fall into an ambuscade.’ And again:—‘If you cannot seize cattle in the field without exposing your men to risk of being cut off by cavalry, kill your cart-bullocks (and sheep if you have them) for their subsistence, and supply something from your European stores to those natives whose caste will not allow them to eat meat.’

Working parties he wished to be paid at the rate allowed in his own immediate range of defence. ‘European and native soldiers and camp-followers’ were to receive ‘for ordinary work in the trenches, one rupee for four hours’ work, or more or less in proportion to the time of work.’ Field engineers’ allowances were to be awarded to ‘officers commanding working parties, not on staff pay.’

Referred to in respect of punishments to be awarded in

certain cases, he says of one offence, that of a 'sentry sleeping on his post,' no more than 'Consult the articles of war, and act accordingly.' On others he is more explicit, and replies:—

(1) The Provost Marshal will inflict fifty lashes on any man caught in the act of plundering our own stores. If not *caught* in the act, but convicted, he will receive fifty lashes under sentence of court-martial.

(2) The troops should be warned that the commanding officer has received my orders to direct the Provost Marshal to hang on the spot the next man found thus offending, and that the order will be carried out without fail. The *jemadar* and *mahout* found communicating with the enemy should be tried by court-martial for rebellion, and if found guilty, hanged.

His sympathy for the poorer section of his force is testified in the following brief extracts:—

A camp-follower who has made his way from Alum Bagh informs me that you charge the poor followers one rupee a seer for atta!¹ I directed that the Mahomedan and meat-eating castes should be furnished with meat, by slaughtering the cart-bullocks necessary to supply them, and that the castes who cannot eat meat should be furnished from the European supplies until bazaar supplies arrived from Cawnpore; but this did not warrant your charging famine prices for the articles so supplied, or charging one fraction beyond the price they cost at Cawnpore; so I trust I am misinformed.

The price you put on meat and biscuit is much too high for poor camp-followers. An anna a seer is the utmost that should be charged; but the allowance, of course, to be limited in accordance with your means.

As regards the signalling, we select passages from letters written at the time of near approach of the Dehli column:—

The flag at the top of your house proclaims, I presume, that you received my despatches concealed in a bamboo stick, which I sent off during the night. . . .

¹ The *str* is two pounds avoirdupois—more or less, according to locality. *Átá* = flour.

I enclose a plan for telegraphic communication ; your share of which Sibley will, I hope, be able to construct, as I know he is a great mechanic. Ours will, I hope, be ready in a couple of days, and you will be able to make it out from the top of your house. A second set of apparatus should be got ready to send with the relieving column, for the purpose of being placed on the top of the Martinière.

The evening before the day on which we purpose telegraphing to you, a bonfire will be lit on the highest point of our position (the Residency roof), to enable you to know exactly our whereabouts. A similar illumination on the top of the Alum Bâgh will be proof to us that our signal has succeeded.

We shall signal at twelve, noon, of each day, the time best suited ; for the enemy annoy us least at this hour, and our signallers consequently will incur less danger.

Even should our signals fail from your being too far from us, still do not delay in having two sets of telegraphic apparatus prepared ; for so soon as we establish one set of apparatus at the Martinière, and yours also is ready, the signals will be carried on without difficulty.

I have requested the officer commanding the relieving force to light a beacon fire on the top of the top of the Alum Bâgh at 8 P. M., on the evening before advancing to Dil Khoosha. To prevent mistakes, a salvo of four or more guns should be fired *twice*. I have requested him to fire a similar salvo three times (five minutes interval) at 2 P. M. on the day of his arrival at Alum Bâgh.

The reference in the last extract to concealing despatches in a bamboo stick explains that intercommunication could only be carried on by resort to precarious devices. ‘Tell her I cannot write to her,’ are Outram’s words in the postscript of a letter to Captain Bruce, alluding to Lady Outram ; ‘because, as our expensive *coissids* can only carry a *quill*, private communications have been forbidden to others, and I cannot, in honour, take advantage to write privately myself.’ To Major MacIntyre he once wrote :—‘Can you send us any home newspaper . . . or late Calcutta papers . . . ? I would not risk *letters* ; but they sometimes manage to bring *papers*

&c. concealed in bundles of grass.' Another precaution adopted in this clandestine correspondence was the use of the Greek character. In the rebel ranks might naturally be many readers of English; but it was unlikely that there were many, if any, who could decipher English words when expressed in Greek letters. Though himself often put out of patience by this foreign, and to him unfamiliar, alphabet, the General was particular in enjoining its use. He thus admonishes one officer:—'You ask me to write in the English character—so would the enemy wish me to do. As the only security against their understanding what we write in case our letters fall into their hands, the Greek character *must* be used.'

One bold attempt was made to open communication with the 'Alam-bāgh by the direct Kānhpur road leading to the bridge of the Chhār-bāgh. But as the strong position taken up by the enemy in this particular quarter had been the cause of the circuitous passage of our troops on September 25, it was no easy matter to dislodge the possessors of the bridges and holders of the various defences which intervened. To effect the desired end, Major Haliburton, of H.M. 78th Highlanders, commenced on October 3 'to work from house to house with crow-bar and pickaxe.' The sequel is thus narrated:—

On the 4th, this gallant officer was mortally wounded; and his successor, Major Stephenson, of the Madras Fusiliers, disabled. During the whole of the 5th, these proceedings were continued; but on the sixth they were relinquished, it being found that a large mosque, strongly occupied by the enemy, required more extensive operations for its capture than were expedient; therefore, after blowing up all the principal houses on the Cawnpore road, from which the garrison had been annoyed by musketry, the reconnoitring party gradually withdrew to the post in front of Phillips' Garden, which has since been retained as a permanent outpost, affording comfortable accommodation to H.M. 78th Highlanders,

and protecting a considerable portion of the entrenchment from molestation, besides connecting it with the palaces occupied by General Havelock.

It was during these operations that the enemy, 'recovering from their surprise,' began to threaten the British position 'in the palaces and outposts, by mining and assaults.' From this point Sir James's official report of November 26 will best tell its own tale :—

As there were only a few miners in the garrison, and none with the field force, the enemy could not be prevented from exploding three mines, causing us a loss of several men ; and on the 6th they actually penetrated into the palaces in considerable numbers.

But they paid dearly for their temerity, being intercepted and slain at all points. Their loss on that day was reported in the city to have been 450 men.

A company of miners, formed of volunteers from the several corps, was placed at the disposal of the Chief Engineer, which soon gave him the ascendancy over the enemy, who were foiled at all points with the loss of their galleries and mines, and the destruction of their miners in repeated instances.

The Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment have zealously laboured at their own mines, and though separated only by a narrow passage (16 feet wide) from the enemy, have, under the guidance and direction of the Engineer department, defended and protected their position.

The outpost of her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, under Captain Lockhart, has also been vigorously assailed by the enemy's miners. Its proximity to the entrenchment made it convenient to place it under the charge of the officiating garrison engineer, Lieutenant Hutchinson, under whose skilful directions the enemy have been completely out-mined by the soldiers of her Majesty's 78th Regiment.

I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war : twenty-one shafts aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts ; of these they exploded three which caused us loss of life, and two which did no injury ; seven have been blown in ; and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners—

results of which the Engineer department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., and now submitted to his Excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security, and notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances, from 70 to 500 yards! This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quartermaster-General's departments, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench, and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet, and amidst a most murderous fire.

But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier—who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation—whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers—whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades, amidst their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours.

I now lay before his Excellency, Brigadier Inglis' report of the proceedings in the garrison, since its relief by the force under my command, since the capture of the enemy's batteries, and the occupation of the palaces and posts.

The position occupied by the Oude Field Force relieved the garrison of the entrenchment from all molestation on one half of its *enceinte*—that is, from the Cawnpore road to the commencement of the river front; and the garrison, reinforced by detachments of the 78th and Madras Fusiliers, was enabled to hold as outposts three strong positions commanding the road leading to the Iron Bridge, which have proved of great advantage, causing much annoyance to the enemy, and keeping their musketry fire at a distance from the body of the place.

The defences, which had been barely tenable, were thoroughly repaired, and new batteries were constructed to mount thirteen additional guns.

The enemy, after the capture of the batteries, adopted a new system of tactics. Their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance, and disposed so as to act, not against the defences, but against the interior of the entrenchment.

The moment they were searched out and silenced by our guns, their position was changed, so that their shot ranged through the entrenchment; and, but for the desultory nature of their fire, might have been very destructive. . . .

I cannot conclude this report without expressing to his Excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege,—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations,—denied all the little luxuries (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco,) which by constant use had become to them almost necessities of life,—smitten in many cases by the same scorbutic affections and other evidences of debility which prevailed amongst the original garrison,—compelled to engage in laborious operations,—exposed to constant danger, and kept ever on the alert,—their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and discipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest.

Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty.

It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed and suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need.

But it was truly delightful, and made one proud of his countrymen, to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne.

The many paragraphs in the original despatch, recognising the services of individuals, are necessarily parts of a permanent national record; and to repeat them in these pages would in no way enhance their value. But acts of heroism were frequent in those Lakhnau days, as readers well

know who have traced the succession of events from the reinforcement to the relief of the beleaguered British garrison. Colonel Napier's movement to rescue Colonel Campbell and men of the 90th, with their wounded comrades, from the walled passage in front of the Moti Mahál; and the bold sorties on September 26, were but the first of a series of soldiers' opportunities, which gave an undying reputation to those in whose way they fell. For some days there was little suspension of active hostility, at one time exhibited in hand-to-hand fighting, at another in musketry or artillery practice. At length there was a partial lull, and the action of the rebels relapsed into a more desultory and less continuous warfare. The list of killed and wounded between September 26 and the date of Sir Colin Campbell's arrival affords sad proof of the severity of the struggle while it lasted.

The conscientious precision which characterised Outram's ordinary official correspondence finds remarkable illustration in his letters to Captain Bruce throughout the trying period of which we write. This officer had become, as head of the Intelligence Department, the medium of communication between the Lakhnau Residency and the outer world; and though he would have preferred more active service in the field, were such offered, the agency which he fulfilled at Kánhpur had too special value to be dispensed with or lightly regarded. We commence our extracts from the days when the approach of a relieving force had raised expectation to its highest. The following, of October 21, is business-like and illustrative:—

Your messenger tells me that a force was prepared to cross the river, with convoy, for Alum Bágh, on the morning he left; but that, during the night, information having arrived that a large body of rebels (including Gwalior mutineers) was approaching Cawnpore, the troops had suddenly been sent off in their direction,

instead of crossing the river. As my letter to you prior to this, the 17th, was dated the 11th, I knew nothing of this intended movement, of which intermediate letters, not received, may have been intended to inform me. I sent (in a separate quill) a despatch from General Havelock, which please telegraph to Calcutta, with this copy of one from myself to the Commander-in-Chief, which oblige me by copying and expressing.

Your letter of the 8th was brought by Canojee Lall on the 10th. I have received nothing else from you before this of the 17th, which I now acknowledge, and only one from Wilson of the 11th.

As Canojee Lall took mine of the 13th to you, I presume you have received it, though you do not say so. I have sent the following despatches to you or Wilson; let me know which of them have been received: 26th, 29th, September 2nd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th. I am particularly anxious to know whether those of the 14th and 15th were received. The former, sent through Alum Bâgh, and addressed to the officer commanding the Delhi column, I intended to await his arrival at Alum Bâgh; but . . . stupidly sent it on to Cawnpore by one of your men. The latter, directed to Brigadier Wilson, was sent direct. They contained plans of the ground between Alum Bâgh and this place, with suggestions as to mode of co-operation; and I should not wish the enemy to have got hold of them, though written in the Greek character.

P.S.—I send duplicate of my letter to Wilson of the 16th. Our food, *upon a very reduced allowance indeed*, may possibly last till 20th November, but we should have no bullocks left to move the guns.

A week later, on October 28, he wrote to Captain Bruce in terms which disprove one of the few accusations circulated against him, viz. that of having unnecessarily hurried Sir Colin Campbell's advance from Kánhpur, thereby preventing the previous dispersion of the Gwáliar contingent. It will be observed that Sir James distinctly and urgently recommends that the Gwáliar force should first be disposed of, and promises to hold out till near the end of November if need be.¹

¹ The dates show that there would have been ample time to have attacked the Gwáliar troops and accomplished the advance on Lakhnau (which their

I received last night, by the hands of Canojee Lall, your letters of the 24th and 25th, with duplicate of that of 16th (neither original nor Bussarut have come).

Canojee has certainly proved himself most zealous and able, has richly earned reward, and shall assuredly obtain it. Having such faith in him, I purpose sending a plan and further instructions to the officer commanding the relieving force by him to-night, if ready in time.

If not ready to send by him, I hope it may safely reach Alum Bâgh by other means, there to await the arrival of Colonel Grant, or whoever may be in command of the force. I shall not detain Canojee beyond to-night, being anxious to prevent the force being hurried from Cawnpore to Alum Bâgh. The latter post, having now been amply supplied with food, and sufficiently strengthened to defy attack, is no longer a source of anxiety; and however desirable it may be to support me here, I cannot but feel that *it is still more important that the Gwalior rebels (said to be preparing to cross into the Doab) should be first disposed of.* I would therefore urge on Brigadier Wilson, to whom I beg you would communicate this as if addressed to himself, that I consider that the Delhi column, strengthened to the utmost by all other troops that can be spared from Cawnpore, should in the first instance be employed against the Gwalior rebels, should they attempt to cross into the Doab, or be tangible to assault elsewhere within reasonable distance. We can manage to screw on, if absolutely necessary, till near the end of November on further reduced rations. Only the longer we remain the less physical strength we shall have to aid our friends when they do advance, and the fewer guns shall we be able to move out in co-operation.

But it is so obviously to the advantage of the State that the Gwalior rebels should be first effectually destroyed, that our relief should be a secondary consideration. I trust, therefore, that Brigadier Wilson will furnish Colonel Grant with every possible aid to effect that object before sending here. Pray tell the Brigadier

(dispersion must have facilitated) between the receipt of this letter of Outram's and the end of November. Sir Colin was at the 'Alam-bâgh by November 12, and back again at Kânnpur by the 28th, with the Lakhnau garrison in charge, in spite of a day or two's delay at the Dilkusha. Outram's last gun bullock was killed on the 17th, the very day he first shook hands with Sir Colin Campbell.

that it is suspected the enemy obtain supplies of shot and shell from the Cawnpore magazine—stolen thence, and sold by blackguards who have access to where they are lying outside without any guard over them. So I am told. Ask him from me, with my salaam, to take such measures as will render pilfering ordnance stores impossible.

It is hard that your good service at Cawnpore should debar you from military duty with your regiment. Still, you are too zealous a servant of Government to grudge the sacrifice, if your presence there is indispensably necessary.¹

A copy of the letter from which we have just extracted was forwarded to Major MacIntyre, together with another enclosure, to the address of the Officer commanding the relieving force, the importance of which must account for its reproduction here *in extenso*. The pencil draft of it, in his own bold handwriting, remains among his papers:—

My communication of the 14th instant informed you I consider your first operation should be the occupation of the 'Dil Khoosha' house and park, by a direct movement to that place from the Alum Bâgh. The Fort of Jellalabad, which is situated a mile or a mile and a half to the right of that route, is said to be occupied by the enemy, with two guns; but it is too distant to interrupt that line of communication, and it is not likely to be maintained after the Dil Khoosha, in addition to Alum Bâgh, has been occupied in its rear. I think it hardly worth while, therefore, to waste time against that place, which at the commencement of the outbreak was little capable of defence, and is not likely since to have been repaired or stored sufficiently to admit of its retention. The guns now there appear to have been sent merely to interrupt the forage parties from Alum Bâgh. . . . Yet it will be prudent, in afterwards communicating with Alum Bâgh, to afford

¹ With the above letter Sir James Outram forwarded a plan of the ground intervening between the 'Alam-bâgh and Residency, together with minute descriptions of every position and building capable of being held by the enemy. It was based upon the only surveys that had then been made of Lakhnau—those of the late Captain Moorsom before the outbreak. [See plan at the end of volume. This note and those following, to p. 265, are in substance taken from Outram's Despatches, &c., printed for private circulation.]

strong escort until it is known whether or not Jellalabad is evacuated.

The direct advance from Alum Bâgh *via* Char Bâgh, and the main street marked (1) (1) (1) on the plan, should *not* be attempted, very formidable opposition being prepared on the other side of the Char Bâgh bridge, the bridge itself being destroyed, and the passage strongly fortified; besides which there are two miles of street to pass through, in which every means of obstruction have been prepared, the houses loopholed, and guns in position at various points, with ditches, mines, and other obstacles. For the same reason I would deprecate any attempt to force the street which runs from the junction of the Dil Khoosha and Martinière roads to the Kaiser Bâgh, marked (2) (2) (2).

At Dil Khoosha, it is stated, there are at present only some Rajwarra matchlockmen, with cavalry at Beebeepore village perhaps, and at the Martinière; but these are almost certain to decamp when you approach, and may perhaps suffer considerably ere they get across the canal, if followed up sharply by cavalry and horse artillery. Two guns were said to be at Dil Khoosha some days ago, probably those now at Jellalabad. If still there, they would have to be abandoned ere they could be crossed over the canal, if followed up.

It is possible that some of the so-called Regular Infantry may be sent over to the Dil Khoosha when they hear of your approach. If so, they will but add to their own confusion and panic flight when you attack, for never by any chance do they stand in the open. Two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, sent out to oppose Major Barston's convoy, fled at his approach without firing a shot; and on every occasion where whole hosts of them were opposed to ourselves it was just the same. The Dil Khoosha palace cannot be maintained under fire of our artillery, having large windows on every side. If any force of the enemy is assembled there, they must suffer awfully from your guns in escaping across the canal. Or should they fly to the Martinière, they will be in a similar predicament when you follow them up.

On seeing the Dil Khoosha occupied by your troops, the enemy would most probably evacuate the Martinière. After lodging your baggage in the garden to the rear of, and commanded by, the Dil Khoosha house (and surrounded by walls without houses, something like Alum Bâgh, and easily defensible), you would proceed against

the Martinière through the road marked (3) (3) (3). But it would be well, ere getting within musket range of the building, to throw a few shells and round shot into it, in case it should be occupied by the enemy, whose fire from the terraced roof might cause much loss ere you get near enough to rush up and blow open doors for entry. It would be well for you to have some one with you well acquainted with the Martinière building. And it may be a matter for your consideration whether it would not be better, if the place appears strongly fortified, to mask it by encamping your troops between the road (3) (3) and the canal, contenting yourself by bombarding the Martinière during the day and night, which will almost ensure its evacuation before morning. The mound marked (4)¹ would be a favourable site for a 24-pounder battery, which would command the opposite bank of the canal, where you purpose effecting your passage to protect the sappers in making a road for your guns.

It is possible the bridge leading to the Martinière may not be destroyed, and that you may prefer advancing over it. But, on reconnoitring, you will, I believe, find places where the canal may be crossed without much difficulty farther down, towards (6), which would enable you to turn any defensive works the enemy may prepare on the main road (2) (2) (2). If you cross the bridge, therefore, I would recommend your turning to the right after passing it, and making your way through the mud huts (indicated by the brown colour on the plan) until you get into the road running from (6) to (W) (W) (W)—W denotes some deserted and destroyed infantry lines—leaving the houses marked D D D on your left, and thus making your way into the road (7) (7), which passes the open front of the enclosure in which the barracks are situated. Should the barrack buildings be occupied (they were precipitately abandoned when we advanced from the same quarter) it may be prudent to throw a few shot and shell ere the infantry advances to the attack. Having large doors, open on both sides, as is customary in European barracks in India, I anticipate little difficulty in your effecting an entry. Staircases lead to the terrace roof from the interior of the centre room. The terrace is consider-

¹ Sir James Outram afterwards availed himself of this mound to plant a 24-pounder battery of the Shannon brigade, which effectually kept down the enemy's fire opened on the rear division under his command, when he finally retired to the 'Alam-bagh.

ably raised above, and therefore commands the houses of the Huzrutgunge, and a few rifles placed there could keep down any musketry fire from thence (Huzrutgunge), which alone could disturb the party left in occupation of the barracks when you advance farther. But it would be necessary to throw up a parapet of sand-bags, or screens of shutters, to protect the riflemen on the roof, as it has no parapet. The south wall of the enclosure is, however, sufficiently high to afford some protection against direct fire.

Should you cross by the bridge, your whole force would, I presume, come that way. And your next operation, after leaving an adequate guard for the barracks (say 300 or 400 infantry, some cavalry, and a couple of guns; or, probably, you might secure a gun, or two guns, which the enemy are said to have there), would be to proceed by the road (7) (7) to the Secundra Bâgh (G), which, if held, could easily be breached by 24- or 18-pounders—the wall being only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick—*vide* enclosed description.¹ It is said to be occupied by Maun Sing, with some 200 or 300 Rajwarrahs and two guns; the former are pretty sure to bolt when your guns open upon the place, and two or three shells are thrown into it.

If you cross the canal at (6), the main body of your force should proceed by the road from (6) to (W). A regiment and portion of artillery might, perhaps, make their way by the road which leads direct to the Secundra Bâgh (8) (8); but as it is not well defined, it may be more prudent to keep all together till you occupy the barracks.²

Should you have met with opposition, or been delayed much in crossing the canal, the day will be pretty far advanced ere you have occupied the barracks and Secundra Bâgh. These might be

¹ The Commander-in-Chief's force met with serious opposition at the Sikandra Bâgh, owing to their having approached it by a cross road from the rear, whence their breaching guns could not be brought up until the troops had been exposed for some time to a heavy fire. Had they come by the broad *pucka* road leading from the barracks, as suggested, their heavy guns could have opened upon the place while the infantry remained out of musketry fire. A practicable breach would then have been made, or the shelling would have driven the enemy out. As it was, however, the occupants, greatly more numerous than reported, had no means of egress, and were destroyed to a man; but our own troops also suffered severely in taking the place.

² Neither the roads (7) (7) nor (8) (8) were followed by Sir Colin Campbell's force, which was taken by a more circuitous and intricate road than either, and suffered greatly before its guns could be brought to the front.

the limit of your operation that day—encamping your force between, and a little in advance of, those two points, with its right rear on Secundra Bâgh, and the barracks on its left rear—thus obtaining a tolerably open plain to encamp on, with almost clear space in front, from which your guns would play upon the buildings which still intervene between your camp and our position, namely, the Shah Nujjif (H), Motee Mahal (K), Mess-house (M), and Tara Kottee (N), which, if held, might be bombarded from both our positions prior to commencing combined operations next morning. You would then decide on the garrisons to occupy the barracks and Secundra Bâgh, to maintain communication with Dil Khoosha, where your baggage would, I trust, be secure in the garden, protected by 200 men occupying the house, and a couple of guns. About the same strength (with convalescents) would suffice for Alum Bâgh, aided by the enemy's guns we have there. And, perhaps, two of our own guns, supported by 100 riflemen, would hold the Martinière, with a small body of cavalry to command the plain down to the canal. A strong picquet also should be placed in the nearest huts to the road by which you cross the canal. You would, perhaps, occupy the houses D D also, as further security for your communications.¹ Another point to which you should turn your attention while delayed in breaching the Secundra Bâgh is the destruction of the bridge of boats some few hundred yards thence.² If a troop of horse artillery and cavalry are sent off rapidly to any point commanding the boats, many men would be destroyed with the boats that would be sunk by your guns; and the destruction of the boats will prevent the enemy's force on the other side of the Goomtee coming over to molest you at night.

The signal that you are crossing the canal will be my notice to spring certain mines, and storm the posts now held by the enemy in my immediate front (9) (9); and once in possession of these, I shall open my guns on the buildings above mentioned, and endeavour, also, to silence the fire of the Kaiser Bâgh, which commands the open space between us, to favour our junction next

¹ All this was carried out, with the exception that the barracks and the houses D D were refused in the *advance* to the Sikandra Bâgh, and had, therefore, to be taken afterwards, and (it is believed) at a greater loss than had they been assailed in the first instance.

² The enemy's leaders themselves caused the bridge to be broken up to prevent the flight of their followers.

morning¹ when our united batteries could be turned upon the Kaiser Bâgh. And they would, I hope, in a day or two effect its capture, which is necessary to ensure the entire submission of the city.

It only remains to suggest a code of signals by which we may understand your movements.

(1) A salvo of four or more guns, fired three times at five minutes' interval, at 2 P.M. on the day you reach Alum Bâgh, to let us know you have arrived there. (2) A similar signal to be fired at 2 P.M. on the day before you advance to the Dil Khoosha house. (3) On occupying the Dil Khoosha, display a regimental colour from the roof. (4) Also the same on obtaining the Martinière, which we will answer by a colour on the top of the Chutter Munzil (10).

As it may occupy a longer time than I anticipate to make your arrangements at Dil Khoosha, and to cut your road for guns to cross the canal, &c., on the evening before you cross the canal, hoist two colours on the top of the Dil Khoosha, one above the other, that we may be prepared to spring our mines when you advance next morning.

You will, I suppose, leave all heavy baggage at Alum Bâgh, bringing only light carts, elephants, camels, and pony or bullock carriages, to the Dil Khoosha. But I beg you will bring the kits of the European troops here; for the cold weather is coming on, and they have neither great coats nor bedding.

When you advance from the Dil Khoosha, I hope you will be able to bring on with you a few days' supply of rum, tobacco, and tea, for the Europeans (who have been so long without these luxuries), and *gram for our horses*. Other supplies, which are less pressing, we can obtain when an escort can go back to the Dil Khoosha for more. Those which I have specified could come with you on elephants or camels, to be pushed on to the garrison the moment we effect a junction. We cannot rely on the resources of the city being opened to us until we secure the Kaiser

¹ This was done. Sir James Outram's troops stormed and took the buildings (9) (9) on the day Sir Colin took the Sikandra Bâgh. Sir James then opened his batteries on the Mess-house, Kaiser Bâgh, &c., exactly as here proposed, until the junction was effected; and the Kaiser Bâgh could have soon after been taken, had it not been determined to withdraw our forces for a time. —(See the Despatches of General Havelock, Brigadier Eyre, Colonel Napier, &c., in reference to these operations.)

Bâgh, which may occupy some days. Until then, we must rely on sharing your supplies.

I think it most probable the enemy will abandon his positions between the Dil Khoosha and this place when you cross the canal, in dread of being caught between two fires.¹

In that case our junction will be effected on the same day you cross the canal; but it will be equally necessary to occupy the intermediate positions I have indicated, in order to secure our communication with the Dil Khoosha. The enemy's bridge of boats must be destroyed to prevent their getting to your rear.

So far as we learn, the enemy have, between the Dil Khoosha and this place, one gun in a 'morchah,' at the junction of the Dil Khoosha and Martinière roads, two guns at the barracks, and two guns at the Secundra Bâgh, which are all that could be brought within a day or two to oppose your passage across the canal. Other guns are directed against this position from the Kaiser Bâgh, and at (9) (9), but they are not likely to be withdrawn for other work; and there are four or five heavy guns on the other side of the Goomtee which it would take some time to get over; and they are not likely to be removed, as they play upon our position: these will be cut off when you destroy the bridge of boats.

If you delay crossing the canal more than a day after occupying the Dil Khoosha, two or three other guns may perhaps be brought, which now guard the main street leading from the Char Bâgh; but they have great difficulty in moving their guns, as they are so badly mounted.

I would recommend your bringing on the 24-pounders and 8-inch howitzers from Alum Bâgh, and at least two of the 9-pounders now there. (If the enemy's captured guns will suffice for the defence of that post, bring all ours.) Also plenty of ammunition, for the big guns especially; powder for explosive purposes; and mining-tools. I send descriptions of all the buildings that may be occupied by the enemy between us and the Dil Khoosha.

This further letter to Major MacIntyre—again alluding to the necessity of clearing off any threatened attack on

¹ This they probably would have done, had not their egress from Sikandra Bâgh been cut off by approaching it from the rear.

Kánhpur before advance on Lakhnau—was written on October 31 :—

The flag at the top of your house proclaims, I presume, that you received my despatches concealed in a bamboo stick, which I sent off during the night.

I hope you found the plan as well as the despatches, by splitting up the whole of the bamboo. But it is now reported that there are *two* flags shown by you—one above the other—which I can only interpret as indicating that the relieving force has already reached you. This is just possible, as the Delhi column was expected at Cawnpore on the 26th (my last communication from that place was dated the 25th). If so, it is sooner than I expected, supposing as I did that it would be detained to oppose the Gwalior rebels; and sooner than I now wish; for certain mines that I am preparing cannot be ready for a week or ten days; and I require to explode these ere I can move out to co-operate with the relieving column.

The delay is desirable, also, to increase the strength of the column as much as possible by the additional European troops closing daily up to Cawnpore.

The stronger the column is the better able it will be to afford garrisons for Alum Bâgh, Dil Khoosha, and Martinière, ere it reaches the canal; and to furnish the various detachments afterwards required to maintain the positions necessary to secure our communications with the Dil Khoosha after its junction with us. At the lowest computation these drafts will diminish the strength of the column by at least 1,200 infantry, besides cavalry and guns; and could more men be spared, it might be prudent perhaps to garrison the Dil Khoosha (having to protect the baggage and stores, &c.) by more than the 200 men and two guns, and cavalry as I have suggested.

If, therefore, the column has arrived at Alum Bâgh, I would beg the commanding officer to wait there till further orders, and more troops join him from Cawnpore; where you should send copy of this express to Brigadier Wilson, with my request that he pushes on to Alum Bâgh all further troops as they arrive, or such detachments as can conveniently be spared beyond the 350 required for his own garrison, *if he is not seriously threatened from any quarter*. As the column would be detained so long at

Alum Bâgh, it might be advantageously occupied in driving the enemy from Jellalabad, which I should think might be done by the mere appearance of a strong detachment before the place, and throwing a few shells into it. And I trust no tedious siege operations would, under any circumstances, be required.

The column, when it does advance, should be well supplied with ammunition, especially for the large guns, and shot and shell ; for we may have a good deal of bombardment work after our junction ; also abundance of powder for explosive purposes. All food supplies should be brought on to the Dil Khoosha—except what may be required for the Alum Bâgh garrison—to save us from the necessity of detaching escorts.

We cannot calculate on obtaining anything from the city for some days after the column joins, as perhaps the place I indicated in my yesterday's letter may have to be got hold of first.¹ But your *heavy* carts had perhaps better be left at Alum Bâgh, as there is no made road to the Dil Khoosha.

If there is a long string of baggage, the rear-guard should be strong, even though the enemy are not likely to venture an attack in the open country between Alum Bâgh and Dil Khoosha.

Please send our private carriage, kit, and servants with the column.

Should the column not have arrived, oblige me by forwarding copy of this to Brigadier Wilson, with a request that he will consider it addressed to himself, i.e. so far as Cawnpore arrangements are concerned.

The Commander-in-Chief left Kânnpur for Lakhnau on November 9, joining the head-quarters of his small army² under Sir Hope Grant beyond Banni. Here he was met by

¹ The Kaisar Bâgh.

² 'The whole force, of all arms, under the Commander-in-Chief, was not above 4,200 men, and with these he had to rescue Outram from the grasp of 60,000, occupying a position of immense strength, before November 18, and save Windham, whose entrenched camp at Cawnpore, covering the boat-bridge over the Ganges, was our sole line of retreat, from the attack of the Calpee forces . . . Divided nominally into three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, with artillery, sailors, and engineers, it hardly numbered one strong brigade—not more than 4,200 sabres and bayonets—and, small as it was, it was unequal in its composition.'—'Lord Clyde's Campaign in India': *Blackwood's Magazine* for October, 1858.

Mr. Kavanagh, who, in the disguise of a native, quitting the Residency and boldly passing through the enemy's lines, brought with him Outram's plans of the city and suggestions as to the route to be adopted by the relieving force. On the 12th he had encamped behind the 'Alam-bágh; his advanced guard having smartly repulsed the enemy during the day, taking two field-pieces. On the 13th there was a halt; tents were packed within the fortified enclosure, and the Fort of Jalálabad was destroyed. On the 14th the march was made to the Dilkusha, which position was occupied agreeably to Outram's suggested 'first operation.' The enemy having been driven to and beyond the Martinière, that building was also taken possession of and held by our men, and became the Chief's head-quarters on November 15. On the 16th the force advanced 'along the river bank for about a mile, and then by a narrow and tortuous lane, through thickly wooded enclosures, and between low mud houses, upon the Secundra-bágh.'¹ This movement involved a *détour* to the right further than either of the two roads named by Outram; and was attended with the serious disadvantage that the breaching guns were not brought to bear upon the enemy's position until the troops had been for some time exposed to a heavy fire. Had the advance been made by the broad road leading from the barracks (that one, in fact, followed by Outram and Havelock in September), the heavy guns, it was believed, could have opened upon the place at once, the infantry remaining out of reach of shot. As it was, the capture of the Sikandra-bágh was a brilliant feat of arms; nor was the storming of the Shah Najaf, which followed, a less striking achievement. On the next day, the building known as the 'Mess-House' was gallantly taken: and the rebels were driven from the Tára Kothi and Moti Mahál, in the precincts of which latter structure they made

¹ See also the article above quoted.

their final stand. Here it was that the three generals met ; and by virtue of this meeting Sir Colin could report to the Governor-General that 'the relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished.'

But it is more to our immediate purpose to see what had been done by those awaiting relief. Sir James Outram eagerly watched for signals from the approaching column. At about 11 A.M. on the 16th the movement upon the Sikandra-bāgh was certified, and he directed that his proposed response should have immediate effect. This was, to blow in the outer wall of the advance garden belonging to the palace of Farid Bakhsh, and open our batteries upon the insurgent defences in front, following up the operation by the storm of the 'Hirn-khāna' and steam-engine house under which three mines had been driven. The initiative explosion was, in the words of General Havelock, to whom had been entrusted the conduct of these operations, 'comparatively feeble, so the batteries had the double task of completing the demolition of the wall and prostrating and breaching the works and the buildings beyond it.' We read in the same despatch :—

'Brigadier Eyre commanded in the left battery ; Captain Olpherts in the right ; Captain Maude shelled from six mortars in a more retired quadrangle of the palace. The troops were formed in the square of the Chuttur Lunzil, and brought up in succession through the approaches, which in every direction intersected the advance garden. At a quarter-past three two of the mines at the Hern Khana exploded with good effect. At half-past three the advance sounded. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned.

‘Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession, and have since been armed with cannon, and held against all attack.’¹

From the point now occupied, however, to the Moti Mahál, the most advanced position held by Sir Colin’s troops, about half a mile intervened; and the way from one place to the other was exposed to the enemy within easy musket-shot. According to a recent writer,² ‘the risk did not prevent the two gallant generals and their staff from crossing the space to meet the Commander-in-Chief. They started—eight officers and one civilian. They were Outram, Havelock, Napier (now Lord Napier of Magdala), Vincent, Eyre, young Havelock (now Sir Henry Havelock), Dodgson, the Deputy Adjutant-General, the aide-de-camp Sitwell, the engineer Russell, and the gallant Kavanagh. They had not gone many paces before they were seen by the enemy, and the musketry fire from the Kaisarbágh redoubled. Napier was struck down, young Havelock was struck down, Sitwell and Russell were struck down. Outram, Havelock, Eyre, Dodgson, and Kavanagh, alone reached the Moti Mahál uninjured.’ The cordial greeting which ensued may be better imagined than described. On the Chief’s part it has been publicly recorded as a cause of ‘inexpressible satisfaction.’

More work, however, remained to be done—work both hazardous and delicate. The generals had come out to welcome their leader; but, as the despatch puts it, this was ‘before the action was at an end’—in other words, rebellion was rampant around. Immediate steps must be taken to

¹ We regret much having to omit the Reports of officers engaged.

² Colonel Malleon: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii.

drive back the more forward of our opponents; and the garrison had to be withdrawn—not merely a number of able-bodied men, fighting-men, but sick and wounded, together with women and children. There were, moreover, ordnance stores and indispensable impedimenta of all kinds to be conveyed away with the living occupants of the Residency and adjoining defences.¹ The conference at the Mess-house by the Moti Mahál was not long, however much to the purpose; and, running the gauntlet a second time, Outram and Havelock retraversed the space which separated the more advanced of the two British positions.

But to remove women and children, with the sick and wounded, from a hotbed of active sedition such as Lakhnau then was, without risk and exposure to the fire of numerous foemen, was no simple process. Nor could the task be speedily accomplished. It was a matter of six days, and busy days too. We learn from his despatch how the Chief secured the left rear of his position by the seizure of Banks's house on the night of November 17, afterwards completing a chain of posts in that direction in the face of a vigorous opposition from the rebels, who kept up an incessant fire upon the barrack and houses occupied by our troops; also how admirably the Bengal Horse Artillery lent their aid in effecting their object. We then read:—

During the next three days I continued to hold the whole of the country from the Dilkoosha to the gates of the Residency; the left flank having been secured in the manner above mentioned, with a view to extricating the garrison, without exposing it to the chance of even a stray musket-shot.

From the first all the arrangements have been conducted to—

¹ That articles of personal use or comfort could not have formed a large item, we may infer from the circumstance that the members of Outram's and Havelock's reinforcement had their baggage and servants at the 'Alam-bágh, coming into Lakhnau with only the clothes on their backs, which few had put off for forty days. (See Havelock's letters to his family, in *Marshman's Biography*.)

wards this end. The whole of the force under my immediate command being one outlying picquet, every man remained on duty, and was constantly subject to annoyance from the enemy's fire; but such was the vigilance and intelligence of the force, and so heartily did all ranks co-operate to support me, that I was enabled to conduct this affair to a happy issue, exactly in the manner originally proposed.

Upon the 20th, fire was opened on the Kaiserbagh, which gradually increased in importance till it assumed the character of regular breaching and bombardment.

The Kaiserbagh was breached in three places by Captain Peel, R.N., and I have been told that the enemy suffered much loss within its precincts. Having thus led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated, orders were issued for the retreat of the garrison through the lines of picquets, at midnight on the 22nd.

The ladies and families, the wounded, the treasure, the guns—which it seemed worth while to keep—the ordnance store, the grain still possessed by the commissariat of the garrison, and the State prisoners, had all been previously removed.

Sir James Outram had received orders to burst the guns which it was thought undesirable to take away, and he was finally directed silently to evacuate the Residency of Lucknow at the hour indicated.

The dispositions to cover their retreat and to resist the enemy, should he pursue, were ably carried out by Brigadier Hon. Adrian Hope; but I am happy to say the enemy was completely deceived, and he did not attempt to follow. On the contrary, he began firing on our old positions many hours after we had left them. The movement of retreat was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combination.

Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns with which I was myself to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up the picquets.

The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous lane, and all these precautions were absolutely necessary, to insure the safety of the force.

The extreme posts on the left under Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, of H.M.'s 82nd Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, of H.M.'s

23rd Foot, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, of H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders, made their way by a road which had been explored for them after I considered the time had arrived, with due regard to the security of the whole, that their posts should be evacuated.

It was my endeavour that nothing should be left to chance ; and the conduct of the officers in exactly carrying out their instructions was beyond all praise.

It will be seen in the foregoing extract that to Sir James Outram had been entrusted the arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency. The memorandum supplied for his guidance by the Chief of the Staff, though expressing that the emigration would take place at night, referred mainly to the ordnance and stores to be removed. 'That his responsible duty would be ably and effectively fulfilled could not be doubted. This charge must have been assigned to him at the outset : for the day after the Chief's arrival, in the hope that *dak* communications had been effected with Kánhpur, he wrote a few hurried lines to Lady Outram, thus alluding to the circumstance:—'I have enough to do just now in arranging the difficult and delicate operation of the withdrawal of our troops with the vast number of women, sick and wounded (about 1,500 souls).' He adds in the same letter, with his thoughtfulness for others:—'Tell the good Bishop the Catholic priests are well, with the exception of the usual gout. My wound is entirely healed, and was nothing to signify, not having laid me up for a single day.' Four days later he again addressed Lady Outram from the Residency, stating his expectation of moving out the garrison in Havelock's division to the Chief's camp, that night. 'Our further plans,' he continued, 'will then be arranged. . . . General Havelock being ill, and several of my staff being wounded, I have much thrown on my hands and have not a moment to spare for writing. I cannot answer one of the hundred letters which were brought to me

yesterday—the first mail we have received for two months—for the Chief's army did not bring our mails with them.'

The delicate operation of evacuation was effected by night, along the bank of the Gúm-ti, and under cover of the palaces which had been bravely held by Havelock's division during the siege. So quietly was it accomplished that the enemy were completely outwitted and kept up for hours a heavy fire on the tenantless position. An eye-witness, Mr. Money, supplies us with a glimpse of the final scene. 'I had passed out of the entrance gate of the Bailey Guard at Outram's request, and I saw that he held back. The thought struck me at once that he wished to be the last man to quit the garrison—but it was not to be. Brigadier Inglis had observed the move, and at once said, "You will allow me, Sir James, to be the last, and to shut the gates of my old garrison." Outram at once yielded, and Inglis closed the gates.'—But it happened that neither was the last man to leave. That honour was reserved for an officer then peacefully slumbering within. He had overslept himself and awaked to find himself the sole occupant of the garrison, but fortunately in time to overtake the retiring force unscathed. So ended the 'Defence of Lakhnau.'

Sir James assigned to the 78th the post of honour—the rear of his retiring force, enjoining them not to keep step, lest the regular tramp should be heard by the enemy. More noteworthy still, he particularly desired Major Lockhart to inform them that as they had been the first in, so should they be the last out. The whole force reached Dilkúsha on the afternoon of the 23rd. From this post the enemy had been driven off by our cavalry on the previous day. On the way, at the Martinière, Sir Colin issued the following general order :—

The Commander-in-Chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow.

Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number, in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions.

From the morning of the 16th, till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picquet never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scathless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force.

That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks; and it is with the greatest gratification his Excellency declares that he never saw men behave better.

The storming of Secundra Bâgh and Shah Nujeeb has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete.

The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was, that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous lane, the only line of retreat open, in the face of 50,000 enemies, without molestation.

The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow.

The withdrawal of the Lakhnau garrison was truly one of those *perfect* military combinations of which a nation may be proud, and which afford peculiar satisfaction to the General actually responsible. Sir James Outram was distressed to find the credit assigned to him when due to the Commander-in-Chief. The following passage in his official acknowledgment of the vote of the freedom of the city of London, though written in 1859, may not unappropriately find a place here :—

‘Sir James Outram feels most gratefully the generous warmth with which one honourable speaker eulogised his services; but he is in honour bound to disclaim much of the

credit ascribed to him, which is due alone to his great commander—Lord Clyde. The withdrawal of the Lucknow garrison, the credit of which is assigned to Sir James, was planned by Lord Clyde, and effected under the protection of the troops immediately under his lordship's command, Sir James Outram merely carrying out his chief's orders. In like manner were the operations which resulted in the capture of that city entirely planned by Lord Clyde, Sir James Outram merely carrying out such portions of the subordinate operations as were entrusted to him. Neither can Sir James Outram claim the credit attributed to him of having "headed the storming party," "made the breach," or being "the first to scale the heights;" and most earnestly does he disavow any title to be regarded as, on that occasion, "though second, everywhere the first."

A difference of opinion had arisen between the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief Commissioner, regarding the course to be pursued after the withdrawal of the Residency garrison, which we shall allow the former to explain in his own words. We have no record of Sir James's arguments in favour of an immediate attack upon the Kaisar Bagh, with the force then available, as the first step towards ejecting the rebels from Lakhnau and regaining possession of the city; but we are told that General Havelock agreed with him.¹ Sir Colin referred the question for the decision of the Governor-General in the following telegram, dated November 20:—

The garrison of Lucknow has been removed, and I am now engaged in carrying the women and wounded to the rear. I propose to move the whole force to an open position outside the town, without further loss of life. Sir James Outram, on the contrary, desires that an attack on the Kaiser Bagh should be made, and then

¹ 'Sir James Outram and Havelock were anxious that an attack should be made on the palace, which they felt would be successful, and that we should then continue to hold the town, for that two battalions of 600 men would be sufficient to hold it.'

to continue to hold the position in the town. He thinks that two strong brigades of 600 men would suffice to hold the town after the Kaiser Bâgh had fallen. But I am of opinion that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now mentioned by me to the Alum Bâgh, and constantly under the fire of the enemy—that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged.

I have always been of opinion that the position taken up by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was a false one; and after becoming acquainted with the ground, and worked my troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion is confirmed. I therefore submit, that to commit another garrison in this immense city is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it.

I conceive that a strong moveable division outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position, is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to our practice with the other great city (*sic*) of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oude.

Such are the general grounds for my opinion. The more special ones are—the want of means, particularly infantry; field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control; and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oude than such a division as I have mentioned, as evidence of the intentions of Government.

In the meantime I await the instructions of your Lordship in the position I have taken up.

Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country, I have delayed further movement till I shall receive your Lordship's reply.

Lord Canning replied on the 21st:—‘The one step to be avoided is, a total withdrawal of the British forces from Oude. Your proposal to leave a strong moveable division, heavy artillery, outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy.’

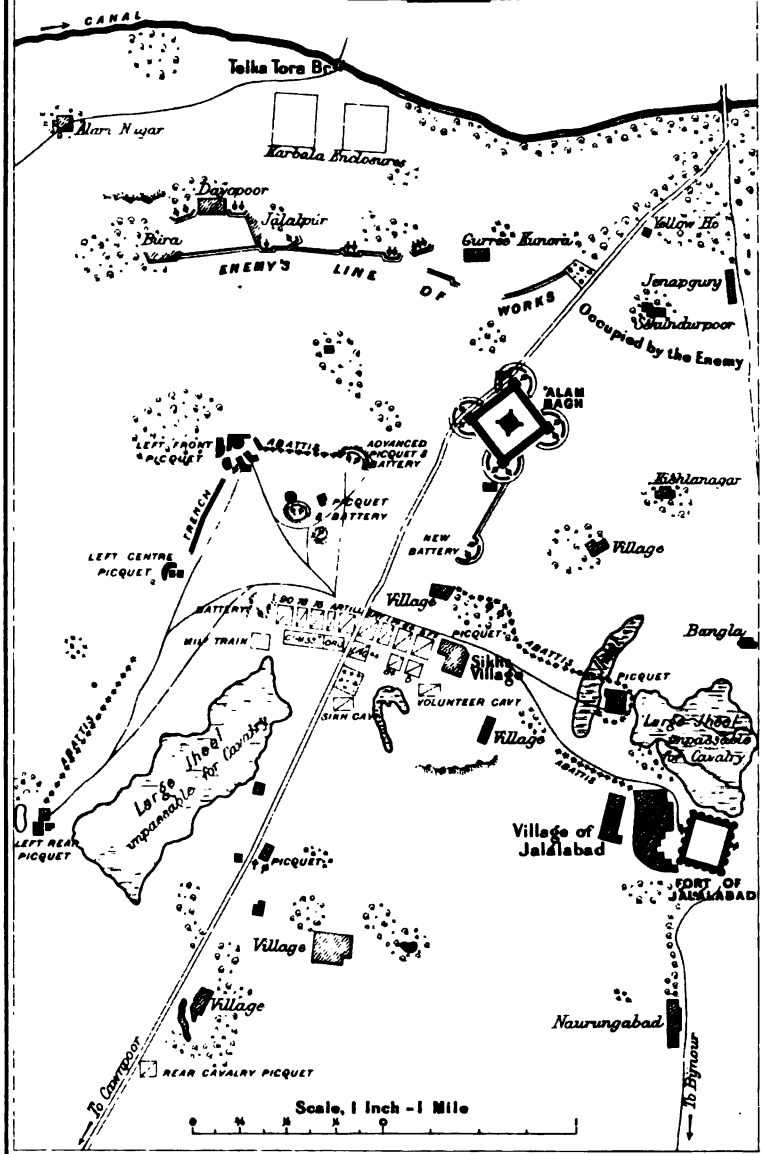
On November 24, Sir Colin proceeded with General Grant's division to the 'Alam-bágh; leaving Outram in position at Dilkusha, to prevent molestation of the women and wounded who were moving onward towards Kánhpur. In the forenoon of the Saturday, that honoured Christian soldier, Henry Havelock, worn out by toil, privation, and sickness, breathed his last. Outram contributed to Mr. Marshman's Biography a long and interesting letter, giving, among other details, the particulars of an affecting interview he had with his dying comrade on the eve of his death. The writer was deeply moved and admits he could not restrain his tears. 'On the evening of the 23rd,' he says, 'I had a most affecting interview with him. . . . His tenderness was that of a brother. He told me he was dying, and spoke from the fulness of his honest heart of the feelings which he bore towards me, and of the satisfaction with which he looked back to our past intercourse and service together, which had never been on a single occasion marred by a disagreement of any kind, nor embittered by an angry word. . . . How truly I mourned his loss is known to God and my own heart. . . . I myself was denied the melancholy satisfaction of attending his honoured remains to the grave, by being left at Dilkusha to bring up the rear division. . . .'

On the 25th the remains of the deceased general were conveyed to the 'Alam-bágh, where they were interred on the day following in presence of the Commander-in-Chief and many officers and men. To provide against future contingencies, Outram caused the grave to be smoothed over so as to escape detection. At the same time he directed such minute measurements to be taken as to lead to the recognition, when required, of the precise site. Moreover, to obviate all accidents, a memorandum of these measurements was forwarded to Calcutta for preservation among the archives of Government.

Maj. Genl Sir J. Outram's Position

from 23rd Nov^r 1857 to 6th March 1858.

ON THE PLAIN OF THE 'ALAM BAGH.



CHAPTER IV.

1857-1858.

Outram at the 'Alam-Bâgh.'

THE Commander-in-Chief left 'Alam-bâgh on November 27. Sir James Outram's instructions were to remain there until circumstances should admit of the recapture of Lakhnau; and 'hold the city in check,' in accordance with the desire of the Governor-General. Full justice has only recently been done to the manner in which he and his division carried out the duty thus imposed upon them—owing to a misconception of what that duty was. The prevalent idea appears to have been that it merely involved a continuance of the defence of the fortified enclosure hitherto so well held by Major MacIntyre; but that the manner in which it had been fulfilled nevertheless reflected much credit on the General and his troops, who had repelled several heavy attacks with very little loss to themselves. Colonel Malleon's graphic chapter devoted to the defence of the 'Alam-bâgh, has, however, effectually removed all excuse for such an impression, and his eloquent narrative leaves nothing to be desired. We shall continue, as far as possible, to allow the General himself to narrate events and explain his views. His reports are so full, so candid, and so suggestive of the man himself, that a freer use of official wording seems admissible in his case, than

¹ With reference to his statement in the Preface regarding assistance derived in the present volume, the biographer would explain that he has rather 'edited' than 'written' this chapter on the 'Alam-bâgh.'

might be in that of more laconic, perhaps more terse, writers of despatches.

When Sir James Outram, after covering the retirement of the army and non-combatants from the Dilkushá, took up the position appointed him—subsequently known as that of the 'Alam-bágh—he found the enclosure of that name, fortified in accordance with his instructions from the Residency, available for the defence of his right front, but capable of accommodating only a small garrison; while his right flank might be protected by another detachment thrown into the dilapidated old native Fort of Jalálabad, exactly two and a half miles distant. His main force must encamp on the open plain, across the Kánhpur road, and be protected by extemporised field works which necessitated a circuit of very nearly eleven miles. These detached works, added to as occasion required and time permitted, were not connected by continuous trenches. Such was really the position in which, for three months, Outram's division held in check 120,000 organised troops, with more than 130 guns, besides the crowd of armed fanatics which a Mohammedan population supplies in profusion. It must be borne in mind also, that across the front of the camp stretched for miles the outskirts of Lakhnau, affording advantageous cover, within easy range, for the rebel pickets and batteries. Outram's orders were to act on the defensive; but even if unfettered, to attack such advance posts, unless preparatory to an assault upon the city itself, would have been to throw away his men's lives to no purpose. A heavy gun or two might have been taken, a few of the enemy killed, but with no permanent result. So his part was to watch, to ward, and to strike only when he got an open chance. The country around, though level, abounded in villages which covered the approach of an attacking force, and facilitated its retreat

when worsted. Sir James thus explains the whole situation clearly, in the retrospective despatch of February 28 :—

‘ . . . Circumstances demanded that, on the relief of Lucknow, his Excellency should withdraw his army to other districts, certainly for months, possibly for the greater part of a year. But it was deemed of paramount importance that a military footing should be retained in Oude during his Excellency’s absence, however protracted that might prove ; and to the division which it has been my honour and good fortune to command, was allotted the task of maintaining for an indefinite period, the honour of the British arms, and of representing the authority of the British Government in this province.

‘ It was considered advisable, both on political and strategic grounds, that we should remain in close proximity to the capital. The position assigned us was within a mile and a half of the suburbs of Lucknow. Our advanced posts were within gunshot range of the outworks of a vast city, swarming with hosts of mutinous sepoy, with Nujeebs, the undisciplined but well-armed soldiers of the rebel government, with many thousand city “budmashes,” the armed and turbulent scum of a population of 700,000 souls, and with numerous bands of those feudal retainers of the chieftains and great zemindars of Oude, whose normal state for the last fifty years has been one of warfare.¹

¹ ‘ MEMORANDUM.

‘ *Strength of the Enemy on January 26, 1858, as ascertained by Captain Alexander Orr, of the Intelligence Department.*

37	Regiments of Sepoys, including Oude Force . . .	27,550
14	“ new Levies	5,400
106	“ Nujeebs	55,150
26	“ Regular and Irregular Cavalry . . .	7,100
	Camel Corps	300
	Total	95,500

'The enemy thus ranged against us, and certain to receive large accessions from the Sepoys dispersed in other parts by the victorious forces of his Excellency, had the resources of the entire province at their disposal: while our supplies had to be derived periodically from Cawnpore, a distance of forty-five miles: they were known to be well furnished in artillery, and to be strong in cavalry, an arm in which we were ourselves lamentably deficient:—and they were animated by every motive of hostility and vengeance that could be supplied to men conscious of having irretrievably committed themselves, by the inflammatory exhortations of Hindoo and Mahomedan fanatics of reputed sanctity, and by the scornful taunts to which they were subjected by the spirited mother of the boy-king.

'Such was the position assigned to the 1st Division on the 27th November last; and to enable it to perform the duties that must devolve on it, his Excellency increased its strength to 4,442 men of all arms, Europeans and natives. But his Excellency is aware that, of this nominal force, a detachment 540 strong (subsequently reinforced by 100 Europeans) was ordered to be kept at Bunnee, 12 miles off, where, though of service in keeping open our rear, and preserving the bridge over which the army had to return when advancing to the reduction of Lucknow, they were obviously of little use to

Artillery.—Guns of all sorts and calibres, not including wall pieces, and the guns brought from Futtehpore, 131. Number of artillerymen not known.

'The above is exclusive of the armed followers of the Talookdars and Zemindars still at Lucknow on January 26, amounting, at the lowest calculation, to 20,000 men, exclusive of the armed budmashes of the city, and exclusive also of four or five regiments that fled to Lucknow from Futtehpore with three to five guns, amounting to certainly not less than 3,000. The total aggregate of hostile forces at Lucknow on January 26, not less than 120,000 of all arms. Since that date several of the Zemindaree troops have left; but their place has been much more than supplied by the regiments ordered in from the district.'

this division in the special duty assigned to it of holding the plain of Alumbagh.¹

‘ Our original force was therefore in reality considerably less than 4,000 of all ranks. Of these the forts of Alumbagh and Jellalabad absorbed about 600 men, brigade and camp duties 450 more, and thus, after deducting sick and wounded, there remained of all arms and ranks (European and Native) little more than 2,000 available for action during the absence of the convoys (averaging 450 men) which we had fortnightly to send to Cawnpore. These were on the road for about two-thirds of each month, and of their departure and return the enemy were of course as well informed as ourselves.

‘ The military topography of the locality, and our grazing exigencies, rendered it impossible to reduce the circumference of our camp and its outworks to less than 10 miles

Corps	Detail	
	Europeans	Natives
Artillery	332	108
CAVALRY.		
Military Train	221	—
Volunteer Cavalry	67	—
12th Irregular Cavalry	3	40
Oude Irregular Cavalry	1	37
INFANTRY.		
5th Fusiliers	526	—
84th Foot	431	—
75th Foot	355	—
78th Highlanders	439	—
90th Light Infantry	591	—
1st Madras Fusiliers	411	—
Ferozapore Regiment	5	295
Madras Sappers	4	110
27th Madras Native Infantry	9	457
Total	3,395	1,047
Grand Total, Europeans and Natives .	4,442	

and 1,200 yards.¹ And on our small force there devolved the duty not only of defending this large and incompact position against a foe who could have brought large bodies of troops to bear against us simultaneously at several distant points, but of supplying foraging parties, and of being prepared to move out beyond our limits to meet the enemy, whenever, by his attempts to cut off our communications, to menace Bunnee or Cawnpore, or by other hostile demonstrations, he might render such an operation necessary.'

While cheerfully undertaking the military duty imposed upon him, Sir James Outram did not altogether approve of his position. His objections were, however, based solely on the assumption that it had been decided upon to defer the capture of Lakhnau, contrary to his expressed views, until next cold season. If it were so—and all the information he had received led him to suppose it—he considered it his duty—not as a General of Division, but as Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—to recommend a withdrawal of his force to some point near Kánhpur, such as Mangalwar. He judged that the political effect would be more satisfactory, while military risks and difficulties would be reduced to a minimum. He gave full reasons for his conviction that, until Lakhnau had been reduced, it would be unwise to attempt to move troops about in Oudh for the re-establishment of our government or the collection of revenue. To do so would be unfair to those

¹ 'MEMORANDUM.

'Length of Lines from Picquet to Picquet, enclosing the Position defended by 1st Division.

Jellalabad to Alumbagh	4,400 yards.
Alumbagh to left front village	3,600 "
Left front to left rear village	3,900 "
Left rear village to rear picquet	2,400 "
Rear picquet to Jellalabad	5,500 "
Total	18,800

Or a total of 10 miles and 1,200 yards.

W. R. MOORSOM, *Lieutenant, Deputy Quartermaster-General.*

who might welcome us, and dangerous for our detachments. 'Meanwhile,' he argued, 'it is immaterial what particular spot in Oude is held as a proof that we have not deserted it, so long as a footing is retained in the province: for no civil government can be exercised so long as we are not in possession of the capital itself.' To continue to hold a position in the immediate neighbourhood of Lakhnau 'would render necessary the employment of a much larger body of troops, to maintain their post and keep up their communications with Cawnpore; and also, remaining in the vicinity of the city, without making any effort to take it, would be a declaration of weakness which, under the present circumstances, is in every way to be deprecated.' But he took care to wind up by begging his Lordship distinctly to understand 'that he only advocates the withdrawal of this force from its present position, in the event of the reconquest of the capital and of Oude during the present season being definitively abandoned. If, on the other hand, it be contemplated to undertake these operations, he is of opinion that political considerations imperatively demand that our present position be maintained at any cost.' It *was* maintained, but at *little* cost, and right glad was the General when it was at length intimated to him that Lakhnau was, after all, to be disposed of at once, as he was fully convinced it easily might be.

The Division was composed of the remnants of Havelock's noble force; the regiments Outram had brought up with him from Allahabad; and what the siege of Dehli had left of the gallant 75th. Weak in numbers were these battalions, but every man of them was a veteran to be relied upon. One, the 78th, had learned to love James Outram—no other word would express the truth—in Persia. The military train, as worthy comrades of the volunteer cavalry, and some good Madras troops, must not be forgotten in making up the total. Sir James had lost Colonel Napier, called away on other duty,

but Colonel Berkeley proved an excellent Chief of the Staff. Colonels Hamilton and Stisted well led his two infantry brigades; while Vincent Eyre handled the cavalry and artillery to perfection, seconded by one whose dash had become proverbial even among Horse Artillerymen—Major William Olpherts. The result bore testimony to the efficiency of the Engineer department under Captain Hutchinson. His right hand in administrative matters continued to be Mr. (now Sir George) Couper, who had filled the office of secretary to the Oudh Commission ever since the annexation. This able member of the Bengal Civil Service had earned not only a C.B.ship, but much needed furlough to Europe by his devoted service throughout the siege, when he had acted as A.D.C. in addition to other duties. But he remained to help his old chief at the 'Alam bāgh. A still older friend, Dr. Ogilvie, also resolved to share Sir James's toils, although much shattered in health by garrison trials.

Matters soon settled down into the routine of a watchful camp life; and for some time the enemy gave little trouble, not yet having recovered from the pounding the Commander-in-Chief had so liberally administered. The protection of salient points was attended to. Efforts were made to attract supplies, but without success, in spite of offers of most liberal payments. So efficient, indeed, had been the blockade since September, that Sir James spoke of it to the Governor-General as 'perhaps the most remarkable circumstance that has hitherto occurred in the course of the rebellion.' The villages within reach were deserted, and the peasantry seemed forcibly prevented from communicating with his officers. It became evident that supplies must be obtained from Kānhpur; and to furnish adequate escorts for the fortnightly convoys, in addition to the permanent post at Banni, was a serious drain upon the 'Alam-bāgh Division.

Sir Colin Campbell hoped that the defeat of the Gwāliar

contingent at Kánhpur would have such an effect in Oudh as to make a favourable opportunity for improving communication with the 'Alam-bágh and settling the adjacent country. His Chief of the Staff, accordingly, directed Sir James Outram, on December 7, to detach for that purpose, under his best officer, 400 European and 200 Madras infantry, Olpherts' battery, half his cavalry, and all his camels. To this large demand upon his resources he felt bound to demur, and respectfully, but very strongly, represented his view of the case, and that reinforcement, rather than diminution, of his numbers was called for. In the memorandum by General Mansfield, to which he felt compelled to take serious exception, it was moreover suggested that if a battery threatened him, it should be destroyed before it became the source of annoyance, and that on the occasion of a force going out, the front of his camp should be contracted. To this he replied: 'It would be entirely out of my power to destroy the batteries alluded to—that is to say, I could not take the guns, for my spies inform me that the horses are always kept harnessed in readiness for immediate flight. All that I could do, therefore, would be to destroy the work itself, which would involve loss of men to no purpose, from the enemy's musketry in the neighbouring cover, as the insurgents have unlimited command of labour, and in the course of a very few days would erect another battery in the same, or in an adjacent position. Neither could I contract my front in proportion to the diminution of my force. I cannot retire from either flank position without abandoning strong posts which the enemy would immediately occupy, and thus acquire the power of doing us much mischief; nor could they be dislodged without more loss than I should care to have to report for your Excellency's information.'

The convoy arrangements appear, after this, to have been left to Sir James's discretion. He calculated the strength of the

escort according to the exigencies of the time in each case, and not one was ever molested, far less imperilled. Regarding the effect of what had happened at Kánhpur, he was sorry to have to report to the Governor-General, on December 15, that the net result was unfavourable rather than otherwise; for the impression made by the earlier successes of the rebels seemed to have more than counterbalanced that produced by their final defeat. Many items of intelligence from Lakhnau tended to confirm this inference, in addition to the growing insolence and frequency of the demonstrations on his front and flanks. The enemy were perfectly aware of his inability to pursue them beyond the suburbs, and fully capable of availing themselves of the advantages of their position. The difference between the Maulavi and the Queen Mother had been patched up, the ranks of their army had been largely increased by fugitives from the Gwáliar contingent; and all had conduced to sustain their spirits and to confirm the wavering inhabitants in disaffection. He took the opportunity of again urging the recapture of Lakhnau that season. Meanwhile the great object was, he conceived, to promote the concentration of all rebel forces in that city, preparatory to a sweeping and final blow to be delivered there. To this end, he advised that his 'army of observation' should be steadily augmented from time to time, by 'reinforcements however small.' This would not only enable him to guard effectually against the attacks of an increasing enemy, either on his position or on his communications; but it would serve to keep them in constant dread of an assault on the city, and would prevent their detaching forces in different directions, for the plunder of British districts and for other mischief. All these points were entered into with his usual care and precision, together with other details of general interest. But we cannot dwell upon them.

Although effectually cut off from supplies, Sir James

could not be balked of intelligence; his reports show its fulness and events always proved its accuracy. A large amount of his success in war, remarks a member of his staff, has been attributed 'to his determination to obtain the best information of the enemy's strength and plans before acting. He was cautious in this; but when once on the field, he was all dash. At the Alam Bâgh, his Intelligence Department was amazingly good. Again and again were his spies sent back, before he would move from camp.' For some time before December 22, he had reported a storm brewing, and on that day he effectually dispersed it. During the previous fortnight, the enemy had been busy erecting batteries in his front, and had made frequent demonstrations in the plain. They took very good care, however, not to expose themselves to being cut off from their cover. He ascertained that now an attempt was to be made upon his rear, and awaited the opportunity which such a movement would give, for turning the tables upon the Maulavi. It came, and he promptly availed himself of it. But his slippery foes made off too quickly to admit of his intercepting their retreat to the Dilkúshâ as he wished. In forwarding to Government his report of the action, the Commander-in-Chief 'considered the whole affair to have been extremely well conducted and to reflect much credit on the troops engaged.' The following is an extract from Sir James's despatch:—

I had been informed two days previously, by my spies, that the enemy contemplated surrounding my position, in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and to intercept my communication with Bunnee. With this object they despatched a force to Guilee, which took up a position between that village and Budroop, which places are about a mile distant from each other.

On the evening of the 21st instant, I learnt that the rebels had been reinforced, and that their strength amounted to about 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 8 field guns.¹

¹ Since ascertained to have been only four: all of which were captured.

Having ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkhoosha, I moved out at 5 A.M., in the hope of surprising them at daybreak, and intercepting their retreat to the city. . . .

The main body of the enemy being on the march considerably in advance, retreated to the city by a detour to the left, out of our reach, and concealed by intervening tops of trees, on hearing the attack on their rear ; but the loss of four horse artillery guns, much ammunition, besides elephants and baggage, and some fifty or sixty men slain, will, I think, deter the enemy from again venturing beyond their defensive works, or at any rate from attempting, for some time to come, to carry out their plan of surrounding this camp within a too limited circumference. . . .

A division order to the troops contained further details—

. . . The right column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, her Majesty's 90th Regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th Regiments, and of the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, excited admiration by the gallant way in which, with a cheer, they dashed at a strong position held by the enemy, and from which they were met by a heavy fire. Regardless of the overwhelming numbers and six guns reported to be posted there, the suddenness of the attack, and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy, with hardly a casualty on our side.

Colonel Guy, in command of the left column, consisting of 400 men of her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom, deputy-assistant quartermaster-general, was equally successful in his simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee, in which, and the adjoining tope, two guns were captured.

The enemy were now rapidly followed up across the plain by the Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain Barrow, until they found refuge in a village, from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged by the assistance of two of Captain Olpherts' guns, under the command of Lieutenant Smithett, and changing their line of retreat, they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkhoosha.

The Military Train, under Major Robertson, having been, however, despatched to make a flank movement, followed them up

so rapidly that they dispersed their cavalry, and drove their guns into a ravine, where they were captured, the leading horses, of which the traces were cut, only escaping.

The Major-General was particularly pleased with the very cool and soldier-like behaviour of the Military Train. Far ahead of the infantry, and unable to remove the guns which were captured, they were menaced in their front by a large body of fresh troops from the city, and attacked on their right flank by the main body of the enemy, consisting of about 2,000 infantry, who had commenced their march previously to our attack, and who, on hearing their rear assailed, also changed their route to one in the direction of the city, but on seeing their guns in possession of so small a force as that under Major Robertson, made demonstrations of an attempt to regain them; but by the bold front shown by the Military Train, and the gallant advance of their skirmishers, they were held at bay, until the arrival of a party of the 5th Fusiliers and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olpherts, completely secured the capture of the guns, and enabled a working party of the Madras Sappers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie, to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven. Captain Hutchinson, chief engineer, on this as on several other occasions during the day, afforded much valuable assistance. . . .

Sir James Outram has also to express his acknowledgments to Brigadiers Hamilton and Eyre, who were left in charge of the camp, and with the small force at their disposal checked the dispositions for an attack which the enemy was commencing with their skirmishers on the left flank, until the return of the force to camp caused them to abandon their intention. . . .

He adds his warm acknowledgments to Brigadier Stisted, commanding the force which moved out, and other officers, not omitting Staff-Sergeant Roddy, who commanded two guns.

This sharp lesson so discouraged the enemy that they allowed Christmas and the New Year to pass quietly. But it was evident that they would not let Outram alone much longer; and even while they abstained from decided movements, they were constantly dropping cannon-shot into the outposts. These were harmless as a rule, but on January 8

one of them caused the death of a promising young artillery officer, Lieutenant Gordon, in the 'Alam-bágh enclosure. The Commander-in-Chief had been able to send reinforcements to the number of 340 by December 22, and nearly as many more before Sir James was again seriously menaced. But the enemy were largely on the increase. Lakhnau had become the focus whither congregated the more determined of the mutineers and rebels whom Sir Colin was routing out of Fathgarh, whom Franks afterwards drove before him from Jánpur, and whom the Gorkhas dislodged from Gorakhpur. In fact, every success elsewhere added to the numbers opposed to Outram's division; and thus infantry, artillery, and cavalry were constantly swelling the ranks of the Maulavi, perhaps the most capable leader whom the rebellion produced. In reviewing the situation, we must not lose sight of this very important feature.

Though Sir James had wisely set his face against desultory and spasmodic attempts to re-establish government in Oudh, until he could date his orders from its conquered capital, he caused Captain Carnegie to commence at once the organisation of a body of police at Banni, and to utilise them for the maintenance of order and of communication along the road to Kánhpur. It was one of his principles, that if a man is to be trusted, he ought to have as much discretion allowed him as possible. Especially did he hold to this in the matter of prompt rewards. We accordingly find Captain Carnegie vested with large powers in this respect. When reporting these proceedings to Lord Canning, the Chief Commissioner forcibly stated his views on the general and most important question of the recruitment of police and other levies—in fact, the organisation of a new Bengal army. He is alarmed at the prejudice against high-caste men which he sees prevail—though but a natural reaction from the opposite error of former days. He considers

‘that it would be in the highest degree injudicious to raise these new levies entirely from the sweeper, or lowest castes, which he has reason to believe has already been done in some instances. He can conceive no measure more calculated to arouse the bitter detestation of all the higher classes of the Indian community—whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, and even the passive opposition of these enormous masses of men, if combined, will make the tranquillisation of the Empire indeed an arduous undertaking. Moreover, it is only readopting our ancient policy in a new phase. Formerly we would entertain none but high-caste men, and they have betrayed us. What, the Chief Commissioner would ask, is to prevent an army entirely composed of low-caste men from playing the same game? Until recently, high caste was the only passport into the ranks of the army. It is now proposed to make it an absolute disqualification for service. Both extremes, the Chief Commissioner respectfully submits, are alike injudicious. In the new levies no low-caste man should be refused because of his caste. The test should be entirely irrespective of caste. The recruit should be informed that there is no such thing in the army, and, that to plead it as an excuse for evading, or refusing to perform, any order passed by an officer, will subject the offender to the severest military penalties, in addition to immediate dismissal. The annals of the armies of the sister Presidencies show that the highest-caste men are not in reality polluted in their estimation by standing shoulder to shoulder with men of inferior degrees. It is in the Bengal army alone, where this groundless and arrogant pretension has been tolerated. Abolish it, —throw open the ranks of the army to all comers without regard to their caste, and it is the Chief Commissioner’s belief that, in a very short time, there will be no lack of Brahmin recruits, notwithstanding that they may find they have to salute a native officer of the caste of a sweeper.

Whereas, by accepting the services of low-caste men *only*, the popular idea, already sufficiently strong, that our aim is the utter subversion of all caste, and the compulsory introduction of Christianity, will become universal.'

Sir James at the same time advised systematic disarming of the entire population, whenever order had been restored, 'so complete that the next generation should be unacquainted with the ingredients necessary for the manufacture of gunpowder, and all unskilled in the use of arms.' As usual, he detailed at length both his reasons and the methods he would employ, pointing out wherein the process would differ from that so beneficially carried out in the Punjab in 1850. About this time he submitted what Lord Canning characterised as an 'able and elaborate' memorandum of the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oudh after Lakhnau should have been subjugated. In it were discussed many important points, from the oft-debated question of 'Ta'aluk-dári' versus 'Ra'iyat-wári' settlement, onwards.

In the end of December, he was glad to report signs of wavering among some of the leaders in Lakhnau, and even advances towards negotiation on the part of the Queen Mother. But the accessions to the rebel army continued, and increased the confidence of the soldiery, whatever misgivings were becoming apparent in the minds of those who had much to lose and were in a better position to discern the signs of the times. One thing he spoke of as 'the first aim and object never out of his thoughts,' namely, the release of the captive ladies, Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson. Now he not only offered a free pardon to the powerful Mán Singh, if he would bring them in, but, with Lord Canning's sanction, authorised the expenditure of a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) to secure their liberation. Sir James failed to 'effect the object which every Englishman in India has so much at heart,' before the capture of the city in March, when

it was accomplished by the British officers with Jang Bahadur's force; but his ceaseless endeavours had meanwhile been the means of alleviating their imprisonment and paving the way for their release.

The next effort made by the enemy to sweep from the face of the earth the obnoxious foe encamped so calmly under their very eyes, was a formidable one, well-timed and planned with considerable judgment. In addition to the encouragement inspired by their own increased numbers and the diminished force opposed to them, they had been warned by a great Pandit that between January 12 and 20 was the most propitious time for the attack, and indeed the only chance of success the Fates would vouchsafe. Accordingly they advanced on the 12th in immense masses, not unskillfully handled, and with a determination which only failed them when it came to the point of pressing home their assaults. Outram awaited quietly the development of their attack, and when the right time came, made use of the 1,500 men he could move out against them, with results he thus narrated in his despatch of the same day. In forwarding it to Government, the Commander-in-Chief commended the forethought displayed:—

In consequence of reports that Mansoob Allie was collecting men and receiving reinforcements from Lucknow to intercept my communications, I sent a stronger escort than usual with my convoy now on its way from Cawnpore, consisting of 450 infantry, 4 guns, and 80 cavalry.

The rebels were encouraged by this reduction of my force to meditate an attack, of which I received information for several days, and yesterday evening more definite accounts led me to expect them at sunrise this morning. I therefore made such dispositions of my force and outposts as were necessary, and the troops breakfasted at daybreak, and were all in readiness.

About sunrise this morning, large masses of the enemy were seen on my left front, and they gradually spread round the whole

front and flanks of my position, extending from opposite to our left rear outpost to near Jellalabad on our right, a distance of at least six miles, and they amounted, at the lowest estimation, to 30,000 men.

At soon as their movements were decidedly in advance, the brigades—the right mustering 713 and the left 733 Europeans, and 100 men of the regiment of Ferozespore—were formed in front of their lines.

The enemy first advanced upon my left front and flank, covered by a large body of skirmishers, on which I detached two regiments of the left brigade to support the outposts, and extended in skirmishing order on their flanks, whilst the third regiment was held in reserve; at the same time Major Olpherts, with four horse battery guns supported by a detachment of the Military Train, was directed to check the enemy on my left rear, where their cavalry showed in the greatest strength. The volunteer and native cavalry were drawn up to protect the rear of the camp, which at this time appeared to be threatened.

The right brigade remained on its ground.

As soon as the enemy were fairly within range, they were exposed to a severe fire of artillery from Alumbagh, and from the advanced batteries of my outposts on the left front and centre, and fled with the utmost precipitation without having come within musket range except at the left centre outpost commanded by Captain Down, 1st Madras Fusiliers, where a considerable number entered a grove of trees usually occupied by our outlying picquets, from which they were driven in a few minutes by the skirmishers of the outpost.

On the left rear, Major Olpherts moved out his guns at a gallop, and advancing well to his front, completely drove off and dispersed a very large body of infantry and cavalry which was endeavouring to penetrate to our rear, turning them back towards the city, and doing much execution by the fire of his guns, on their masses at 500 yards.

At this time I received a report that Alumbagh and my right advanced outposts of Jellalabad were threatened; and on proceeding to the right I found that the enemy had brought three horse artillery guns, supported by an immense mass of infantry, against the picquet which connects my right with Jellalabad, and which had been strengthened to 100 men with two guns. I moved the

regiment of Ferozepore and the 5th Fusiliers, with two guns of Moir's Bullock Battery, from the right brigade to the front, taking the enemy in flank and driving them back. They were then exposed to the fire of Maude's guns from Alumbagh, which played upon them with great effect.

About this time the enemy again advanced on the left front and flank, their cavalry on this occasion being more to the front than before. A party of the latter galloped up to the rifle-pits in front of the left advanced outpost; but Alexander's and Clarke's guns opened on them and drove them back in confusion.

About the same time, the enemy on the right, again advancing from the heavy cover of groves and villages into which they had retreated, re-opened their guns on the Jellalabad picquet, but were finally silenced and driven off by the fire of Moir's two guns, which had been sent to the picquet to reinforce it, and to replace the two guns originally there, which had been withdrawn to Jellalabad.

Simultaneously with the attack above described, the enemy advanced upon Alumbagh, and established themselves in the nearest cover, notwithstanding that they were seen to suffer severely from the artillery and rifle fire. About noon they also advanced into the open ground, and were immediately dispersed and driven back by the fire of Maude's guns and the riflemen from Alumbagh.

By four o'clock P.M. the whole of the enemy had disappeared, and retired to the city or to their original positions in the gardens and villages in our front. . . .

The steadiness of the troops, and the promptitude with which my orders were carried out by my officers, gives me every assurance that the enemy's attack, if it had been as formidable as their forces were numerous, would have been as signally defeated.

The enemy's loss was heavy. His own casualties amounted to six wounded!

The unhappy insurgents now tried one of those oddly timed rushes to which Orientals are unaccountably prone. The convoy had arrived unharmed on the morning of the 16th, when suddenly, at the unlikely hour of breakfast, the most determined attack yet delivered was made upon the picket

between 'Alam-bāgh and Jalālabad. It was accounted for by religious fanaticism, the leader being a Brahmin dressed up as Hanuman, the monkey-god, tail and all, who came on bravely, till wounded and taken prisoner. A brisk cannonade and advances of skirmishers throughout the day were followed by a night attack in great strength on the battery at the extreme left. This was repulsed with consummate coolness by Major Gordon, who commanded at that point; while Olpherts again sharply routed the enemy's cavalry in their advance upon the left rear, which had been entrusted to his vigilant charge. The rebels lost many men that day, while Sir James had only to report one bombardier killed and eight men wounded—one of them by an accident.

With the fresh experience gained by these bold attempts on his position, Outram felt it his duty once more to urge the expediency of providing him with additional troops. 'The sole object of this powerful host,' he told General Mansfield, 'would be the extinction of his division, the only obstacle to their supreme rule, and to the collection of the revenues of Oude; and the only hope, moreover, left them of recovering their lately lost prestige.' Sir Colin wrote in reply that he had ordered the 34th Regiment to join the 'Alam-bāgh force, and that four 24-pounder siege guns would be sent in compliance with his requisition, as soon as cattle could be collected.

But the enemy were thoroughly disheartened, and contented themselves for a whole month with harmless though provoking demonstrations and false alarms; continuing also their accustomed desultory cannonade. In one of Sir James's letters he speaks of 100 to 150 cannon-balls per day as the allowance, but we never hear of anybody being the worse for it. The fact is, these were not joyous weeks within Lakhnau. The rebels saw that the end was

opening upon them, in spite of reinforcements still being driven in their direction; and again they took to fighting among themselves. On the other hand, all went on uneventfully, not to say monotonously, in the camp they vainly strove to alarm. The attack on the city was determined on, much to the satisfaction of every one, and signs of its approach began to be cheerfully manifest, in the arrival of men and stores, and in reports of the splendid army collecting at Kánhpur. Still it must not be supposed that idleness was the order of the day. Picket and convoy duties were heavy, and the enemy's demonstrations demanded constant alertness.

The following recollections of a flying visit to the camp in February have been contributed :—‘I found the General in the best of health and spirits. The vigorous black-bearded man who welcomed me was a refreshing contrast to the bowed invalid whom I had last seen at this very spot on his way home, beaten down by annexation work. He looked comfortable enough, sitting with his coat off in a small tent, writing busily as usual, and of course with a cheroot in his mouth. If I remember right, his evening was occupied by a stroll about the camp. Races were being got up for the men, and he always took particular interest in what affected their amusement. At the pleasant mess dinner, he contributed his full share to the cheerfulness which prevailed. Though not a great talker he used to lie in wait, as it were, with telling remarks or anecdotes, of which he had a large and varied stock available. The keen twinkle of his expressive eye, rather than actual laughter, showed his quick and thorough appreciation of the ludicrous. At daybreak I accompanied him on his daily round of the pickets. As we rode, at what seemed a studiously slow pace, across the open plain between the centre picket and 'Alam-bágh, the General received his customary salute of round shot from a heavy gun in the enemy's

front battery, which the soldiers had nicknamed "Nancy Dawson." Several whizzed by, noticed only by a pariah dog, which had a narrow shave. At the 'Alam-bāgh the site of Havelock's grave was pointed out, and from one of the bastions I saw once more extended before me the gardens and suburbs of Lucknow—a fair scene in which lurked much mischief. Signs of the enemy were discernible within easy range, but Nancy's noisy greeting is all I recollect of them. Jalālabad leaves the impression of a peaceful and picturesque Indian landscape, with its crumbling fort, *jheel*, and tempting *topes* of trees. As to the other defences, it seemed to a non-military eye that there were few anywhere, and that for long stretches there was nothing at all to prevent the swarms of Lucknow from walking in where they pleased. Sir James had a cheery word for officers and men at each post, generally some small compliment—such as a regret the enemy would not come on, "because you're always so well prepared"—and his visit seemed a welcome one everywhere. As you know, he could be uncommonly irate on provocation, but there was nothing to find fault with on that day. I was told that when he did "let out" at anyone, especially a youngster, he was not comfortable till he had made it up by some kind word or deed, and that as often as not a "wig" ended by the offer of a cheroot—a valuable gift at the 'Alam-bāgh. His holster was stuffed with these luxuries, instead of a revolver, and he dispensed them right liberally. The thought of the General reminds one of his steed. Old "Blueskin" was, I believe, as well known and as much respected in his way as his master. A great raw-boned Australian, of a blue-grey colour, though not handsome to look at, he was by nature a model charger. Steady as a rock under all circumstances, he would complacently go through any amount of work on scanty fare. When hit on the head in the fierce fight to enter Lucknow, all the notice

he took of it was to shake one ear, and he duly survived starvation in the Residency. Though made long ago, my 'Alambagh visit clearly recalls cheerful bronzed faces and genial camp life on a dusty plain, with one unpretending thick-set figure as the centre of all; and one universal grumble from general to private, that the enemy could not be induced to come out and be thrashed.'

An occurrence of this period, which affected Sir James deeply, may here be adverted to. He had ever cherished as the highest object of his soldierly ambition, the dream of winning the Victoria Cross. It was now placed as it were in his hands, but only to be withdrawn for ever. Among other corps which had particularly distinguished themselves in the first relief of Lakhnau, and had in consequence been ordered to elect a representative for the Cross, was the Volunteer cavalry. They awaited the recovery or otherwise of a wounded sergeant whom they would have first chosen, for his conduct at Mangalwar, and on his death they unanimously recorded their votes for Sir James Outram, in recognition of his behaviour on the same occasion. The selection was officially forwarded by Colonel Eyre, then in command of their brigade, through Colonel Berkeley, chief of the divisional staff. That officer duly handed it on to the Commander-in-Chief, with every formality except one, which was however essential in military eyes. It had not come through the General in command of the Division, from whom of course the whole affair had been purposely concealed. The first inkling he obtained of it was the receipt of the papers from headquarters with a stern reprimand to Colonel Berkeley for his irregularity; at the same time, Sir James was, of course, expressly exonerated from all knowledge of the matter and consequent blame. He thereupon informed the Volunteer cavalry that the election must be cancelled, and some one else chosen instead, that he

would never have allowed it had he been aware of any such proceeding, and that he was ineligible as being the General under whom they served. They respectfully but firmly declined to alter their decision, and to this day James Outram stands the elected representative of that illustrious little band. Some months afterwards it happened to be ruled at the Horse Guards that a General officer was not to be debarred by his rank from reception of the Cross, and in consequence Sir James's case was again officially discussed. It was finally decided that his peculiar position, as responsible for General Havelock's force although not in command of it, excluded him from the honour; and the upshot of the whole matter was that both the Volunteer cavalry and Sir James Outram remained undecorated. Many a regret has been expressed that an exceptional opportunity for a graceful act—in conferring upon an old soldier a distinction he could never again hope to win, and thereby gratifying the whole army—was thus set aside.

On February 7, Sir James wrote to Lady Outram that 'we are now enjoying perfect quiet;' but a week later he had a different tale to tell. Men and stores were almost daily passing to and fro from Banni, and what with convoy duties and the enemy's movements, now constant and imposing, his troops were 'excessively harassed.' Reinforcements had been joining him from time to time, and the Commander-in-Chief's army was rapidly forming. Nevertheless the rebels began to show unwonted courage and perseverance. On the 15th a strong body of horse, supported by infantry, endeavoured to cut off a convoy, under cover of a dust storm. It was a bold stroke, worthy of the energetic leader who conducted it, the Maulavi himself. Outram, however, not to be easily caught napping, frustrated the attempt by a sudden attack. The Maulavi's force was incontinently dispersed, he himself being severely wounded and almost taken prisoner.

On this occasion, as usual, Major Olpherts' prompt and effective dash was conspicuous.

The next day the enemy filled their trenches and assembled in vast numbers on the front, and also threatened the left flank with cavalry. Repeatedly they began advances during the morning, and as often their courage failed them. At last they seemed to have made up their minds, clouds of skirmishers suddenly issued forth, and they advanced in great force upon the left and centre. But the fire of Colonel Smith's picket of the 90th proved too much for them, and they retired again, leaving a good many dead. At dusk they began a heavy fire of musketry on the 'Alam-bágh. This, too, ceased at about half-past eight, and they gave it up for the night. Our loss on these two days amounted to but one killed and three wounded. On the 17th, right, left, and rear were seriously threatened. In short, things were warming up; and it appeared that the insurgents were being spurred on by sheer despair to attempt to wear out and then overwhelm the 'Alam-bágh division, as their only chance of averting the impending blow. Intelligence was brought that it was their design to harass by continual annoyances of the kind just commenced with so much spirit, and that attacks were to be made daily from all quarters. It was well they had not adopted these tactics before. It was now too late. But they were determined to die hard, and made two final efforts—the most resolute of all—to rid themselves of their tenacious warder. The first came off on Sunday, February 21, when they hoped to find the regiments at church-parade. It ended, as Sir James expressed it, 'with the usual result,' which he describes as follows. Heavy though the loss of the enemy was, his own did not exceed nine wounded:—

. . . Having filled all their trenches with as many men as they would hold, and placed large masses of infantry in the topes all along our front in support of them, they commenced a simultaneous

movement round about our flanks, at the same time threatening the whole length of our position, and attacking the north-east corner of the Alumbagh, and also the picquet and fort of Jellalabad, against which they brought four guns.

I, immediately on perceiving their intention, reinforced the posts of Alumbagh and Jellalabad, which easily repulsed the attacks made on them, and inflicted much loss on the assailants, who had advanced under cover of long grass and underwood, within grape-shot range of both these posts.

I detached about 250 cavalry and two field guns to the rear of the fort of Jellalabad, under command of Captain Barrow, Volunteer cavalry, where they suddenly came on about 2,000 of the enemy's cavalry. Our guns immediately opened on them, killing several, which caused them to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of the infantry attacking the fort, in number about 5,000; they remained there until the attack was abandoned, when they all withdrew towards the city.

The attack on our left flank was made by about from 8,000 to 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, to oppose whom I sent out the remaining 4 field guns available, supported by the Military Train (120 in number) under command of Major Robertson, keeping the 2nd Infantry Brigade in reserve. The cavalry and guns soon drove back the enemy's cavalry, and their infantry then halted, and on the guns being turned on them soon commenced to retreat also, being followed up by us until within range of their batteries.

A large convoy was on the road at the time, the escort required for which materially crippled our small cavalry force, and prevented anything more being effected than frustrating their attempts to gain our rear and molest our convoy. . . .

One more desperate attempt to retrieve their lost fortunes on the part of the Lakhnau army—and the 'Defence of the 'Alam-bāgh' was to be at an end. On February 25, under the eyes of the Bigam and her Prime Minister, who came out in state to witness the anticipated victory, the rebels fought better and with more perseverance than on any previous occasion. But Outram had by this time so fine a force of cavalry and horse artillery, that he was able both to strike harder and to make better use of victory, and the issue

was never for a moment doubtful. Again, for the last time, we leave him to tell the story :—

The principal attack was on our right, against which twenty-four regiments of regular infantry, six Nujeeb corps, 1,000 cavalry, and eight guns moved out from the enemy's trenches; of this number, about one-half, with two guns, advanced towards our right rear, and having occupied the 'topes' immediately to the east of Jellalabad, commenced shelling that post heavily, evidently in the hope of igniting the large quantity of combustible stores at present collected there, while the remainder were held in support in the villages and 'topes' directly in front of the enemy's outworks.

Large bodies of infantry and cavalry, with three guns, simultaneously menaced our left, and the trenches in front of our position were occupied in force.

Soon after ten A.M. I moved out with detachments of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, as per accompanying return, to intercept the column which had opened its guns on Jellalabad, having previously sent Barrow's Volunteers and Wale's Horse round, *via* Nowrunga-bad, to co-operate in their rear.

As we advanced, a portion of the enemy's reserve made a demonstration against our left; but were speedily driven back, and afterwards held in check by the four guns of Remington's troop, supported by a squadron of the 7th Hussars, under Colonel Hagart, and by Brasyer's Sikhs.

The column then moved forward, flanked on the left by Brigadier Campbell, with the native cavalry, which pushed on in advance to intercept the enemy's retreat, which, owing to their having heard the fire of Remington's guns, proved more sudden than we had anticipated. The manœuvre was completely successful, and speedily converted their retreat into a rout, Brigadier Campbell's detachment assailing them on one side, while Barrow's and Wale's Horse appeared on the opposite quarter, and the Military Train, under Captain Robertson, dashed into the middle of the flying enemy and captured their two guns. The rapidity of their flight prevented the infantry from taking a prominent part in the action. At one P.M., when we finally left the field, the foe had vanished.

In the mean time the hostile forces on the left of my position had retired before the very effective fire of Moir's guns, not liking

the look of the arrangements which had been prepared by Brigadier Franklyn, who had been left in command of the camp, for their reception.

Judging from the corpses which strewed the field where the cavalry had charged, and from the dense masses upon which our guns repeatedly opened, the enemy's casualties must have been heavy. Our loss consisted of four men killed, five officers and twenty-five men wounded.

My cordial acknowledgments are due to all the officers and men who conducted and took part in these operations, but especially to the Military Train, whose brilliant charge excited the enthusiasm of all who witnessed it.

Colonel Berkeley, my able and zealous military secretary, whose knowledge of the ground was of great service to Brigadier Campbell in cutting off the enemy's retreat, was wounded while gallantly charging at the head of Hodson's Horse, as was Lieutenant Moorsom while rendering to Barrow and Wale assistance similar to that which Colonel Berkeley afforded the Brigadier.

About 4 P.M. the enemy again moved out against us. On this occasion they directed their principal efforts against our left, and evinced more spirit and determination than they had hitherto done. Repeatedly they advanced within grape and musket range, and as they ever met with a warm reception from our guns and Enfields, especially from those of the left front picquet, commanded by Major Master, of the 5th Fusiliers, they must have suffered severely.¹ They renewed their fire from time to time during the night; but solely, I believe, with the object of covering the parties engaged in moving their dead. Our loss in this subsequent operation amounted to one man killed and fourteen wounded. In all five men killed and thirty-five officers and men wounded.

The enemy had done their worst and had hopelessly failed. The constant arrival at the 'Alam-bagh of fresh troops and *matériel* showed them that any further attempts to molest the force there, or arrest the concentration of the Commander-in-Chief's army, would be futile; and they devoted all energies now to preparations for defence of the city.

¹ Information since received showed the enemy's loss throughout the day to have been between 400 and 500.

To Sir James Outram a part was to be assigned in the coming operations which would sever his connection with the 1st Division. In a closing despatch, from which we have already extracted the descriptive portion, he summed up his obligations to the force he considered it a proud privilege to have commanded. After attributing to their gallant demeanour the fact of their having been 'comparatively unmolested,' he adds, 'it is almost superfluous to say, that where men have behaved so well in the field as the troops of the 1st Division, they must have been in a high state of discipline. Such has, indeed, been the case; and their admirable conduct must be held all the more praiseworthy, when we consider the extreme exposure and discomfort the whole of them have had to endure from the loss of their warm clothing and our deficiency of tentage, and that most of them had already sustained much privation during the seven weeks they were besieged in Lucknow.' His next paragraph is particularly suggestive:—'This gratifying state of matters, as his Excellency will readily imagine, has been in no small degree due to the kindness, care, and attention which the officers of all arms and ranks have bestowed on their men, and to the earnest anxiety with which they have endeavoured at all times to promote their comfort and provide for their amusement.' Expressing his warm acknowledgments to the staff and all in prominent positions, he singles out Colonel Berkeley for special praise. It need hardly be added that both the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General fully endorsed these commendations, and also complimented the General himself in high terms.

Although we have quoted fully from Sir James's reports, in order that he might be as far as practicable the narrator of events, *quorum magna pars fuit*—we have been unable to insert one class of paragraphs usually conspicuous in his despatches, viz. those in which he commends by name officers,

and even private soldiers. To make selections from these would be invidious,—to give all, impossible. Some considered him too lavish of praise. It may be so, but there is no doubt that in every such allusion he did but sincerely express the feelings of his own heart; and his anxiety to do justice, or more than justice, to every corps and individual under his command was not confined to the moment. He was always ready, it might be said eager, to rectify omissions or misconstructions, however brought to his notice; and he did not scruple to assail the powers above with any number of supplementary recommendations. A great deal of his time in Calcutta was taken up in attending to these claims. Indeed, to satisfy them was one of his main objects in causing to be printed for presentation to the officers concerned, two goodly octavo volumes of his despatches and correspondence in connection with the Persian and Lakhnau campaigns—a most expensive as well as troublesome business. The names of those distinguished officers who were most prominent as his lieutenants during his Lakhnau commands are already familiar to the reader as household words—for example, Napier, Inglis, Eyre, Olpherts—not to speak of him whose resting place hallowed the 'Alam-bāgh, Henry Havelock. But many others, who shared with Sir James the perils of these six months, and who were constantly being brought to notice, performed services not less remarkable in their sphere—such as Barrow, the stedfast commander of the Volunteer cavalry; Dodgson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Orr, of the Intelligence Department; and Moorsom, whose topographical knowledge and talents were literally invaluable. An address to the 78th Regiment is given in the Appendix to this volume¹ as a specimen of Sir James's hearty words of appreciative gratitude to those who won his battles for him. How touchingly that noble regiment showed their estimation of their old General

¹ Appendix N.

—‘Company’s officer’ though he was—there will be occasion to relate further on.

Lord Canning’s very cordial concurrence in the Commander-in-Chief’s satisfaction at the manner in which Sir James Outram ‘had fulfilled the expectations which led to his being selected to maintain the position at the Alam Bāgh,’ applied to the military office. But it may well have had a more comprehensive meaning in regard to one, much of whose time and thought had been expended on the laborious problem of bringing back order to Oudh in a purely administrative sense. Though the Chief Commissioner saw fit to postpone overt attempts of this nature, except the organisation of police, all his proceedings and recommendations had that aim in view, and tended to facilitate it when the time arrived. We can but allude to this in passing. The value of his suggestions for present or future guidance can only be appreciated by perusal of his continuous correspondence with the high officers of state and private friends, among them Lords Dalhousie and Elphinstone, and members of the Court of Directors. The same remark applies to the detailed and careful manner in which he ascertained and laid before Government the movements, combinations, and dissensions among the rebels; and to the effect of his negotiations with Mán Singh and others.

Before passing to the capture of Lakhnau, we may complete our review of life in the Residency and on the plain of ‘Alam-bāgh, by a few reminiscences of a personal rather than a public character.

Sir James’s existence in the Residency soon became one of routine. His active mind always found employment of some kind, but after the first terrible week had passed, it was not overburdened. In ‘Fayrer’s Garrison’ the utterly destitute General was made as comfortable as circumstances would allow; but he would not submit to be treated better

than his comrades. We are told that he was no less particular in his attendance at family prayers than in his daily round of the defences, visits to the hospitals, and other military duties. Stray cannon-balls and bullets were, to one of his temperament, a welcome variety in these accustomed peregrinations. When his busy pen failed to occupy his time indoors—and for two months he enjoyed the luxury of being out of reach of the post—he could fall back upon another unfailing resource—miscellaneous reading. If food for the body was scarce, food for the mind was abundantly supplied by the good libraries destined to be left for the edification of Lakhnau *badma'ashes*. He had numerous calls to make upon his old friends—too many of them, alas! visits of condolence—a social duty he was always scrupulous to fulfil. Once he nearly made a sad mistake when on an errand of this kind. His Private Secretary fortunately encountered him on his way to pay his respects to the Judicial Commissioner's widow, clad in a garment of peculiar pattern, which Mr. Money had just bought for him, at great cost, at the sale of the deceased gentleman's effects. To have been detected in this would very likely have been more of a shock to him than if the widow of Muhammad Hussain Khan, the Wazir of Kalat, had recognised *her* husband's apparel¹ when she breathed her woes in his ear on the way to Sonmiani, twenty years before.

Sir Joseph Fayrer thus recalls incidents of those days:—

'You may fancy our delight on seeing him at the first relief of the Residency, when he fought his way in to our rescue. He had been exposed to every conceivable danger and had not escaped scathless, for his arm was tied up when he came in, and he had lost his hat. I dressed the wound; the ball had passed through the arm, and narrowly missed the main artery, but he did not seem to mind it in the

¹ Selected by Outram for disguise, from the Prize Agents' Stock. See vol. i. p. 204.

least, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade him to let me attend to it. We had nothing to give him in my garrison but flour cakes (*chapâtis*) and gun bullock beef (very little of either) and water, but he was perfectly satisfied, and only seemed anxious that others should be cared for. His gentle, courteous treatment of all the poor ladies and children, and his solicitude for them, was most touching. He lay down at night on a sofa in the long room in my house, where the most part of my garrison generally assembled, and insisted that no particular attention should be paid to him. Some time in the following morning he showed me his coat, and asked me if my wife could mend the holes in the sleeve; and when she took it to him mended, and expressed regret for his wound, he said it was nothing, and he would willingly have lost a leg or an arm to have relieved them. A private soldier, one of my garrison, came into the room where he was lying down, and, not in the least knowing who he was, began to talk to him about the relief. He was most kind to the man, and answered all his questions without any remarks. The man, soon finding he was talking to some one of importance, passed on. He was courteous to all, rough in some ways perhaps at times, but it was only manner, for he was kindness and goodness itself at heart. I heard some one lament that we had nothing better to give him, and he said he neither wanted nor would have anything but what the garrison had. He seemed absolutely indifferent to danger of any kind. Shot were constantly striking the house, and when one knocked down part of the verandah where he was sitting he just quietly moved his place a little, but was very anxious that my wife—who was carrying our boy Bob (who had been wounded and sick, and was very weak and wanted air) about in the garden in front of the verandah—should not go beyond a certain point where she would come within

reach of the bullets. He told me all his plans, what he thought of doing, and how he thought we were to get out of the Residency. At one time it was seriously contemplated that we should try and fight our way out to join the force outside, and he sent for me and told me. Of course it would have been attended with great loss and frightful risk to the women and children. He said, 'You know I mean Mrs. F. to have my horse'—he had ridden in on an English horse; I said, "And what are you going to do?" "Oh! I shall go on foot!" Happily this was not attempted: we did not move, and it was well we did not, for few would have survived the attempt.'¹

Outram's genial and kindly spirit was perhaps never more strongly evinced than when detained amidst actively hostile thousands at Lakhnau, or during the three long months of alert watchfulness and intermittent action passed at the 'Alam-bagh. His care for the soldiers, consideration for brother-officers, and abnegation of self were then, as throughout his career, proverbial; and anecdotes no doubt abound in illustration of these prominent features in his character at this period. At the Residency, we are told that, on one occasion, when the scarcity of provisions for the mere sustenance of life necessitated a strict frugality on the part of all ranks, his indignation was aroused at the unex-

¹ 'One day,' writes Sir Joseph, 'I went over to the Residency (in 1856) to see him on some business. I was writing for him at that time a *précis* of the news reports that used to come in daily, and I had gone over to ask some question. I had with me a young bear that I was bringing up as a pet—quite young and not bigger than a small dog: it followed me into his room, and sat down at his feet. He caressed it, and said, "Why don't you teach it to smoke the hubble-bubble?" I thought he was joking; but he assured me he had done so with a bear, and that it enjoyed it immensely. Accordingly, I made the man who had charge of it and other animals undertake that branch of its education, which it very quickly acquired; and it would take the cocoa-nut hubble-bubble out of the hands of the servants, put it to its mouth, suck in the smoke with intense delight, and roll over shrieking with pleasure, apparently half intoxicated. He was greatly amused when he saw it smoking some time after.'

pected offer of an exceptionally luxurious meal. The soldier-butcher had begged his acceptance of the heart and liver, or other delicate portions of the internal economy of a bullock, in addition to the ration of meat for the day. Now such a proposal was, in his opinion, simply outrageous: the idea that *he*, of all others in the camp, should be selected as the recipient of a kind of modified *Khatpat*, was too horrible to contemplate; nothing would satisfy him but to place the culprit under arrest! But a little after-inquiry into the matter elicited the fact that the proffered dainties were the legitimate perquisites of the well-inclined butcher, who was at liberty to dispose of them as he liked, and had as much right to offer them to the General Commanding as to the junior subaltern among his officers. The poor man was therefore released with a kind of apology.

Another time, an officer of the old garrison, who had hoarded a bottle of precious pickles, was seized with the unhappy notion of presenting his treasure to the General Commanding. Great was Outram's anger when solicited to accept a luxury of the kind. He considered that everything should have been given up for general use at a time of common scarcity and trial, especially such articles as might be fitly consumed in hospital. An occasional present of wine, sent by Mr. Gubbins, was invariably made over to the hospital five minutes after receipt. He is known to have shared the last of his too-beloved cheroots with his A.D.C.s, cutting it in three pieces.

The medical officer on General Havelock's staff, writing of the straits to which the defenders of our position in Lakhnau were put, prior to Sir Colin Campbell's advance, says:—'Cigars were sold for six shillings each in the garrison, and General Outram used often to say he wished I was a smoker, for then he should have the pleasure of giving me one.'

Captain Chamier, who was, in those memorable days, A.D.C. to Sir James, relates that in the Baillie Guard on one occasion, when his chief was taking his usual walk round the defences, he remarked to a batch of men who were discussing their scanty breakfast: 'I am very sorry, my men, to be obliged to reduce your rations.' The reply from one of the number was, 'I should not mind it at all, General, if my appetite was not so uncommonly good!' To solicitude for others and disregard for personal comfort were joined compassion for the weak and helpless, and a withering scorn of bravado or meanness—instances of which, in the ordinary occurrences of daily life, were treasured up in the memory of comrades, who have repeated them in after years with sympathetic delight. The following are reminiscences, by one of them, of Outram at the 'Alam-bagh:—

A remark was made in his hearing, at dinner, on the necessity of administering severe and indiscriminate punishment to mutinous *sipahis*, wherever caught, and under whatever circumstances. Outram turned suddenly to the speaker and said: 'I have always observed that those who are the most bloodthirsty in talk are the least remarkable for personal courage.' Again. He was out with a portion of the force, endeavouring to cut off a body of mutineers, and had sat down on the ground to rest with some of his officers. A young armed rebel was brought in, whose demeanour clearly indicated—and possibly that of his custodians led him to believe—that his end was at hand. His captor, after reporting the case to the General, seemed to suggest and expect that the trembling youth should be instantly hung upon one of the neighbouring trees. 'Never shall I forget,' are the words of the notably gallant soldier who has retailed this incident, 'the look of intense disgust and scorn in Outram's face,'—a response to the implied demand very different from what had been awaited. The

unfortunate individual who had spoken, immediately withdrew, abashed and disconcerted.

The same comrade, not by any means the least distinguished of his officers, once accompanied him to the rear of the camp, to inspect a detachment of native cavalry that had lately joined. The native officer in command, after paying his respects to Outram (who, as usual, treated him with the most kindly courtesy), said he would like to produce some letters which he possessed from English officers under whom he had served. His request was readily granted, and, retiring to his small tent, he presently returned with the much-prized testimonials. The first paper put into the General's hands at once aroused his interest. 'I was standing,' says our informant, 'close behind Outram, and heard him speaking to himself as he read the letter. Thus he soliloquised: "Ah, poor Charley: *he* could appreciate a good soldier!"' The manner in which these few words were spoken sufficed to convince the hearer that he who uttered them had the warmest feeling towards the subject of his contemplation. It was indeed a worthy tribute *in memoriam*, for the writer of the native officer's certificate was no other than Sir Charles Napier.

Major W. T. Johnson, to whom reference has already been made in the preceding chapter, relates that, when a subaltern with the army in Oudh, he was lying dangerously ill with fever at the 'Alam-bâgh. Outram constantly came and visited him, sending him any delicacy he could obtain. Finding that he had only a thin *rauti* (native tent), which protected him insufficiently from the heat of the sun, the General had an extra covering put on. 'By this means I believe he saved my life,' is the narrator's grateful testimony in later years to the good deed performed.

Among the soldiers of the 78th, he was still known by the old, familiar name; and 'Here comes auld Jamie on his

black horse,' was the ordinary intelligence given of his coming. Captain Robertson has added a few reminiscences of service with this regiment in Oudh to those already contributed for the Persian campaign. Noting the pleasure with which the men again met their General—who, for the few days he was at Kánhpur, got up sports for their amusement, awarding prizes to the successful competitors—and pronouncing his unselfish and generous relinquishment of command to be characteristic of the man, he continues:—'During the time we were shut up in the Residency, Sir James was untiring in his exertions to do everything in his power for us. He daily visited the sick and wounded, speaking words of kindness when he could do nothing better. His genial face and kind-hearted words did more for me¹ than all the skill of doctors. . . . At the 'Alam-bágh, he never harassed the soldiers by calling them out a moment before wanted to repel the repeated attacks of the rebels, and he dismissed them as soon as he could dispense with their services, generally ordering a dram or half a dram of rum to be issued if he had it to give. The result of this was that when an alarm was given the men were on the ground at once.' Captain Robertson also notices Sir James's habit of communicating news to the men, instancing that of the fall of Dehli which reached him on the eve of the advance from 'Alam-bágh to Lakhnau. 'He at once ordered the 78th to be fallen in, and read the letter to us, calling upon the regiment to give three cheers for Brigadier Wilson and the soldiers at Dehli, and three cheers more for *ourselves*, who were going to advance on the Residency.'

A General Officer thus illustrates this latter trait:—'Nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindness of Sir James to all under his command, of whatever rank. Whilst in

¹ He had been severely wounded in the head by a bullet.

camp at Alum Bâgh, when we visited the outlying pickets, who do not turn out to pay compliments, the men would all come forward to meet the General and salute him. They would come up and pat his charger, and ask him if he had any news. On one occasion a *cossid* had brought him some welcome intelligence: he said to me, "I will tell you shortly—" and we galloped off. When surrounded by the men he pulled the letter out of his pocket and read out to us all the report of one of Sir Colin's victories over the rebels. He then turned to me and said, "I wanted to be the first to let these fine fellows have the good news." His kindness and attention to the sick and wounded were very great.'

We close the chapter with a quotation from the address of Lord Napier of Magdala, delivered in Calcutta on unveiling the Outram statue in May 1874:—

During the defence of Lakhnau, he (Outram) had noticed the soldier-like bravery and gallantry of Captain Graydon, commanding Innes' Post, and frequently employed him in some dangerous duty. At length this good soldier was mortally wounded, and it was found that his property consisted of the clothes in which he was buried, and a bare soldier's cot. On reading the report, Outram's eyes filled with tears at the thought that if he had known of Graydon's condition he might have added something to his comfort; and he said: 'We never heard a word from that brave fellow that he wanted anything.'

CHAPTER V.

1858.

Final capture of Lakhnau under Sir Colin Campbell—'The Oudh Proclamation.'

WHILE Sir James Outram watched over Lakhnau at the 'Alam-bagh, measures were being carried out with more or less success for the suppression of the mutiny and rebellion elsewhere. Sir Colin Campbell, after his hard-won and memorable victory of December 6 at Kánhpur, was delayed by want of transport in prosecuting further active operations for more than a fortnight; for the safe conveyance to Allahabad of the families rescued from Lakhnau necessitated a large supply of carts which could ill be spared from strictly military objects. On December 24, however, the Commander-in-Chief's camp was again in movement, his plan being to march by the right bank of the Ganges upon Fathgarh, to which point the rebels would be forcibly driven by a column from Dehli on the one side, and a brigade of rifles with cavalry and artillery detached from his own force, on the other. A long halt at Fathgarh followed the propitious entry into that devastated cantonment and recovery of the Do-áb; and here it was that the Chief, abandoning for the time all other considerations, and confining his immediate operations to the scour of the surrounding country, and reduction of insurgent villages, applied himself to give effect to the Governor-General's resolution to bring back, at the earliest possible date, the capital of Oudh into British possession. Having made his dispositions accordingly, and

satisfied himself of the departure of a siege-train from Agra, he left Fathgarh for Kánhpur again on February 1, reaching the latter station in four days. The whole month was busily occupied in preparing for the new advance upon Lakhnau. From day to day came some accession of strength to a force which already promised to surmount *all* opposition. Among other occurrences of the day, an anxiously expected convoy of ladies (one of whom was Lady Outram), on its downward way to Calcutta, came in from Agra with the siege-train. Sir Colin availed himself of the Governor-General's presence at Allahabad to run down to that city and confer personally with his lordship.

On February 28¹ the Commander-in-Chief took his departure from Kánhpur, and coming up with, and assuming the command of, the army which had, a few days before, left its encamping-ground between Unao and Banni, was in conference with Outram at the 'Alam-bágh on March 1. They had already been in communication on the subject of the contemplated attack. As the 'Calcutta Review,' before quoted, expresses it, 'very perfect information had been received by Sir James Outram of the designs and defensive work of the enemy;' and Sir Colin had invited his suggestions regarding the line of operations to be adopted. But when first replying to the Chief on February 17, Sir James

¹ At this time, in the words of a clear and very able writer: 'The whole of the siege-train had come up; the long files of hackeries, laden with ammunition, had passed on. The engineer park, the artillery park, the commissariat supplies, the legions of camp-followers, the dense battalions, the glittering squadrons, the well-horsed batteries, had traversed the bridges, and disappeared across the muddy waters of the Ganges amidst the sandy plains of Oude. Such a force India had never seen. Under the Commander-in-Chief, 17 battalions of infantry, 16 of which were British; 28 squadrons of cavalry, including four English regiments; 64 light and 80 heavy guns and mortars, were arrayed; while from the south, right across the country of Oude, Franks, with 3 European and 6 Gourka battalions, with 20 guns, was pressing; and from the south-east, Jung Bahadoor, with 9,000 men and 24 guns, was marching, all to rendezvous together beneath the stately palaces of Lucknow.'

had been misinformed regarding the force which would be available ; so he afterwards, on the 29th, submitted amended proposals adapted to what, he had gathered from officers then in his camp (but still not on official authority), would be the real strength of Sir Colin's army. In both of these letters, operations on the left (or northern) bank of the Gúm-ti formed a main feature, thereby securing the continuous enfilading fire of our artillery upon the enemy's positions along the right bank. While advocating certain movements from the Dilkushá side, the writer was in favour of delivering the principal attack exactly in the opposite direction, viz. from the Musa-bágh, or western quarter of the city. The enemy, after the manner of Orientals, expecting a repetition of the old operations against them, had partially completed three strong lines of defence to frustrate attack from the Dilkushá and Chhar-bágh, and in so doing had neglected both their left flank, exposed from the further bank of the Gúm-ti, and the hitherto unmolested western quarters in their rear. Sir James understood, however, that it was contemplated first to turn attention to the capture of the Kaisar-bágh, and thence to complete the reduction of the rest of the city. Accordingly he remarked :—

‘It is my belief that the capture of the Kaiser Bagh once effected, the city will be evacuated by the rebels, the quarter towards Moosa Bagh being free for their egress ; and in that case we shall not inflict so heavy a blow as if the main attack was from the Moosa Bagh side, hemmed in as the enemy would be on this side and on the other side by the Goomtee. The mere capture of the Kaiser Bagh can be most easily effected from this side, I have little doubt. Not, however, by the route you formerly followed, for every obstruction in their power has been prepared on the river front of the Kaiser Bagh ; but by forcing the canal about

half a mile or so above Banks' house (between it and the Char Bagh bridge) where there is a considerable extent of open ground on the other side of the canal, and a tolerably wide street penetrates into the city from thence to the Kaiser Bagh; by operating in which direction we should turn the defensive works which the enemy have prepared on the direct approach from Dilkoosha, as well as those on the main street leading from the Char Bagh bridge to the Residency; and I do not anticipate much difficulty in penetrating from house to house, and holding all that intervenes between the said open ground (where batteries might be erected, the play of which would expel the enemy from the intermediate houses) and the south-western angle of the Kaiser Bagh, which possesses no defences in that quarter, that I can hear of. If there are guns at all in that direction, as reported, they must be outside, in the houses and streets leading to the Kaiser Bagh. No works in the Kaiser Bagh itself have been there prepared for artillery, I believe.' This movement would be facilitated by the fire of the heavy artillery from the opposite bank of the Gúm-ti. 'But,' he went on to remark, after giving further details, 'the Kaiser Bagh does not command the city, and the moral effect of its occupation does not cause the evacuation of the city, which we may reasonably expect it would do, egress towards Moosa Bagh being open to the rebels. Then we should have to prosecute the capture of the rest of the city by degrees, whereas I believe, that once in possession of the Emaumbara, Shushmahal, Doulet-Khana, and Muchee Bawn, from the Moosa Bagh side, the entire city would be at your mercy; but if the Kaiser Bagh still held out, its capture could as easily be effected afterwards from that side, as from this quarter above mentioned.'

After the Commander-in-Chief's arrival, Sir James
VOL. II. Y

Outram did not remain long at the 'Alam-bágh. His division had now become part of the magnificent army which, composed of 20,000 men and strengthened with 180 guns, was about to reassert British supremacy in Oudh, by the re-possession of its rebellious capital. He himself had been called upon to fill a higher command—that to which his position as next in military rank to the Commander-in-Chief only entitled him, but which nevertheless his modesty led him to regard as a most gratifying mark of confidence. A letter to Lady Outram of March 4, dated from Bibiapur just below Dilkushá—on the way to cross the Gúm̄ti at the point where a temporary bridge had been prepared for his use—refers to the fact. 'The Chief,' he wrote, 'has done me the high honour of placing me in command of a large force, which is to occupy a position on the other side of the Goomtee to-morrow. . . . I anticipate little or no opposition, so do not be alarmed should this reach you before you learn the result. . . . A higher honour could not have been conferred on me than this command.'

Well might he express satisfaction with the force placed at his disposal, a powerful *corps d'armée*, according to the scale of our Indian armaments—complete in all arms, and composed of first-rate troops. Moreover, he acquired an admirable second in command and leader of his cavalry, in Brigadier-General Sir James Hope Grant; an association which enabled him, as usual, to add one more to the long list of his trusted friends.

As with the other great events of the Indian Mutiny, the story of the re-capture of Lakhnau by Sir Colin Campbell and the fine body of troops under his command, and the re-establishment of British supremacy in Oudh, has already been told in detail. Any pretence at a description of this brilliant passage of history is now disavowed. Outram's share in the first of the two achievements is officially set

forth in the Memorandum accompanying the Commander-in-Chief's despatch to Government of March 22. But no account of his own, official or non-official, could render justice to the service performed by him on that occasion. Before reproducing his narrative, therefore, we shall say a few words on the nature and importance of the duty entrusted to his hands.

It had been already proved that the defences of Lakhnau were of no common kind, and that the defenders, whatever dissensions might arise from time to time in their counsels, could act with courage and determination on an emergency. The lines of works set up, and the preparations generally made in September 1857 to resist the British advance, were such that it was found impossible to remove with safety the families then besieged in the Residency. The intended relief thus became involuntarily a reinforcement. Again, in the following November, while the relief or withdrawal was actually effected by a fresh body of troops, it was considered unadvisable to reconquer or to occupy the city. The only assertion of sovereignty that could be made was the maintenance of a watching force at the 'Alam-bâgh; and that force was fortunately in such good hands that its existence was a cause of weakness and humiliation to the neighbouring enemy. It dimmed the prestige which the rebels would have acquired by undisturbed possession of Oudh; and it humbled their pride by defeating their attempts to harass its movements or dislodge it from its chosen position. Now that a sufficient army had been brought to the spot, and that Lakhnau was again to be entered with every prospect of successful occupation, it was prudently resolved to move upon the city in two directions; that is to say, by the further side of the Gúm-ti, as well as by the Dilkushá and Martinière and across the dry bed of the canal. Outram's progress with his division would guide the

remainder of the force ; for until he had succeeded in turning the first or canal line of the enemy's works, no forward movement could be made from the Dilkushá. He did his part ably: crossing the river on March 6, to pitch his camp near the Faizabad road ; driving off the enemy who attacked him on the following day ; and on March 9, seizing upon the Chakarwala Kothi, called by the Commander-in-Chief the key of the enemy's position in that quarter. On March 10, Outram employed himself in strengthening his position, repelling the attack of the enemy, and directing the fire of his batteries upon the Kaisar-bágh and main street. The programme prescribed for his guidance was 'all carried out' by him 'with the most marked success.' On the night of the 12th he was reinforced with heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaisar-bágh. This building and its surroundings fell on the morning of the 14th, to the assault of the main force under Sir Colin, which, vigorously fighting its onward way, had successfully stormed the more difficult and stoutly defended positions. On the 16th Outram, having recrossed the Gúmti, 'advanced according to order, through the Chattar Manzil, to take the Residency.' A movement of the enemy in retreat across a bridge becoming at this juncture apparent, 'he was able, almost without opposition,' to seize upon positions which secured the full re-possession of the city. Three days later, aided by Sir Hope Grant, he drove the enemy from their 'last position . . . on the line of the Goomtee.'

Sir Colin Campbell's interesting report of the whole proceedings also contains the following paragraph in reference to Sir James Outram:—'It was matter of real gratification to me to be able to entrust the Trans-Goomtee operation to this very distinguished officer, and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy, while the extended

position in the town was of necessity held by the troops who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.'

We reproduce the memorandum by Sir James to which reference has been made.¹ It shows that he had carried out his instructions to the letter from day to day, calmly, cautiously, and yet with promptitude and daring when occasion called for the exercise of these qualities:—

1. On the morning of the 6th instant, shortly before daybreak, I proceeded with the force named in the margin,² to cross the Goomtee River, over the two temporary bridges which had been constructed by the order of his Excellency, the whole of the cavalry being under the command of Brigadier-General Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B.; the infantry under that of Brigadier Walpole; the field artillery under Brigadier D. Wood, C.B.; the siege artillery, which subsequently joined me, under Lieut.-Colonel Riddell, R.A. After proceeding a short distance in a northerly direction, the enemy became visible on our left flank, and on being approached by the cavalry, they were discovered to be in considerable force, chiefly sowars. The 2nd Punjaub Cavalry then attacked on the right, while Major Smith, of the Queen's Bays, with

¹ Inverted commas show extracts from the Commander-in-Chief's official despatch. The plan at the end of the Volume will enable the reader to follow the course of the several troops employed on the first occasion, and help, moreover, to elucidate the operations of September and November. Some notice of the extent of ground traversed will be gathered from the circumstance that Outram's first position on the Faizabad road east of the city is at a distance of seven or eight miles from the 'Musa Bâgh' on the west of the plan. But his camp at the latter place was pitched three miles further still.

² Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's Troop, R.H.A.; Major Remington's and Captain McKinnon's Troops; Bengal H.A. under Lieutenant-Colonel F. Turner; Capts. Gibbon and Middleton's Light Field Batteries, Royal Artillery, and Head Quarters Field Artillery Brigade; Head Quarters Cavalry Division and of 1st Cavalry Brigade; H.M.'s 2nd D. G. [Bays]; H.M.'s 9th Lancers; 2nd Punjab Cavalry. Detachments 1st and 5th Punjab Cavalry, under Capts. Watson and Stanford; 3rd Infantry Division under Brigadier-General B. Walpole:—

5th Brigade, Brigadier Douglas, { H.M.'s 23rd Fusiliers, H.M.'s 79th
C.B. { Highlanders, 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

6th Brigade, Brigadier Horsford, { 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, 3rd Bat-
C.B. { talion ditto, 2nd Punjab Infantry.

two squadrons of his own regiment, one squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Lieut-Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of Horse Artillery, advanced from our left. The enemy were immediately driven back, and pursued to the banks of the river, many being cut up; but I regret to state that in this charge the gallant Major Smith was killed. Our camp was then formed on the Fyzabad road, about half a mile in advance of the village of Chinhut, on the Lucknow side. Early on the following morning, March 7, the enemy made a smart attack on our advanced picquets, and brought out several guns under cover of ravines and clumps of trees in our front. They were, however, speedily withdrawn, on our skirmishers and horse artillery and Captain Middleton's field battery, protected by the cavalry, coming to the front and opening their fire. The artillery practice on this occasion, as on the preceding day, was admirable.

2. The following day, the 8th instant, under the instructions of his Excellency, Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of Horse Artillery and the 9th Lancers re-crossed the river to the head-quarters camp, and the siege guns named in the margin¹ joined me. Having decided upon an attack on the enemy's position, on the next morning, the 9th instant, I caused an entrenchment for eight 24-pounder guns and three 8-inch howitzers, to be constructed during the night. The battery was armed, and commenced its fire at daybreak with excellent effect, after which the right column of infantry, accompanied by Captain Gibbon's field battery, under Brigadier-General Walpole, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, commanded by Brigadier Horsford, C.B., and supported by the 5th Brigade under Brigadier Douglas, drove the enemy through the jungles, walls, and villages, which afforded them an excellent cover, and bringing the right shoulders forward, occupied the Fyzabad road. In the meantime, the left column of attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, supported by two companies of the 79th Highlanders, which had been held in readiness on the left of the battery, together with the horse artillery under Brigadier Wood, which had been formed in rear of the bridge across the Kohral, advanced, and in concert with the right column, carried the Chuker Kothee (or Yellow-house), the key of the rebel position, in gallant style, and thereby turned the strong line of entrench-

¹ 24-pounder guns, 8; 8-inch howitzers, 4; 8-inch mortars, 10. Total, 22.

ment which had been constructed by the enemy on the right bank of the Goomtee. Of this success the skirmishers on the other side of the river were subsequently apprised by Lieutenant Butler, of the Bengal Fusiliers, who swam across the Goomtee, and climbing the parapet, remained in that position for a considerable time, under heavy fire of musketry, until the work was occupied.¹ After the occupation of the Chuker Kothee, we drove the enemy rapidly through the old irregular cavalry lines, and suburbs, to the Badshah Bagh. The fortified gates of this strong-walled enclosure were blown open, and the garden occupied, where two guns were found by our troops. Three guns and a howitzer were then placed in position to enfilade the works in rear of the Martinière. A battery of two 24-pounder guns and two 8-inch howitzers was placed near the river to keep down the fire from the town. A battery for five mortars was constructed during the night, and in the morning commenced playing on the Kaiser Bagh. Four heavy guns were also placed in a work thrown up by the enemy at the east entrance into the Badshah Bagh.

3. On the 10th, we were occupied in strengthening our position, the enemy being in force in the suburbs in our front, from which they made an attack in considerable numbers on a picquet held by the 79th Highlanders, but were repulsed with heavy loss. General Sir James Hope Grant occupied himself the while in patrolling the vicinity, during which operation a most valuable young officer, Major Sandford, of the 5th Punjaub Irregular Cavalry, was unfortunately killed; but the enemy suffered severely.

4. During this night, another battery was constructed at the Badshah Bagh for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five 8-inch mortars, which kept up a vertical and direct fire on the defences in the interior of the Kaiser Bagh. Two more 24-pounders were also brought to bear on the Mess-house, and on the Kaiser Bagh, in compliance with the instructions of his Excellency. I made arrangements to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges, and shortly after daylight, on the 11th instant, the right column, as per margin,² formed on the Fyzabad road under the immediate command of Brigadier

¹ For this singularly gallant action Lieutenant Butler received the Victoria Cross.

² 79th Highlanders; 2nd and 3rd battalion, Rifle Brigade; 1st Bengal Fusiliers; Captain Gibbon's Light Field Battery, and two 24-pounders.

General Walpole, and worked its way, covered by its skirmishers, through the town, until it reached the mosque on the old cantonment road which commands the approach to the iron bridge.

5. The left column, as per margin,¹ proceeded along the lower road, towards the iron bridge. These two columns were connected by a strong chain of skirmishers, which, as well as the left column, met with considerable opposition, as the enemy opened three guns on them from the opposite side of the river, and also held the ground in great strength in front of the rifle skirmishers, commanded by Brevet-Major Warren, Captains Wilmot and Thynne, and Lieutenant Grey, who all behaved most gallantly; Captain Thynne, a most promising officer, I regret to say, being mortally wounded. This column occupied the houses down to the river's bank, and the head of the iron bridge, to the right of which the two 24-pounder guns were placed in battery. The spirit and dash of the men during this critical operation were most remarkable, and merit my highest commendation. Lieutenant Moorsom, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, who had been deputed by me to guide the column, was killed on the spot while reconnoitring on the opposite side of the road. I deplore sincerely the loss of this most gallant and promising young officer, whose soldier-like zeal and acquirements rendered him an ornament to his profession.

6. Having left the Bengal Fusiliers posted in the mosque on the cantonment road, I proceeded with the remainder of the right column in that direction, and shortly afterwards met Sir J. H. Grant's Cavalry and Horse Artillery, which in the meantime had been operating on the extreme right. Turning now towards the stone bridge, we surprised the camp of the rebel 15th Irregular Horse, whose standard and two guns were captured by the Rifles, the enemy flying in all directions over the plain, many being cut up by our cavalry.

7. I then penetrated to the head of the stone bridge, through the strong and dense suburbs, without encountering any material opposition. The enemy, however, were able to command it with guns, as well as with musketry from the tops of several high and strong stone houses on the opposite side of the river, and the position was, moreover, too distant, and approaches too intricate, to

¹ Two 24-pounder guns; three field battery guns, Royal Artillery; 23rd R. W. Fusiliers; 2nd Punjaub Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.

warrant my holding it permanently with the force at my disposal. I therefore withdrew to the mosque at the cross road, already occupied by the Bengal Fusiliers, our route being through suburbs in which we destroyed a quantity of munitions of war, and finally we retired to camp, when the arrangements for the occupation of the iron bridge had been completed.

8. During the nights of the 12th and 13th, having been reinforced by four 18-pounder guns, two 10-inch howitzers, five 10-inch mortars, and four 5½-inch mortars, three batteries were erected, from which five 10-inch mortars, ten 8-inch mortars, four 24-pounder guns were brought to bear upon the Kaiser Bagh, on the fall of which, on the morning of the 14th, the guns and mortars were turned on the Residency, and the buildings to the right of the bridge. During this operation, Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Royal Artillery, brought himself prominently to notice by extinguishing a fire in a small building in front of his battery, in a very dangerous and exposed position. The operations connected with a breastwork across the iron bridge were conducted by Lieutenant Wynne, R.E., and Sergeant Paul, who displayed great coolness and resolution in the face of a heavy and continual fire.

9. Having been ordered to join his Excellency's camp, my operations on the north side of the Goomtee were here brought to a close.

10. Our casualties during these proceedings amounted to five officers killed and nine wounded, and the loss in men, including sergeants, was twenty-one killed and one hundred and four wounded; total, twenty-six killed and one hundred and thirteen wounded. With the exception of the officers, the above statement of casualties does not include the cavalry division. General Sir J. H. Grant having been ordered off into the districts, neither his casualty list, nor his notice of his officers, has been received. From the peculiar nature of the fighting, the actual loss of the enemy is difficult to ascertain. But I cannot estimate it at less than two thousand throughout the whole operations.

11. On the 16th instant, under instructions from his Excellency, I proceeded to the Kaiser Bagh, where I found the 5th Brigade, under the command of Brigadier Douglas, C.B., comprising the 23rd Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, to which his Excellency had added her Majesty's 20th Regiment and the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs.

12. Vast numbers of the enemy having been seen crossing the

stone bridge from the city apparently with the design of attacking Brigadier-General Walpole's camp, on the north of the Goomtee, his Excellency ordered me to press our movement. I immediately ordered the advance, and took possession of the Residency with little opposition, the 23rd Fusiliers charging through the gateway, and driving the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, the remainder of the brigade following them in reserve.

13. The enemy having been dislodged from the Residency, two companies of the 23rd, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, accompanied by Captain Gould Weston, who pointed out the road, pressed rapidly forward, and captured the brass gun, which was in position to sweep the iron bridge, after some opposition. In the meanwhile the Residency height was crowned by a field battery of Madras Artillery, under the command of Major Cotter, which kept up a heavy fire on the Muchhee Bhowun. This battery was subsequently withdrawn, and replaced by two 68-pounder guns of the Naval Brigade. On their arrival, the Bengal Fusiliers moved to the iron bridge, and shortly afterwards advanced together with the Regiment of Ferozepore, and took Muchhee Bhowun and the Enmambara, the enemy precipitately retiring, and abandoning six guns. One company of the Fusiliers, under Captain Salisbury, was pushed on to the Roomidurwaza Gate, where another gun was captured. The 79th were then brought up to occupy the Enmambara, and the remainder of the Bengal Fusiliers were placed in the Muchhee Bhowun.

14. On the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Douglas caused the Hosinabad mosque and the Dowlutkhana, in which two guns and a small mortar were found, to be occupied by a company of the 79th Highlanders. About one P.M., with the force named in the margin,¹ I moved towards the block of buildings known as Shurfudowlah's house, having previously occupied the entrance to the Chowk with three companies of the 79th Highlanders. On arriving at the Juma Musjid, nine cart loads of powder were found in a court-yard in the rear, which impeded our progress. I therefore directed it to be destroyed, under the supervision of the Engineers. I regret, however, to have to state that, from some accidental cause, the powder ignited.

¹ Captain Middleton's Field Battery; two 8-inch howitzers; one company, Native Sappers; one wing, H.M.'s 20th Foot; one wing, H.M.'s 23rd Foot; one wing, H.M.'s 79th Foot; Brasyer's Sikhs.

15. Captain Clarke, R.E., and Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., who had greatly distinguished themselves, have since died from the effects of the explosion, in whose melancholy death the service has sustained a heavy loss, which I sincerely deplore. About thirty men shared their fate, and the rest of the working party were more or less injured.

16. I then sent two companies of the 79th Highlanders, with one 8-inch howitzer, to take possession of Shurfoodowlah's house, which was occupied without any casualty, the enemy precipitately retreating, although they had made every preparation for a vigorous defence. An iron gun and a brass gun, with an ammunition waggon, together with several small guns, all in position, were captured.

17. I then reinforced the three companies of the 79th in the Chowk, with five companies of the 20th Regiment, and completed the chain of communication.

18. On the 18th, Brigadier Douglas ordered Lieutenant Gordon, commanding a picquet of the 20th, to clear the houses in his front, which he effected, much to the Brigadier's satisfaction, killing twenty-three of the enemy.

19. The stone bridge was found to be undermined, and the circumstance reported to his Excellency.

20. On the morning of the 19th, under instructions from his Excellency, I proceeded to attack the Moosa Bagh, the force named in the margin¹ being assembled for that purpose.

21. At about half-past six A.M., I proceeded to Gao Ghât, and found Ali Nuki Khan's house occupied by the enemy, who opened a sharp fire of musketry on the head of the column. Two companies of the 79th, led by Lieutenant Everett, being ordered to advance, soon drove the enemy out, and took possession of it. Considerable delay here took place in consequence of having to break through a thick wall, during which time I ordered up a wing of the Bengal Fusiliers to occupy the house.

22. The troops then advanced through the suburbs without opposition towards Moosa Bagh, which position the enemy was

¹ Two squadrons, 9th Lancers; one company, R.E.; one company, Native Sappers; one field battery (Captain Middleton's); two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, four 8-inch mortars under Captain Carleton, B.A.; three companies 20th Regiment; seven companies, 23rd Regiment; 79th Highlanders; 2nd Punjaub Infantry.

reported to occupy with thirteen guns and five or six thousand men.

23. On arriving on the open ground, two guns were opened on the column, and the enemy appeared in great strength on the road. I immediately ordered out skirmishers from the 79th and 23rd, and Captain Middleton's battery to the front, whose fire soon silenced that of the enemy, during which time the Lancers made a flank movement to the enemy's left, and on our advance their whole force took to flight, abandoning their guns; on finding which I sent to order back the heavy guns under escort of the three companies of the 20th Regiment, as being no longer required.

24. The two squadrons of the 9th Lancers followed up the pursuit for about four miles, when they overtook the enemy, captured six guns, and killed about a hundred of them, the rest dispersing over the country and escaping by the aid of the nullahs and broken feature of the country. The conduct of the officers and men of the 9th was most gallant, as they undauntedly charged masses of the enemy.

25. The field artillery and infantry followed in support as rapidly as possible, and captured four more guns, making in all twelve, which I believe to be the total possessed by the enemy, no trace of the reported thirteenth gun being observable.

26. I then occupied the Moosa Bagh, with the 2nd Punjaub Infantry under Major Green, and withdrew the rest of the troops to their quarters in the city.

27. Throughout the course of these operations, which were very laborious, the cheerfulness and zeal of both officers and men were most conspicuous, and merit my warmest thanks.¹ . . .

The list of casualties in Outram's force (exclusive of Grant's cavalry division) from March 6 to March 19, shows 8 officers and 63 men killed; 13 officers and 154 men wounded. Total, 238 of all ranks.

That Outram desired to cross the iron bridge on the 14th, in order to complete the effect of the Commander-in-Chief's capture of the Kaiser-bagh by a crushing rear attack, was stated

¹ The remainder of this despatch, containing commendations of officers engaged, will be found in Appendix P.

at the time by Dr. Russell, the 'Times' correspondent,¹ who pointed out the important results which might have been looked for from such a movement if it had been permitted. The matter has been fully discussed in history, and we are content to leave it in the historian's hands for disposal. The same may be said of the failure on the part of the cavalry and horse artillery brigade from 'Alam-bâgh to fill the position assigned to it on the west of the city during the final operations of the 19th—a *contretemps* whereby was completely frustrated Lord Clyde's very perfect plan for cutting off the escape of the rebels whom Outram swept out of the city by his advance on the Musa-bâgh. Sir James made the best possible use of his handful of cavalry—only two squadrons of lancers—but the absence of the splendid force which should have effectually closed the outlet, rendered of little avail both these efforts and the ably conducted operations of Sir Hope Grant on the other side of the Gúmí.

Thus the final and sweeping blow which Sir James had so long anticipated, and of which he had from first to last done his best to ensure the completeness, became little more than a crushing defeat to a slippery enemy. Instead of its securing the virtual pacification of Oudh at one stroke, as he had hoped it would have done, it left the Province swarming

¹ *My Diary in India*, vol. i. p. 335. One of Sir James's staff recalls Sir Colin's parting words that morning: 'Take care of yourself, Outram—remember you're no chicken'—a friendly piece of advice which might well have been reciprocated. It may have been on this day that Sir James met with an adventure which we shall allow him to relate in his own words—so far as the memory of our informant can be relied upon—premising that, for obvious reasons, he may not have been in the best of tempers. 'I was on the way back from head-quarters,' he said, 'and found some of Peel's guns blocking my way. I desired the sailors to make way for me; when I heard a squeaky voice below me call out (with an expiative I may not repeat), "Who are you that dares to interfere with my command?" Looking down, I beheld a very small midshipman, and made my humble apologies to him, explaining that I was in a hurry to get to my command across the river.' He found out afterwards that the irate naval officer was a juvenile lord.

with armed rebels still capable of resistance. The very contingency he wished to prevent had occurred. What trouble came of it is too well known to call for further allusion here. Sir James Outram had not desired a holocaust of individual mutineers and rebels—far otherwise; but he did expect the annihilation of the enemy as an armed and organised body, with the surrender or death of their leaders. Read by the light of these events and their consequences, the remarks already quoted from his suggestions for the assault, in reference to attack from the Musa-bágh quarter and the necessity of guarding against escape from that side, acquire a force which need not be demonstrated.

The burden of care which this disappointing mishap entailed on the Chief Commissioner of Oudh was not, however, to rest upon Sir James's shoulders. He had already succeeded to the highest appointment in the gift of Government—a seat in the Governor-General's Council as military member—and had expressed his anxiety to enter upon it before the hot weather advanced and the reorganisation of the Province was commenced. He was now delighted to hear that a successor to him as Chief Commissioner had been appointed, and that the person selected was not only, as he had recommended, an experienced civilian, but one upon whose judgment and clemency he could thoroughly rely—Mr. (now Sir Robert) Montgomery, the well-known coadjutor of Sir John Lawrence in the Panjáb. The desire to be relieved of his office had been increased by a proceeding of Lord Canning's in which he could by no means concur—which had indeed astounded and distressed him beyond measure, and which betokened a line of policy towards Oudh that he could not carry out with satisfaction, being in his opinion unjustly severe and calculated to drive every noble to desperation. The Governor-General sent up for issue a proclamation which simply confiscated all lands in the Province with the excep-

tion of those held by half a dozen insignificant chiefs. Even the camp was thrown into consternation on hearing of this thunderbolt from Allahabad, and when tidings of it reached England it caused such a sensation in and out of Parliament that Lord Canning's recall became a matter of talk and surmise. But it must be added that after-explanation showed that the public had passed too sweeping a condemnation on his Lordship's measures. It would be out of place here to do more than allude, in passing, to the facts and merits of the controversy arising out of the celebrated 'Oudh Proclamation.' Suffice it to say that Sir James's earnest protest and endeavours to obtain its withdrawal were generally approved of, and by no one more than the President of the Board of Control in England. Strange to say, the statesman who then filled this high office was Lord Ellenborough, the only Governor-General whose displeasure Outram had incurred. The Commissioner took upon himself to suspend action by parleying through the telegraph wires, until he had obtained authority to modify the hazardous missive by an accompanying circular which, together with a subsidiary and soothing proclamation of his own, may be said to have practically neutralised the threatened mischief.¹

¹ This was the text of the circular, addressed to many of the *Talukdars*. 'The Major-General, Chief Commissioner of Oude, in sending you the Proclamation, wishes to inform you that if you at once come in, ready to obey his orders, provided you have taken no part in the atrocities committed on helpless Europeans—none of your lands will be confiscated, and your claims to lands held by you prior to annexation will be reheard.'

And this of the subsidiary Proclamation :—'Whereas it has come to the knowledge of the Chief Commissioner, that sundry otherwise well-disposed *zemindars* of Oude are under the absurd belief, instilled into them by the rebels, that the British Government are going to destroy their caste—the population are hereby informed, once for all, that the Government has no such intention. The Christian religion forbids forcible conversion to its doctrines. Those *Badmashes* who spread these lies, can give their hearers no authenticated instance of a forcible conversion made by any Christian, as the people to whom the Proclamation is addressed well know. It behoves, them, therefore, to take confidence, and at once come in to Lucknow.'

This may be said to have been his closing administrative act in Oudh. That his last days at Banks' House, where he had taken up his quarters, were busy ones, may well be understood, but all he could do was to attend to the current calls of the hour and prepare the way as far as possible for his successor. We have a touching incident recorded in Dr. Russell's 'Diary' which shows the General in his old part,—kindly reassuring an unfortunate Oudh noble who had hospitably entertained our officers in the days when peace and conviviality reigned at Lakhnau. He had been much maltreated by the rebels, yet sought humbly, and amid the rebuffs of subordinates, to clear himself from suspicion in our sight. The poor old man did not long survive the anxieties and hardships of the time.

One or two other reminiscences of the 'Bayard of India' may be gathered from the same graphic source of contemporaneous information. Dr. Russell's first impressions of him are too characteristic of Sir James to be overlooked: 'His forehead is broad, massive, sagacious, but open; his eye, which is covered by a shaggy brow, is dark, full of penetration, quick, and expressive; his manner natural and gracious; his speech is marked by a slight hesitation when choosing a word, but it is singularly correct and forcible; and his smile is very genial and sympathetic. He is of the middle size; is very stoutly built, and has a slight roundness of the shoulder, as if from study or application at the desk.' Again he speaks of him at Banks' House as 'sitting like a guest at his own table, which is crowded by the various officers whom his hospitality pours in on his perplexed A.D.C.s.'

His views on the annexation are thus adverted to: 'The General expresses the most liberal views about the settlement of Oude, and is, as I gathered from one or two expressions, shaken in his belief that his advice for the annexation of the Province was quite sound, seeing what the

results have been. General Outram is one of those men who are great enough to admit they may have been mistaken ; he is of that true courage which fears no moral danger from the avowal of an error ; and if he really thinks he was wrong in respect to Oude, I am certain he will confess as much.' And once more we get a glimpse of the stern soldier—versus the civilian—as the warm advocate of clemency. 'General Outram and he' (the new Financial Commissioner of Oude) 'did not at all agree in the policy which should be adopted towards the rebellious native chiefs and others. The former is for a large and generous and general amnesty, except in the case of actual murderers ; the latter is for most vigorous prosecution and punishment.'

On another occasion Dr. Russell was struck by the manner in which he dealt with an abstract strategical question :—'Sir James combated that view with ability and at much length ; and in doing so evinced a remarkable knowledge of famous military operations.'

Mr. Montgomery arrived on April 3, and Sir James Outram took his departure on the following day. It need hardly be observed that the farewell greetings he received were of more than ordinary warmth. Few men have left more sincerely attached comrades behind than he did at each stage of his career. He declined an escort for himself and the members of his staff who accompanied him, relying on his stout stick for his own protection ; and so he quietly took his final leave of Lakhnau. He had, as he foretold, served his last campaign. But he had not foreseen its magnitude and how different were to be its results to himself from those which he had contemplated when riding, a volunteer with Havelock's force, along the familiar road he now retraversed, for the last time, in peace !

CHAPTER VI.

1858-1863.

Council of the Governor-General—Minutes and Opinions on Questions of the day—Calcutta Address—Departure for England—Tour to Continent, and Egypt—Statues and Shield—London Address and Presentation of Plate—Lord Canning's Funeral—Honorary Degree of D.C.L. conferred at Oxford—Return to Continent—Last Illness and Death.

LORD CANNING was at Allahabad when Outram arrived there, *en route* to take his seat as military member of the Supreme Government of India. Although a feeling of unpleasantness may have been occasioned on both sides owing to the correspondence, and divergence of opinion, on the Proclamation to the people of Oudh, the Governor-General welcomed his new colleague with all outward cordiality, inviting him to be his guest. He had just despatched Lord Mark Kerr to relieve Azamgarh, then threatened by Kunwar Singh, who had achieved some kind of success in his latest encounter with British troops; and there was otherwise much to keep him anxious and engage his attention. The earliest evidence of Outram's presence at Calcutta is contained in a letter to Captain Eastwick, dated May 2, detailing circumstances of the deepest personal interest connected with the Mutiny, and—in spite of the writer's assurance that he is '*crushed* with work, principally the drudgery of demi-official correspondence,' resulting from his Persian and Indian commands—discussing wisely on matters of political import. Of Oudh he has heard good accounts, and he '*hopes and*

believes' that his successor in the administration of that province will render it 'the most prosperous division of our Indian Empire.' The passages immediately following are deserving of extract :—

'By the aid of its existing landed aristocracy this may easily be done. And I think that even the most fanatically keen admirers of the North-West Province and Punjab systems are now inclined to admit that it is worth trying whether the universal laws of social progress do not hold, as regards India—whether the revenue of the State may not be maintained, and the happiness of the masses promoted, as satisfactorily under a system which recognises the legitimacy and advantages of capital and of baronial landlordism, as under a system which tends to reduce the entire population to the dreary and ever-sinking level of a demi-pauperised peasant proprietary. But even with the adoption of correct principles, and with a Montgomery to apply them, I fear that Oude will never flourish—as it easily might be made, and indubitably ought to be made, to flourish—until half the foolscap work now imposed on our officials be abolished ; till we trust to the honour and qualifications of our officers, instead of to the mechanical checks and counter-checks which have rendered independent action nearly impossible, and degraded administrators into little better than petty clerks ; till we reduce the records of our criminal courts to a few brief notes of the leading facts elicited on trial ; vastly circumscribe the right of appeal ; greatly extend the summary criminal jurisdiction of our officers of police ; and thus release our highly educated and highly paid civil officers from the clerkly drudgery which leaves them no time for the performance of their higher duties, and from that soul-crushing system of references, official criticisms, and snubbings, &c., which makes them dread to do good, or move one step

beyond the "Regulations." These sentiments, however, are rank blasphemy in the estimation of the "governing classes," and I dare not give open expression to them.'

The observant reader will doubtless take account, with us, of a certain literary power exhibited in the above extract which can hardly be attributed to mere practice and a long course of official experience. It is to be found in many of his original papers, especially those of later years. The long sentences are retained as of old, but they are clear and full of meaning; and there is a terseness in them which belongs to the school of frequent periods. Contrary to original intention, but constrained by limited space, we shall now bid farewell to Oudh—a province in the welfare of which Outram continued, up to the close of his Indian career, to take the liveliest interest, as the letters addressed to him, when in Council, by Majors Barrow, Hutchinson, and other officers employed there, would abundantly testify. The few years which remain to be chronicled in completion of these volumes, if of comparative repose from out-door excitement, were not devoid of brain-work. To the nature of this, in India, let us then glance, before renewing the thread of narration at a point where it is nearly expended.

As a Councillor, Sir James Outram's Minutes and Memoranda were numerous and of a varied and important kind. According to his own statement, he 'never appeared prominently in debate;' but if the tongue was sometimes tied, the pen was ever ready and active. Like his despatches in the field and political correspondence, justice could only be done to his writings in the Council chamber by separate publication. A volume might well be assigned to the materials available under each head. Our only course at present is to select advisedly from the more generally interesting topics. Nearly one hundred different themes

are registered in the rough manuscript records placed at our disposal ; and these are called only 'Selections.' Out of the number we take a few specimens which appear to merit especial notice :—

First and foremost comes the question of Army Reorganisation. Under the control of civilised governments, the natural consequence of a mutiny, like that which grew into rebellion in India—as in the case of a sudden and widely-spread visitation of famine or pestilence—is the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry ; and so it was with ourselves in 1857. On the very day that Outram, in completion of the abandonment of Lakhnau, rejoined Sir Colin Campbell at 'Alam-bagh falling back from the Dilkusha, the Court of Directors placed on record a suggestion that, so soon as circumstances would admit, the proper organisation of the army in India should form the subject of investigation by competent men. After some six months of official interchange of authoritative opinion, the matter was put into the hands of an officer selected by Lord Canning, to collect all the necessary data on which he himself could, with the aid of his council, form a conclusion to be submitted to the governing powers at home. In a Minute dated May 28, 1858, Sir James Outram expressed regret, and explained his reasons for regretting, that the Commission originally proposed had not been assembled ; and, about a fortnight later, showed further cause for adopting this view. At the same time, he stated his hearty concurrence in a recommendation which had been made in strong terms by the President, that immediate measures should be instituted to obtain additional European troops, adding :—

Only the fear of exceeding my legitimate functions, and of appearing to interfere with those of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, has hitherto prevented my pressing this subject on the attention of Government. I am not wont to take

gloomy views of public affairs, but I freely confess that I regard with uneasiness our present condition and prospects, even apart from the contingency of a European war. Every week's delay in the restoration of order adjourns consummation for months, weakens our moral influence, and proportionately augments the amount of physical force which will be necessary for the effectual maintenance of our authority in India, while the events of the last twelve months remain fresh in the memories of the discontented, the ambitious, and the warlike. The truest economy will be found in the maintenance, for some time to come, of such a strong European force as shall not only enable us to crush the bands now in arms against us, but confirm our numerous native levies in their allegiance. It will be so, should the peace of Europe remain unbroken. How much more so, should that peace be disturbed !

On October 16 he thus reviewed some of the more important points discussed in a memorandum by Lord Canning, which had been sent for his perusal:—

I would not re-establish regular native infantry for Bengal, and would retain on the regular footing only the regiments which remained faithful, and those composed of the loyal remnants of other regiments; these, I think, should have higher pay than the rest of the native army comprised of irregular and police corps (who will generally, I understand, have nearly, if not quite, the same rates of pay as the line formerly received), and every reasonable distinction should be conferred on these regiments as a reward for their fidelity.

As for the Bombay and Madras armies, he would proclaim to them—

How highly her Majesty appreciates the loyalty they have evinced throughout the late trying crisis, in consideration of which they are assured that no alteration whatever shall be made in their organisation, and that their constitution and privileges will be maintained so long as they continue loyal—pointing to the utter extinction of the Bengal army as the consequence of disloyalty. Some such assurance is, I think, necessary, and should

not long be delayed, for our native troops throughout India cannot otherwise than feel anxiety lest the misconduct of the sepoys of Bengal may cause us to discard from our service all of their caste and creed in other parts of India, so soon as we can conveniently do so.

Regarding Staff and civil employ he entirely agreed with the views of the Governor-General :—

I think with his Lordship that the advantages secured to the State by the system of supplying officers from the army for civil duties, and to officer the regular and police corps, greatly counter-balance the disadvantages to the army of having a portion of its officers withdrawn from regimental employ. It would be well if the demand could be more limited, but I would not deprive the Government of the advantages of such a field of selection ; and I would not close the door to such a wholesome incentive to mental exertion as the prospect of civil employment, and to the exercise of physical powers as the hope of employment with irregular corps supplies to young officers. Without this the idle life of mere garrison duty in time of peace, under the relaxing climate of India, would cause all not naturally of strong or superior minds to deteriorate both mentally and bodily, and of course the morale and discipline of the Indian army would suffer in proportion to the inefficiency of its officers.

The disadvantage resulting from too largely denuding regiments of officers may, however, be greatly remedied by introducing, as proposed by his Lordship, the system of *seconding* followed in the Royal Army, so far as in the case of officers removed for civil employment, *not army staff*. This would be as advantageous and encouraging to regimental officers, as a Staff Corps, and far less costly to the State.

The actual amalgamation of the Royal and Indian armies he was averse to : he deemed it ‘ impossible without injury to the interests of the latter, especially of its officers.’ ‘ But,’ he continued,

were it practicable to effect the amalgamation with perfect justice to it and to them, I consider that the measure would be most

impolitic. In the first place, to assimilate the two armies the system of purchase must be introduced into the Indian army, which would be detrimental to its morale. But more particularly would it be injurious to the Indian army, as creating a spirit of restlessness among young men (the officers) naturally desirous of change, and a feeling of instability in their position in India, which would deprive officers of heart in the service—and it would destroy that *esprit de corps* which now animates our Indian army. The officers composing that army should regard India as their home—the only sphere in which they can acquire, or hope for, promotion and distinction—and to reconcile them to that home, care should be taken not to lower the Indian army in respect of dignity, privileges, and advantages, not merely below, but even to an equality (in those respects) with, the British army. Both the Indian local army (I mean its officers) and the portion of the British army serving in India, should enjoy superior advantages to what the British army possess in Europe, to reconcile them to service in India. And, as being permanently fixed in India, the Indian officers should have guaranteed to them a larger share of staff employment than what would be secured to them by their mere numerical proportion to the officers of the British troops serving in India. For all staff appointments beyond the general staff of the army, the local experience of Indian officers ought to render them more eligible than officers of the British army whose sojourn in India is uncertain and more limited.

With a view to training officers *for India*, and leading their thoughts and wishes from early youth *to India*, I would retain on an enlarged scale the Addiscombe Institution as the Military College for India; where it should be incumbent on all candidates for the Indian army to undergo a course of education adapted to the career before them, for at least two years.

Although I would deprecate any change which would admit of officers of the Indian exchanging into the Royal Army, at any rate under the rank of a field officer, I concur with his Lordship in thinking that 'senior officers,' whose services and ability may render them 'fit for such marks of her Majesty's confidence, shall be permitted to serve her Majesty out of India as well as in this country,' and that 'divisional and brigade commands should be distributed between the two armies in fair proportion.'

Above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, exchanges might, perhaps, be allowed without disadvantage.

One great advantage of thus employing a portion of the officers of the Indian army in civil and other State service, is, that for those occupying civil offices in India, a military training may often prove of great advantage, as on occasions of sudden outbreak, when every Briton becomes a soldier. Another, that in times of war it enables Government at once to strengthen regiments with officers.

He considered that 'a close and intimate association of natives with the European soldiery, except in the field, should be avoided as much as possible; the closer the association with the lower class of our countrymen, the less respect is inspired by the latter; the closer the association with officers and educated Englishmen, on the contrary, the greater is the respect secured.'

He would abolish 'all the native artillery of the Bengal Army, with the exception of a few guns required at certain frontier posts, in positions where Europeans could not live.' But he would rather, for reasons stated, 'retain the native artillery of Madras and Bombay,' or, if it must be got rid of, make the transition to European artillery very gradual.

He 'would turn no trained artillery men loose upon the country.' As regards cadets, he wrote:—

I am disposed to doubt the policy of attaching young officers for the first six months to European corps, which has been ordered. After a cadet has been well grounded in his military education at Addiscombe, I think that the sooner he is sent to do duty with a native corps, under a good commander, the better. He will the sooner acquire a knowledge of the native languages, and can only there obtain an intimate acquaintance with the native soldier which will enable him to distinguish and appreciate his better qualities, and to discourage and counteract his evil tendencies.

Now I maintain that early association with European troops is of all things that most calculated to prevent the officer acquiring the understanding, and appreciation, of the Asiatic character which

is so essential to his personal influence over the native soldier. By sending young officers on their entry into the service to European regiments, they naturally imbibe the feelings and prejudices of those with whom they are associated; and it is an undoubted fact that, even in former times—before the late lamentable events had impressed the European mind, and especially the European soldier, with a contempt and hatred for the native character—it was seldom an officer could be found, whose early training had been in European regiments, who had not imbibed a *distaste* to the native which no length of after-service with a native regiment could remove. What, then, could now be expected from a young man, whose first years or months in India are restricted to European association alone? Would he not be more disposed to foster than to ameliorate the bitter feelings which now unhappily have arisen between the governing and the subject races, until which are obliterated we cannot hope that our rule in this country will be satisfactory or profitable, either to England or India.

His remarks on the extent of the amnesty to be granted to the rebels will form the second and last subject for quotation from Outram's Minutes of 1858. Questions of Railway and Police, the Military Protection of Bengal, Rewards to Native Chiefs, and individual grievances were among the many that came before him during that year, and on which he recorded his opinion. Perhaps no papers were more heartily welcomed than those which acquainted him with the final settlement of the grants proposed by the Bombay Government for the maintenance of the Talpur Amirs of Sind. He fully concurred in the liberal views expressed hereon by his colleague, Mr. Ricketts, and joined that gentleman in advocating that confirmation be accorded to the arrangements submitted.¹ The following is his Minute on the question of amnesty:—

¹ The circumstances were these. Colonel (now Major-General Sir) Le Grand Jacob was commissioned to proceed to Sind in 1852, to investigate charges made against Mir Ali Murad, substantiation of which caused the loss to that chief of the 'Crown' or 'Turban' lands we had allowed to pass into

Unless the exclusion from the amnesty is limited to the murderers of Europeans, I apprehend that it will fail of the desired effect in a great measure; for since the fall of Lucknow thousands of the rebels, who heretofore had not been implicated in the atrocities perpetrated on Europeans, have been drawn into similar crimes as respects natives (European victims being no longer available), by those who, knowing that they themselves were debarred from mercy by such acts, were interested in bringing others into the same desperate position. Hundreds of our native subjects have subsequently been murdered or mutilated in consequence, and many thousands of the rebels have now been more or less directly or indirectly implicated, who till then were free from participation in murder—so many, in fact, that a general pacification of the country cannot be looked for while such large bodies of men remain virtually condemned to death. Certainly it is to be deplored that any class of murderers should escape with impunity: but this is a question of *policy* as well as of justice. The object of the amnesty is to restore peace and prosperity; and if the more limited class of murderers of Europeans alone are to be excluded from pardon—all of whom are well known to the rest of the rebels, such atrocities having been perpetrated in public—that object we may reasonably hope soon to attain. But, if the exclusion extends to all implicated in murders and mutilations generally, few of the rebels could think themselves safe from future denunciation; and many thousands would, in desperation, continue in arms who otherwise would have been glad to return to their homes and pursue peaceful occupations for the future. Is it not better to leave those among them who may have been guilty of shedding the blood of their countrymen, and most of whom we never may be able to bring to justice, to the

his possession. The reader will bear in mind that the intrigues of this very man were the main cause of the downfall of old Mir Rustam and the other Amirs, and the loss of their country—villany which Outram saw through and denounced, but to no purpose. In the course of the enquiry, the destitute state of Mir Rustam's widow and other members of the late reigning Talpur dynasty in Upper Sind, was brought prominently to notice. Under instructions from Bombay, measures were taken to ascertain and improve the condition of the sufferers. Eventually a long report from Colonel Stuart, collector of Shikárpur, and subsequent reports in the local 'Jágir' department enabled Government to come to a permanent settlement in favour of no less than twenty-two separate families of the Khairpur House, as well as of their many relatives of Haidarabad and Mirpur.

punishment of their crimes in the next world than, by proscribing them all now, compel a continuation of rapine and murder, whereby the lives of hundreds more of our innocent subjects will hereafter be sacrificed, and the distraction under which this country has so long suffered will be indefinitely prolonged !¹

In 1859 there were discussions on a Calcutta Muhammadan College, Royal Medical Warrants, Missionaries in Jails, Military Finance Commissioners, Places of Refuge for Europeans, Barracks for Native Troops, 'Ináms' in Bombay, and over a vast range of topics. The force organising for China was another important question which engaged the attention of the Calcutta Council, and more especially its military member.

Outram did not consider it sufficient to uphold the existing and create an additional native aristocracy; he wished to see a more comprehensive system of Honorary Rewards, available to all ranks. No Order of Honour, however, would, he argued, be so valuable in the esteem of the natives, as one which Europeans too should seek with ambition. It should not be exclusively native. He not only wished for the elevation to the Peerage, Knightage, and Baronetage of many native gentlemen, but he would like to see established by her Majesty a new 'Order of Victoria,' for which

¹ The Act by which India was transferred to the Crown, and which quietly ended the career, and extinguished the separate existence, of the most marvellous 'Company' that the civilised world has known, no sooner found its way to Calcutta, than its purport was signified throughout the land by Proclamation. This was read to listening multitudes on November 1, 1858, and set forth in frank and unambiguous language the intention of Her Most Gracious Majesty to maintain all existing treaties and engagements with native princes, and respect their rights, dignity, and honour—also to regard the millions of India in the light of British subjects elsewhere. They would be free to exercise the observances of their religion, and would be admitted to share in State appointments. An amnesty was extended to all offenders not convicted of direct participation in the murder of British subjects, who returned to their homes and peaceful pursuits by the first day of the New Year.

natives and Europeans, whether in her Majesty's service or not, should be eligible. Admission to this would, in his opinion, compensate in many cases for non-advancement to more lucrative offices; it would entice a higher class of men to compete for civil service appointments; and it would create a fraternity between its native and European members. The following short paragraph of a long and comprehensive minute,¹ treating the matter in every necessary detail, will explain the writer's aim in the projected institution :—

I feel assured that, by the judicious distribution of honours, both personal and hereditary, we have it in our power vastly to increase the attachment of the more influential natives of India to the British Crown, and to elicit from them much active aid in the internal government of the country—in amending its institutions, in developing its resources, and in furtherance of those philanthropic objects for the achievement of which we must necessarily be in a great measure dependent on their liberality and personal exertions.

The Medical Service was ever a subject of interest to Sir James, whose minutes on the rank and promotion of its officers, show a due appreciation of their position and requirements. The relative army rank offered was a boon in its way; but he contended that to make that the only privilege specially applicable to India, and allow the holders to be worse off than their brethren at home in respect of pension, pay, and furlough allowances, was to lay down an unwise and unjust distinction. No comment is required on the following extracts from the preamble to a recommendation of reward to certain civil and military officers of the

¹ Dated June 28, 1859. Not two years later, the 'Star of India' was instituted, which included Sir James Outram among its first Knights Grand Cross. How far this particular paper, or other minutes submitted at the time by the Viceroy, led to the establishment of the order, we are not in a position to state.

Bombay Presidency, for distinguished conduct during the mutinies¹:—

On my return to Bombay from Persia in July 1857, in the height of the panic which then terrified all ranks and classes of the community. I was very forcibly struck with the calm and confident demeanour of Lord Elphinstone at that most exciting time, when his every look was watched with anxiety by the people of Bombay. And I verily believe that the noble confidence his lordship then displayed in depriving Bombay itself of all its European soldiers (except 300) to forward troops to his frontier and into the districts where disturbance threatened, did more to restore confidence in the public mind, and to preserve tranquillity throughout the Bombay Presidency, than all the individual exertions of the able, zealous, and active officers—civil and military—to whom his lordship has expressed his obligations. . . .

And yet I well knew what deep ground of anxiety Lord Elphinstone at *that time* had for the preservation of his own charge, as well as that which he felt regarding what was then passing in Bengal—while fully sensible that in denuding the Bombay Presidency so largely of troops to aid the Government of India elsewhere, he was incurring a fearful responsibility, in opposition to the advice and remonstrances of the military authorities of Bombay.

The intense admiration with which I regarded Lord Elphinstone's bold demeanour and noble self-abnegation under such trying circumstances, when I parted from his lordship in July 1857, was only equalled, for it could not be surpassed even by that with which, on my arrival a fortnight afterwards in Calcutta, I was then inspired by the calm dignity, confidence, and determination with which the Governor-General himself was braving the storm, which by that time was raging in its utmost fury.

For myself I now greatly acknowledge that the assurance I then acquired of the ability, determination, and self-reliance of our rulers, encouraged me to pass on to fulfil my own humble share of the stern task before us, with a hopeful confidence in the result, instead of that feeling of almost desperation with which I otherwise should have entered on that duty. I am, of course, well

¹ Dated September 18, 1859.

aware that the expression of such feelings is not customary in a formal official document; but, when considering the claims of subordinate functionaries to rewards for extraordinary services, their merits can be fairly estimated only by considering, at the same time, the extraordinary influences under which those services were rendered.

In 1859 two valuable minutes, contributed by Sir James Outram, bearing upon the Memoir on Egypt prepared some ten years before, were written and circulated. They were supplemented by further minutes from the Governor-General, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, who treated the question raised as one of vital importance. We may say no more of these papers than that they were written with a jealous regard to our interests in Egypt, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf: and advocated strong measures of precaution, so that we might be able and ready to hold our own in the event of particular contingencies suggested by the aspect of the political horizon.

Some will perhaps maintain that Outram was needlessly suspicious of aggressive intent in the minds of foreign Powers, and that there was an exuberance of ingenuity on his part in giving colour and substance to such ideal designs, or in devising *ruses de guerre* to counteract them. Undoubtedly there were paradoxes in his transparent character. One who knew him well has drawn attention to the combination in it of great ambition and great humility. Another points out the union of vigorous individuality with accessibility to advice, noticing also the generous care that the credit of suggestions should accrue to the originator and not to himself. This suspiciousness of foreign intriguers was no doubt fostered by his own unpleasant experience in unravelling native plots, but it is in remarkable contrast to the natural guilelessness and straightforwardness of the man.

The most remarkable recommendation of the year,

however, by the Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, was in favour of the official extinction of himself and colleagues. In a letter to his principal correspondent at the India Office, Captain Eastwick, dated July 17, he writes :—

I rejoice to learn from you that it is in contemplation to abolish the Councils, and substitute the Heads of Departments as the direct aids to, and cabinets of, the Governor General and Governors. . . . I had supposed that the more important Imperial duties of the Government of India might render a Council with the Governor-General indispensable. Since I have been behind the curtain, however, I have come to the conviction that the Council is as useless a drag here as in the subordinate Presidencies, and really as little efficacious for good as a check against evil. For instance, in these political missions the propriety of which have of late been most questioned, i.e. the Oude proclamation, the negotiations with Nepaul, and the first dealing with the European soldier's disaffection, the Council had no voice whatever. . . . As Lord Canning purposes, I believe, separating from his Council again next cold season . . . the Council will again become a mere transmitting machine, performing, at a vast cost, what could be equally well and more rapidly done by the heads of departments. Now, as I should be President of this useless Council, I feel the more anxious to be saved from so unsatisfactory and anomalous a position, and should be glad, on personal as well as on public grounds, to see the Councils abolished at once, a great saving being thereby secured at no injury to State interests. Of this I feel so conscious that I have some scruples to draw my large salary. And certainly I should not feel aggrieved, or think I had any cause to complain, were my appointment at once abolished (without providing for me elsewhere—you know my sentiments on *that* subject), even if my salary were to cease from that moment. Were any small portion of that salary to be continued to me during the period I should otherwise have been entitled to stay in Council, I should consider such indulgence most generous treatment.

We now come to the consideration of State papers of immense value and importance. That our notice of them is brief and wholly incommensurate with their deserving is

an unfortunate but necessary result of the principle adopted in preparation of these volumes, intended to illustrate the active career of a most remarkable Anglo-Indian officer, rather than his labours at the desk. His writings have been freely quoted and advisedly; but the merits of those questions respectively treated in them have been, as it were, subsidiary to the personal portraiture. Outram, essentially the man of action, could not stand still, while we laid open before the reader the blue-books he had mainly contributed to fill, and the contents of which would need exposition as well as analysis. Allusion is now made to three Minutes on Army Amalgamation written in 1860.

The first, dated January 2, is avowedly a solemn protest against the fusion of her Majesty's forces with the Indian army—a measure which Sir James had reason to apprehend had been already decided on, and which he believed would 'inflict grievous injustice on the servants of the East India Company.' Seeing how public opinion had been influenced in seeking abolition of the local European force by the so-called 'mutiny' on the part of soldiers who had enlisted for the Company's service, and objected to their sudden transfer to that of the Crown, he stated his impression that the accounts rendered of the affair had been greatly exaggerated; he showed that allowances should be made for conduct brought about by official inconsistencies; and he argued with logic that, 'were circumstances to arise calculated to excite disaffection amongst the European soldiers of India,' the evil could best be remedied by the presence in the country of '*two forces* . . . differing so far from each other, in conditions of service and traditions, as to give each a distinctive *esprit de corps*.' Any inferiority in the interior economy of the local as compared with the line regiments, he attributed 'to other causes than to the fact of the force being a local one,' causes which might easily be removed without amalga-

affording amusement to soldiers. In every regiment there are several men of mercurial temperament, and often of considerable intellectual ability and good education, for whom it is very difficult to find any innocent amusement; often among the best and most useful men in an emergency, they are troublesome and sometimes even dangerous in quiet quarters. The rough out-door amusements of their coarser comrades have few charms for them, and they are but too apt to degenerate into hard drinkers, or to find a most mischievous vent for their mental activity as soldier lawyers. It is for men of this stamp that the intellectual excitement of getting up a play is peculiarly valuable, and they contribute greatly to the innocent amusement of their comrades, while absorbed in a perfectly harmless occupation of their own time and energies.

One, which is irresistible, and highly characteristic:—

It is not enough that their officers should invariably be kind to the women and children of their men—few are otherwise. But they should be *methodically* so. The women should feel, and their husbands and husbands' comrades should see, that the most trifling matters affecting their comfort and happiness engaged their officers' constant and solicitous attention. They should be addressed as if it were assumed that every woman was, in feelings, a lady, and in moral tone all that her best friends could wish. One little incident that occurred under my own command serves well to illustrate the appreciation which soldiers have of respectful conduct on the part of officers to their female relatives. An officer who, like the rest of his comrades, had to leave all his property behind on the evacuation of Lucknow, was, on his arrival at the Alumbagh, accosted by a sergeant and two privates of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who brought him several silver articles which he had left in his room on the occasion of his starting for the Dilkoocha in charge of ladies and children of the garrison, twenty-four hours before the troops finally moved out of the entrenchment. 'It was a small thing, sir,' said the honest sergeant in reply to the earnest thanks of my

Save at the Presidency towns we have no professional "actors;" our "actresses" are of the male sex; we have neither "slips" nor "saloons;" the performances in our theatres are such only as comport with the tastes of the wives of our leading civil and military officers, who are the patrons and efficient supporters of station theatricals; and from the theatre we repair not to oyster rooms, or taverns, but to our quiet (perhaps often too quiet) homes.'

astonished friend, 'to do for you and your good lady, who made us tea with her own hands; yes, and brought it to us every day we were on duty near your quarters—and this, sir,' he added, pointing to one of the men—'is an old friend, sir—he knew you at Warley—here, Jack, speak up for yourself to the gentleman;' and Jack promptly answered the summons. 'Yes, sir,' he said, 'there's much come and gone since then, but I knowed you the moment I seed you, and I told them all about you, sir. It's not every officer, sir, as brings presents to our babies, and lifts his hat to our wives, *and calls them ma'am*. She's gone, sir, she's gone,' added the honest fellow, brushing a tear from his manly eyes, 'but she minded you to the last, and the time the colonel and you stopped your carriage to give her a lift, poor lass, from the railway on that wet afternoon.' We may depend upon it that kindly presents given to soldiers' babies are crumbs thrown on the water that after many days will return with interest, if not to the donors at least to the service; but more valuable still is that respectful deference shown to soldier's wives symbolised in the act of *calling them ma'am*.

After advocating the formation of Ladies' Associations at each station, to promote the remunerative employment and general well-being of soldiers' wives, he winds up his proposals thus:—

The ladies' efforts in behalf of their humbler sisters would react beneficially on themselves. And it is to be hoped that, besides being the means of saving the immortal souls of some of our own countrywomen, these associations might tend to the spread of the Gospel in this land, prompting the heathen to moderate the rancour and contempt they bear our Holy Faith, as, watching the efforts and results of our ladies, they were compelled to say: 'Behold these Christians, how they love one another.' Whether at present we exert ourselves in behalf of our soldiers' wives as be- seems those who realise the truth of the creed they profess, and feel in their hearts what they so glibly utter in their prayers, each man must answer to his own conscience. Mine, I confess, refuses a comforting response.

I abstain from giving further bulkiness to this Minute, which has already swollen into monster dimensions, by entering on the subject of the spiritual instruction of our soldiers and their families,

further than to express a fervent hope that the day is not far distant when each corps will have its own regimental chaplain, whose entire energies shall be exclusively devoted to the spiritual guidance and moral development of its members; when daily shall our soldiers be invited (not compelled) to meet together for the public worship of their God; and when, in filling vacancies in the Indian episcopate, attention shall be paid to the claims and especial suitability to the office of some of our best and most earnest military chaplains. It is a small matter, but of greater moment to our soldiers than a superficial observer might think, that our Protestant churches in every military station should be habitually open, as the places of worship of our Roman Catholic brethren (to their honour be it said) are always, whether there be service or not. The mere power of sitting down in quiet, and of reading or praying or meditating, undisturbed by noisy companions, is a privilege much valued by soldiers, and may often assist to keep up good habits amid the many distractions of a barrack life.

The third paper, on 'Miscellaneous questions affecting the organisation and efficiency of the Indian Army,' relates to the more intelligent professional training of the soldier, camps of exercise, the assimilation and abridgment of forms and regulations, military hygiene, medical topography, and the employment of medical officers. Sir Bartle Frere, thus referring to it, explains its purport:—"Nothing, it seems to me, can be more profoundly true than what he says of the necessity for developing to a greater degree the "individualism" of the soldier—in other words, training him to think and judge and act for himself, in place of training him to consider himself merely as a small portion of a great machine, prohibited from all independent action.'

Two paragraphs from this Memorandum must complete our quotations:¹—

¹ Further extracts are given in the Appendix at the close of volume i. The general reader, as well as the military student, may find much of interest, perhaps of value, in them, notwithstanding the happy change effected in the condition of the British soldier in India during the last twenty years by Lord Napier and other men of like stamp to Henry Lawrence and James Outram in the line of their recommendations. There is no doubt that the very great

All depends, in the various gradations of military control, on the spirit in which the controlling power is exercised, and on the tact of him who exercises it. Be kind, considerate, and conciliatory ; scrupulously regard the feelings of those under you ; avoid aught that can weaken their legitimate authority, or diminish the respect of *their* inferiors ; treat not a blunder as a crime ; assume that what is evidently unknown is simply something forgotten ; and, if you have to do with well-conditioned men, they will regard your constant interest in their proceedings as a compliment, not as an offence. I speak from the experience of more than forty years, both in civil and military life.

I can only plead my profound conviction that the British soldier, even of the roughest stamp, is, if wisely and kindly treated, susceptible of a culture—physical, intellectual, moral, and professional—far in excess of that which is generally supposed to be attainable by him ; that just as you approximate a private, intellectually, morally, and professionally, to the standard of his officers, do you increase his *commercial* value as a soldier ; and that the interests of India (politically, financially, and morally considered) demand that the very highest possible culture of all kinds should be bestowed on the members of her European garrison, and the highest possible development given to their capacities, both individual and corporate.

A Minute, on the Regulations for Sick Officers, dated March 10, might be cited to show the interest he always felt in the welfare of his cloth. Though himself a member of Government and guardian of administrative orthodoxy, not free to follow all impulses of his own generous heart, he was ready to burst his red-tape bonds if they restrained him from good and just acts. Such power was not, however, abused. There are those now living who could bear high testimony to its exercise in a spirit of usefulness to the State and the individual. To Sir Bartle Frere's concurrence in his colleague's recommendations on behalf of sick officers,

labour of collecting and arranging the data in these Minutes had much to do with the final breakdown in Sir James's health. They were his last legacy of effort on behalf of the army he loved so well.

Mr. James Wilson, the Finance Minister, added his own. 'I concur in much, and admire all, that his zeal and interest in the army has prompted the President in Council to write,' are his well-considered words.

The remaining Minutes recorded by Outram during the first four months of 1860, embraced the usual variety of subjects—*inter alia*, the Naval Defences of India, Revenue Survey, Articles of War, Ventilation of Transports, and Incapable Senior Officers. One special characteristic of his, which has been authoritatively pronounced to be an essential element in military genius—viz., an 'infinite capacity for detail'—may be noted before we close the consideration of his writings. Prompt and vigorous as he was in action—impatient some might say—and remarkably prolific as his busy brain was in comprehensive ideas, he yet never neglected details, and he spared no labour to fathom them to the uttermost. While with a singularly rapid pen he unbosomed himself of views on the prominent questions of the day, he supported them laboriously by well-digested facts and figures. All this was done with an evident power which could result only from daily habits of unremitting attention to the smallest matters. No one who reads his voluminous correspondence can fail to be struck with this trait, illustrations of which are everywhere abundant. We find in an eminent degree the combination of rapidity of thought and action with that patient attention to minutiae which is essential to military success; and this is as apparent throughout his political career as it became when he was called upon to lead armies in the field.

He gave much time and trouble to the due equipment of the force embarking for China. In this instance, the shrewdness and management of the good commissariat officer were better elements of success than the skill of the military tactician, or wisdom of the statesman and legislator. But

his mastery of detail in the many forms familiar to his experienced mind greatly facilitated the discharge of a duty which his high official position, as President of the Council in Lord Canning's absence, might well have restricted within the limits of sedentary supervision. Especially busy with these practical matters in the first few months of 1860, it is an agreeable change to find him, in March of that year, present at a dinner given by the Engineers to Colonel Napier, who had been appointed to command a division of the Expeditionary Army under Sir Hope Grant. In a letter written by the late Major-General Greathed, R.E., to a friend, from the steamer 'Lancefield,' on her voyage to China, we are there told of his doings on that occasion. Paying a most distinguished tribute to the services of the guest of the evening, he 'went so far as to say that, when under the difficult circumstances in which they were placed his heart sometimes failed him, he invariably found Napier prepared with a means of getting over the difficulty, and he always left him reassured and established. Most chivalrous was Outram in his mention of Sir Charles Napier—of the respect and esteem he had always entertained for him from first to last; how convinced he was that the differences which had arisen arose solely from the indiscretion of partisans who came between.¹ Napier (Sir Robert) acknowledged his obligations to Outram's example and Outram's teaching. Referring to the successes which Outram had imputed to him, he said that he would have been dull indeed if he had derived no profit from his intimate relations with such a distinguished soldier.'

Outram's career as a member of the Supreme Government extended from May 1858 till July 1860. In Calcutta

¹ In his Minute on 'Titles' dated June, 1859, Outram wrote in reference to a remark of Sir Charles Napier quoted from memory, 'if these be not the exact words of the great warrior-statesman whose authority I cite, they differ from his only in being, perhaps, less forcible.'

he led the usual life of the European dignitary, with its many hours of steamy work, and such relaxation as was afforded by a constant succession of dinner parties. These were in his case, though frequent, mostly at home; for he did not care to go out at night. He and Lady Outram shared a good house at Garden Reach with his old friend Mr. Le Geyt, of the Bombay Civil Service, and they generally had guests living under their roof, after the approved Indian custom—none being more welcome to Sir James than small middies. In June 1858, acting under medical advice, he took a sea trip to Galle, returning within a month; but so little renovated did he appear to be by the change that, when back in Calcutta, he lost no time in suggesting the immediate appointment of a provisional military member of Council, to be ready to supply his place in case of necessity. He was enabled, however, to keep on at his work with little intermission, and, besides the trip to sea, a month at Chandanagor, and one visit to Barakpur (both in 1858), he was seldom absent from his post. On the best of terms with his colleagues and, after a time, with Lord Canning, his Council days passed happily enough, though he may have missed something of the excitement in which he had rejoiced for so many months preceding.

Conscientious attention to the disposal of individual grievances was to be expected from one who had experienced in his own case unmerited slight and injustice. Outram, in Calcutta, was overwhelmed by references on every conceivable subject from his old subordinates and others, and gave to each its due amount of consideration, or a good deal more. Sturdily interfering where it seemed just to do so, there were instances, of course, in which to take action would have been absurd and unwarrantable. But none, it is believed, could say that a reference to him was ever ‘neglected,’ whether effectual or not. In order to satisfy the many who had served in his campaigns that he had noticed all who had

claims to notice, he printed and privately distributed his Persian and Indian despatches. He was remarkably courteous and particular in replying to letters, whether on private or on demi-official matters. The warmth of appreciation which he could express to comrades who had won his regard was never more happily illustrated than in the touching, if quaint, lines written when he was leaving Oudh. Lest we should detract from its force, we reproduce one letter in its entirety, as a specimen of the farewell notes he was wont to address to those who had assisted him :—

From Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., Member of the Supreme Council of India, to Major Olpherts, Bengal Artillery. Dated Lucknow, March 28, 1858.

My dear Olpherts,—The old 1st Division is about to be broken up. An entirely new distribution of the army is about to take place, and I shall not have the opportunity of expressing in my farewell order, which must be of a general nature, the admiration with which I regard both you and your noble fellows in particular, and the regard which I entertain towards yourself personally. Such sentiments I could not embody in a despatch while we were together in the field, without laying myself open to the charge of using extra-official language.

Believe me, my dear *heroic* Olpherts, that you occupy a very high place in my affection and regard; and that I shall ever remember with pride, pleasure, and gratitude to yourself the six months we have been companions in arms, and especially the three months we stood together in the plain of Alumbagh.

‘Bravery’ is a poor and insufficient epithet to apply to a valour such as yours; and Olpherts’ ‘zeal’ and ‘energy’ are terms of too common application to convey my sense of your entire and successful devotion to the service. But words are at best the symbols of ideas and feelings, and I trust that *you* require no symbols to satisfy you as to what I think of you and feel towards you. Should you be spared, there is a bright and glorious career before you; and not one of your friends will watch it with deeper interest than, my dear Olpherts,

Yours affectionately,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

None who knew Sir James Outram will suppose that his concern for the British soldier was confined to writing Minutes about him when in Calcutta. He delighted to take the lead in entertainments to his humble comrades, such as those given to the Madras Fusiliers and the Shannon Naval Brigade, and to seize any opportunity that offered to cheer or benefit them. Nor was he one to shake off his interest in the regiments he had led to victory when they passed from under his command. What one of the speakers at the Testimonial meeting revealed we may repeat,—viz., that he expended more than 1,000*l.* in providing *readable* books (300 per corps), newspapers and games for the use of those who had shared his Oudh campaigns. The 5th, 64th, 75th, 78th, 84th, 90th, and 1st Madras Fusiliers received regularly, some of them for two years, a dozen or more of daily and weekly journals. And when he left Calcutta he made over the suitable books of his own library, about 500, to the Soldiers' Library at Fort William. But among the few he reserved for his own home were his 'Froissart' and 'Life of Bayard.'

A more permanent record of his practical interest was the Soldiers' Institute at Dum Dum, which he established and equipped (one of the earliest, if not the earliest in India) at his own expense, in order to counteract the temptations to which he was distressed to find the men at that station particularly exposed. It was enthusiastically opened soon after his departure. Dr. Duff's biographer also reminds us of the older memorial, which his 'Sindh prize-money' enabled the far-seeing missionary to erect on the banks of the Hugli—the mission school at Bansberia.

These glimpses into James Outram's stewardship of his moderate resources must suffice, in writing of one who liked not that people should talk of such matters. His papers supply touching instances of the way he proved the friend in

need to many a one, and never was he better pleased than when the timely succour—sometimes of very considerable amount—reached its destination without the discovery of the donor. But we must let them remain what he wished them to be—*private* papers; and pass rapidly over the outward closing scenes of what was essentially a *public* life.¹

Late in April 1860, the General's health gave way so seriously that he once again was compelled to take a two months' trip to sea, going as far as Singapur; but he returned little benefited, and, as he had anticipated, there was no remedy for his case save a return home. His right to repose had been indeed fully earned after forty-two years of almost unbroken service; and he might well have been satisfied to rest upon his laurels, of which he had won not a few. But the three years, 1858, 1859, and 1860, had even more substantial tributes to offer him than titles and the promotion to Lieutenant-General which was gazetted after the capture of Lakhnau. Let us revert to some of these, if not all.

On February 8, 1858, the thanks of the House of Commons were unanimously given to

His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, Baronet, K.C.B., and Major-General John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, K.C.B., for the eminent skill, courage, and perseverance displayed by them in the achievement of so many and such important triumphs over numerous bodies of the mutineers.

Similar acknowledgments were made on February 10 by the

¹ The year 1858 brought him one proof of grateful appreciation of his leadership, which gratified him not a little. Colonel Guy and the officers of the 90th Regiment begged him to accept a handsome piece of plate, which they had ordered as a token of their grateful remembrance of their service under him. He explained that the regulations of the Indian army precluded his acceptance of it, and requested that it might be retained in the mess as a memento of him.

Court of Directors, and on February 17 by a general Court of the East India Company. A second vote of both Houses of Parliament marked the close of the campaign in Oudh.

On June 10 of the same year at Bombay, a meeting was held for the purpose of raising a subscription to present Sir James Outram with a suitable testimonial of affectionate esteem and admiration. This, it should be mentioned, was a movement confined to his European friends, and, though undertaken on public grounds, was rather of a personal than general character. Messrs. Hunt and Roskell were instructed to prepare a silver shield for the subscribers.

At one of the last Courts of Proprietors, held in the East India House on June 23, Sir Frederic Currie, chairman of the Court of Directors, who presided, intimating that 'Her Majesty had been pleased to confer the dignity of a baronetcy on Sir James Outram,' and proposing to enhance the value of the distinction with an annuity of 1,000*l.*,¹ added the gratifying statement that the social elevation had been 'the last act of Lord Ellenborough before he left the Board.' Captain Eastwick, seconder of the resolution for the money grant, thus wound up an eloquent speech, in which he reviewed Outram's entire career: 'It is right and fitting that their country should reward such men: no institutions, no political contrivances, can supply their place in the administration of its affairs.' Lord Ellenborough's letter, intimating the bestowal of the baronetcy, was expressed in terms which afforded especial gratification to his quondam antagonist, and constituted a pleasant finale to their disagreements.

On October 7, 1858, a Resolution was passed at the

¹ The annuity was to be continued to his immediate successor. But it may be as well to correct a misapprehension more than once assumed to be a fact by public writers. None was voted to Lady Outram in addition. The only pension she receives is that to which she is entitled as the widow of a Lieutenant-Colonel—the *regimental* rank of Sir James Outram at his death.

Guildhall to present Outram with the freedom of the City of London, and a sword of the value of a hundred guineas; and on January 27, 1859, the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company conferred upon him the freedom of their ancient corporation. In the following April a banquet was given by the people of Bombay to the 78th, at which Outram's health and the mention of his name were received by the brave Highlanders with ringing cheers, that might well be reckoned an equivalent, at any time, for reward in high places. Six months afterwards the demonstration was repeated by the same regiment, in like circumstances, only on Scottish soil: their Colonel's proposal to give an additional cheer for 'honest James Outram' being welcomed with enthusiastic applause.

In April 1860 another banquet was given to the 78th in Edinburgh, at which Mrs. Outram, Sir James's mother, was present. The following short extract, from the reported speech of Dr. Douglas MacLagan, will need no comment on our part to describe the feeling then exhibited:—'*With Havelock the name of Outram is inseparably connected (loud cheers, particularly from the regiment). Aye, let them ring out that cheer (renewed cheering)*—there is a double reason for it: we are delighted and honoured to have among the spectators this evening the mother that bore him (*great cheering from the soldiers who rose almost en masse*). I say that never fell music softer or sweeter on the ear of a British matron than that loud acclaim falls on her ear, from the voices of the soldiers he commanded, in testimony to the worth of her heroic son (*renewed cheers*).'

In July 1860 was held an exceptional public meeting in Calcutta, to consider the propriety of offering to Sir James Outram, 'previous to his leaving for England, some suitable token of the respect and regard universally entertained for him throughout India.' Four resolutions were read and carried.

One of them embodied an address to be presented to the General: from which the following paragraphs are extracted:—

To your energy, zeal, and ability, and to the confidence with which you have ever inspired all men, civilised or uncivilised, who came within your influence, is due the preservation of our communications with General Nott's force at Candahar; and, but for you, the heroism and conduct of that General and his army could have scarcely availed to hold their position, and to effect their triumphant return to India by Cabool, thus occupied for the second time by a British force.

A succession of brilliant services, military and diplomatic, in Sind, in the Southern Mahratta country, at the courts of Sattara and Baroda, and in Oude, raised you high in the favour of your Sovereign and the Government of India, but undermined your health and obliged you to seek rest in your native country.

Before time had been allowed for even a brief respite from labour, and with your health still imperfectly re-established, you again responded to the call of duty—took command of the Persian expedition, and in one brief and vigorous campaign convinced the Persian Court of the necessity of making peace as the only means of arresting your victorious progress.

On your services in the dark and troubled period in Indian history which so immediately followed the conclusion of the Persian war it is unnecessary for us to dilate. The impression of the great events of that crisis can never be effaced from the memory of the present generation, and throughout that period of public peril and private anguish there was no name which inspired stronger feelings of admiration, hope, and confidence than that of Outram. We will not recall facts which live deep in the memory of each of us. Your Sovereign and your country have recorded, by repeated expressions of gratitude and admiration, their sense of services which will live in all history, and you have established a name which will be embalmed among the heroes who have won and upheld our empire in India.

But, Sir, it is not as the successful general nor as the trusted statesman that you will be best remembered by us, who have mixed with the companions of your toils and triumphs, and who, some of us, have had the honour to serve with and under you.

It is as a man whom no success could harden or render selfish ; who could surrender to an heroic comrade the honour of success which fortune had placed within his own grasp ; who, in the excitement of battle and in the midst of triumph, never forgot the claims and wants of the humblest of his followers : who loved his fellow-soldiers better than his own fame and aggrandisement, and has devoted himself with his whole heart to improve the soldiers' moral and intellectual as well as physical condition ; it is as one who would not only sacrifice life and fortune to duty, but who never allowed either fear or favour to weigh for a moment against what his heart told him was right and true ; it is as our noble, disinterested fellow-countryman, who has preserved all his chivalry of feeling unchilled through the wear and tear of a laborious life, and who will ever be remembered as emphatically ' the soldier's friend,' that we would wish to testify our admiration and affectionate respect, and to preserve the memory of your career, as an example to ourselves, and to those who come after us.

Another resolution, of which a copy accompanied the address, referred to the presentation of a testimonial in the form most agreeable to the recipient. These passages are good specimens of the reply in both cases :—

It is exceedingly gratifying to me to learn that the meeting at which the address and the accompanying resolutions were voted was attended by members of all classes of the large community of Calcutta, and that the utmost unanimity of feeling prevailed. To have thus secured the united goodwill, and, I hope I may add, the affection of all classes whose many interests are necessarily so conflicting must ever be a source of the greatest satisfaction and pride to me. It has been my earnest endeavour during the whole of the time that I have been in the country, so far as lay in my power, to promote union and good fellowship between the various classes of her Majesty's subjects in India, in the full assurance that the associations which would arise therefrom, and the mutual interests which would be created thereby, would prove a source of strength to the Government, and would contribute more than anything else to the prosperity and happiness of its subjects of every race and country ; and I hope that the community of feeling which you, Sir, inform me was exhibited towards myself at the meeting of Saturday last will not be confined to the humble object of that

meeting, but that it will spread largely and widely, and that it will penetrate throughout the whole of this vast country in all that concerns its numerous and various inhabitants.

I can assure you, in all truth, that I am quite unconscious of having done anything to deserve the distinguished honour which the Calcutta community have combined to pay me. I am not sensible of having done more than my duty in the various public situations which I have had the honour to hold. To few, perhaps, have the opportunities been accorded which I have had the good fortune to enjoy; and if I have been able to improve these opportunities, and to obtain some measure of success, I owe it, under Providence, to a great extent, to the assistance and co-operation of the many able and gallant comrades with whom I have had the happiness of being associated in the discharge of my public duties; and it is very gratifying to me to think that the honours bestowed upon me will be reflected upon them.

With regard to the testimonial which the meeting did me the honour to vote me, understanding it to be the wish of the subscribers that I should indicate the nature of the testimonial which I should prefer, I will only say that my earnest desire is, that only a small portion of the funds that may be contributed should be expended on any object of a personal character, such for instance as a bust,¹ and that the greater part of the money should be devoted to establishing an institution, at any place that the committee appointed at the meeting may think proper to select, whereby the army in which my lot in life has been cast may benefit.

Such was the close of Outram's Indian career. The subscription list to the Calcutta testimonial amounted in one day to no less than 10,000 rupees (1,000*l.*). On July 20, two days after he had replied to the address, he embarked for England. The 'Friend of India' wrote on the eve of his departure: 'To-morrow the Indian army will lose its brightest ornament, and every soldier in India his best friend. Worn out by the almost continuous service of forty years, having

¹ Mr. Foley, R.A., was accordingly instructed to model a bust of Sir James as soon as possible after his arrival in England. But the subscribers resolved that the memorial should assume the form of an equestrian statue for Calcutta.

stuck to his post just one hot season too many, Sir James Outram leaves India, nominally for six months, but we believe for ever.'

He had intended, on leaving Calcutta, to go home *via* Constantinople, Odessa, and Sebastopol. The incidents of the Russian war had not passed from his mind. But he could not carry out his intention. In Egypt, the heat injuriously affected his then weak health, and unfitted him for exertion. 'It would be madness,' he wrote from Alexandria on August 18, 'to attempt the Constantinople route; so I have resolved on going by Marseilles. But as I am very easily fatigued, I shall take it leisurely through France, and shall stop three or four days in Paris.' He would have no one come to meet him on arrival in London, where he purposed remaining but a sufficient time to transact any urgent business, proceeding to join his family in Scotland with as little delay as practicable. On August 29 a letter, dated from the Oriental Club, announced that he had crossed that day in the Calais steamer. He had not delayed at Lyons as proposed; the Emperor was there, and he concluded that the hotels were full; and twenty hours at a stretch in the railway carriage had tired him out. He added, as though unable to realise that his active days were over: 'Again this trip from Paris has occupied me ten hours, and I am a little fatigued, so shall not go to the India House to-day, or transact any other business.' It happened that Sir Charles Wood and certain members of the Indian Council were in town, notwithstanding the lateness of the season; but Parliament was about to be prorogued, and it was unlikely they would prolong their stay into September. 'Our Indian readers,' we find in one newspaper, 'must not suppose that we are indifferent to the exploits of such a man as Sir James Outram because at this season of the year there is really no one at home to do him honour.' Another announces: 'There

is a great man who has landed on the shores of England so gently that the land has not been conscious of the presence of one of her most distinguished soldiers and statesmen.' But the great man was, in this instance, an invalid, and it was well he could be kept in repose. The doctors would not allow of the trip to Scotland; so Sir James again took up his quarters in Brighton. There he was at once joined by Lady Outram, who had been compelled to return home very unwillingly in the end of 1859. She was much shocked by the change the nine months had wrought, for when he had bade farewell to her at the mouth of the Hugli, he was looking remarkably well, and now she found him utterly broken down and in a most critical state of health. She had wished to meet him in Egypt, but, with his usual unselfishness, he would not hear of such an arrangement. In October they returned to London.

His attendance at Guildhall on December 26 to receive the freedom of the City and sword voted to him in October 1858, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was an exertion for which he was unfitted, and caused his family much anxiety. He was, however, bent on going, and so every effort was made to render the ceremony as little fatiguing as possible. The Lord Mayor, in consideration of his feeble health, begged him to remain seated when he would have risen; and the feeling evinced by the crowded assemblage was more than cordial towards him. He was quite incapacitated from attending the evening banquet given in honour of Lord Clyde and himself at the Mansion House: and had also been compelled to decline one to which he had been invited a day or two previously at Merchant Taylors' Hall, in celebration of his chief's and his own admission to the freedom of that corporation; nor could he venture to name a day for public admission to the guild of the Grocers' Company. The Lord Mayor, expressing deep regret at his

absence from the Guildhall banquet, read out a letter in which he had set forth 'some of the sentiments he would have given utterance to had he been present.' It contained nothing of himself or his doings, but was a generous and glowing eulogium of Lord Canning and the policy he had pursued. So also the few words he had been able to utter at the day's presentations had been mainly expressive of Lord Clyde's merits—'for whom,' as he said, 'he felt all the affectionate devotion of a Highland clansman for his chief.'

We have shown that one public meeting to do Outram honour had been held in Bombay and another in Calcutta. A third, more influential still, was held in London in March 1861. The result of this movement was to pass a resolution to obtain funds for three objects:—1st, the erection of a statue in the Metropolis; 2nd, the erection of a duplicate statue in India; and, 3rd, the presentation of a service of plate, or other heirloom, accompanied by an address bearing the names of all those who had promoted the Testimonial. In the absence of the Duke of Argyll, prevented by severe family affliction from taking the chair as intended, Lord Lyveden presided; and he was supported by noblemen and gentlemen bearing well-known and distinguished names. The chairman, Lord Keane, Sir James Fergusson (now Governor of Bombay), the Hon. Arthur (now Lord) Kinnaid, Mr. Crawford (member for the City of London), Sir Henry Rawlinson, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Robert Hamilton, Colonel Sykes and Dr. Burnes took part in the proceedings, and advocated, more or less eloquently, the object which had brought them together.

The Calcutta and London committees, working in co-operation, carried out their projects fully. The equestrian statue by Foley, of which the autotype at the commencement of this volume will remind many readers, now stands

on a commanding site on the *Maidan* (the Hyde-Park) of Calcutta, the inscription upon it being a modification of that proposed by Colonel Yule, presently to be given in its original wording. Noble's statue on the Thames Embankment, close to Charing Cross, with the story of a life implied in the single word 'OUTRAM' upon the pedestal, is too easily accessible to the multitude to need portrayal here.

'In October, 1861,' writes Dr. Badger, 'Outram went to Egypt for the benefit of his health; but, unfortunately, health was the thing which he least attended to, and, after spending the winter there, returned to England *viâ* Corfu and Vienna—somewhat improved, perhaps, but still very weak. Egypt had always attractions for him in a political and military point of view, and this country may some day derive important information from the elaborate reports which he has drawn up regarding it. While at Cairo he was cheered by seeing many of his old friends going to or returning from India; and it always afforded him the highest gratification to recognise among the passengers some he had known in former years. Twice also did his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales descend from the donkey which he unostentatiously rode about Cairo to speak with Sir James in the front of Shepherd's Hotel. There stood the broken veteran and the Hope of England, and hearty was the pleasure which the royal condescension afforded to the bystanders. At Alexandria he met Lord Canning on his way home, and little was it then expected that he would survive the Viceroy. Now they lie side by side, the noble statesman and the noble warrior! England and India mourn for them, for they were of 'one heart while living, and in death they are not divided.' Within two short months the remains of Lord Canning were interred in Westminster Abbey. Conspicuous amid the array of illustrious men who took part in

the funeral ceremony 'walked Lord Clyde, supporting on his arm the bowed form of the gallant Outram.'¹

'In June, 1862,'—we still quote the same friend,—'the degree of D.C.L. was conferred on Sir James by the University of Oxford. A like honour had been proposed to him some time previously by the sister University of Cambridge, but Outram was too ill to attend. The enthusiasm with which he was welcomed at Oxford was immense, and its expression was thoroughly appreciated by the object of it. Equally gratified was he with the attentions of Lord Palmerston, who received a similar degree on the occasion. Outram had been requested to come wearing all his decorations; but seeing the Premier without any, he remarked: 'My Lord, the contrast makes me look like a brass captain.' 'You have *won* yours,' replied Lord Palmerston,—a remark which gratified Outram exceedingly, and which he frequently repeated in token of the Premier's kindness.'

In July, Sir James's own dining-room was the scene of a touching ceremonial, when a deputation of subscribers, men of mark and old personal friends, headed by the Duke of Argyll, presented to the invalid the illuminated address of the London Testimonial, together with a series of silver centre-pieces supported upon beautifully modelled figures emblematic of his own career. To the address were appended the signatures of 127 of the more noted subscribers, among them the veteran Premier, Lord Palmerston, and a nominal roll of all contributors, which filled a case as large as a 24-lb. carronade. Although the names of many retired Anglo-Indians were to be observed upon this lengthy appendage, it was an essentially *British* appreciation of an Indian career. His comrades had already combined so remarkably to honour his honest efforts, both in Calcutta and Bombay, that it may be truly said that his cup of satisfaction was now full to

¹ *Times*, June 23, 1862.

overflowing. 'The names enrolled,' remarked the Duke, 'are those of men of different classes and different countries, many of whom, knowing you only by the achievements which you have bequeathed to history, admire your heroism and chivalry from a distance; while others who have enjoyed the privilege of more intimate relations with you, and have closely observed the simplicity, the gentleness, and the manliness of your character, blend with a still higher admiration the most affectionate feelings of personal regard.'

His reply will be read with interest, not only on account of its suggestive sentences, but because it was the last public utterance—the farewell whisper—of him whose successful career it accounted for after his own interpretation :

'I thank you from the bottom of my heart—I thank all, whether present or absent, in England or in India, who have united to render me this great honour. I cannot venture to think that I have done all that you say of me; but I know that, with such powers as God has given me, I have honestly tried to do it.

'I was reared under a system which gave to every man an equal chance of going to the front; and I owe it to that system that I am now standing before you—less, I cannot help thinking, on account of my individual deserts, than as the representative of the great service, now passed into a tradition, to which for forty years I had the honour to belong. If to anything in myself I owe such success as I may have attained, it is mainly to this, that throughout my career I have loved the people of India, regarded their country as my home, and made their weal my first object. And though my last service in the field was against the comrades of my old associates, the madness of a moment has not obliterated from my mind the fidelity of a century, and I can still love and still believe.



THE OUTRAM SHIELD.

DESIGNED AND MODELLED BY H. H. ARMSTEAD, R.A.

‘I thank you again for your great kindness. The memory of it will go with me to my grave.’

His Bombay friends had some time previously presented their magnificent offering, together with a most cordial address. The ‘Outram Shield’ is recognised as a national work of art—the *chef d’œuvre* of Mr. Armstead in silver work. Scenes from Outram’s eventful life surround a spirited equestrian relief, representing his surrender of command to Havelock. First we see the subjugation of the Bhils; then the power of kindness upon them illustrated by the death of ‘Khandu.’ Then follow the interview with the dying Mir Nur Muhammad; the defence of the Haidarabad Residency; Colonel Forbes and his Bombay cavalry breaking the Persian square at Kushab; and lastly, the volunteer cavalry at Mangalwar, headed by their general, cudgel in hand. Medallion portraits of some of his most intimate associates in war and peace, Generals Stalker, Jacob, Lugard, Napier, Inglis, and Neill, Dr. Badger, and Sir G. Couper, are introduced also. The whole is of oxydised silver and damascened steel. The committee added a most considerate contribution to Lady Outram’s household furnishings in the shape of a complete set of silver plate for ordinary use, tea service, &c.

One more official recognition pleased him, though it necessarily came to nothing. It was contained in a letter from the Adjutant-General in Bombay to the Adjutant-General in Calcutta, and ran thus:—‘Sir William Mansfield desires me to say that Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram is incomparably the most distinguished general officer on the rolls of the Bombay Army. His Excellency, however, is not aware whether the fact of his not having yet succeeded to a regimental colonelcy should be considered a bar to his selection. If it is not so considered, Sir James Outram should be

nominated to one of the regiments (106th).’ But that unfortunate fact was an insuperable bar, and ‘the most distinguished general officer on the rolls of the Bombay Army’ was destined to be laid in Westminster Abbey a regimental lieutenant-colonel.

Let us now add a brief reminiscence supplied by a near relative :—

‘The last two years were but a prolonged struggle with suffering. He purchased a house in Queen’s Gate Gardens to be the home of his declining years ; but his asthma kept him so much on the move that he enjoyed little more than a few weeks of occasional residence in it. The stimulus of a congenial friend or of cheery young people would, however, now and then revive him a little, when something of his former self would pleasantly flash out. Youngsters had always been favourites with him, and he was never seen to more advantage than when entering thoroughly into their interests, telling them of his hunting days, or indulging in the good-humoured badinage to which he was prone. His quaint humour, his keen sense of the ludicrous, his merry glance added to the effect of his well-told and well-timed anecdotes ; and he had a peculiar way of looking-up and laughing with his eyes which gave irresistible point to his shrewd comments or sly remarks.

‘His taste was good, indeed apt to be fastidious, and he greatly appreciated music of a touching character. Sacred music, always his preference, was an especial solace to him now. Books were still a means of whiling away an hour or two ; but reading was no longer the resource it had been. Imperial politics—home, foreign, or Anglo-Indian—continued to occupy his thoughts to the last. Of party intrigues he had seen more than enough, and preferred to judge men and measures from his own point of view. Brag, bluster, or in-

sincerity in any shape were an abomination to him, and he was most averse to persons professing infidel views. But he was tolerant of divergent opinions generally, if only he were convinced of the sincerity of those who advanced them. No one more readily appreciated sterling worth in any sphere of life.

'The irritability induced by illness and the "trouble" he gave as an invalid much distressed him. He bought a repeater on purpose not to disturb his servant by asking the time during the weary hours of his long night, and whenever he heard of any sight or amusement within reach he was anxious to send his attendants, no matter at what inconvenience to himself. One of these was a gentle Indo-Portuguese, whom he might well esteem highly. Another was a poor band-boy who had been found chained up a prisoner in Lucknow. Though the son of European parents, his sallow complexion and his usefulness to the rebels as a translator of English saved him from death; and except as regarded close confinement, short commons, jeers and scoffs, he did not complain much of his treatment by them.

'Sir James was chivalrously loyal, and the inability to attend any levée, in consequence of his infirm state of health, grieved him, lest his absence should be misconstrued. Honours crowded upon him, and he was gratified by the genuine respect and considerate attention he met with wherever he went. But what most pleased him were the kindnesses proffered by strangers of all ranks in recognition of what he had done for some loved one. He felt such attentions, particularly when they were the expressions of the gratitude of aged parents in recollection of some dear boy who had fought and died under his command. Few men had enjoyed so many opportunities of befriending others, and it may perhaps be added that few had availed themselves of such opportunities more constantly. Of this his invalid days reaped the comforting fruit.'

The last passage of a noble life is drawing near, But a few words remain to close a narrative in which if there be lack of interest the fault is that of the narrator. On August 29 Outram wrote to his mother from Brighton on the necessity which existed for his wintering abroad. 'But,' he added, 'I fondly hope you may, through God's mercy, be spared yet long after my return, when I trust to be sufficiently restored to visit you in Edinburgh. . . I feel that Scotland would be too much for me at present.' The few broken sentences uttered at the Mansion House on receiving the Sword and Freedom of the City of London; the physical failure to represent the 'Dux Fortissimus' he was so aptly styled at the university, and the 'wasted countenance, attenuated frame, and pain-stricken expression of features, in every line of which might be read the sure progress of disease, and a resolute will battling with it to the last,' noticed on the occasion of the presentation of plate, were significant of the approaching end. Alleviation, not cure, was to be hoped for in a milder climate: so he and Lady Outram again crossed the Channel, and passed on, by way of Paris, where they remained some weeks, to Nice. Here, notwithstanding his shattered health, he employed himself in earnest endeavours to advance the claims of such of his friends as he felt were worthy of his help, and might soon miss his powerful advocacy. The draft of a letter written in December, on behalf of one of them, shows how anxiously and carefully he could, even in the midst of bodily suffering, perform this loving office. Though not in his own handwriting, none who knew him would suppose that the contents were not of his own dictation. On Christmas morning he was able to attend at the early Communion service, but it was to be the last time. He lost rather than gained strength, and when the *mistral* winds set in he was ordered to Pau. In spite of every pre-

caution, the journey proved a trying one, and he only survived it about ten days.

A medical officer of rank in the Madras Army, who happened to be on the spot, supplied the 'Lancet' with these interesting particulars of his brief association with the honoured invalid :—'Entertaining a high esteem for this brave and single-minded man, and grateful to him for all he had done and tried to do for army medical officers, I placed my services at his disposal ; they were gratefully accepted, and I remained in close attendance on him to the last. My gallant patient was in a hopeless state when he reached Pau. The cold winds of Nice had excited a fresh attack of bronchitis ; and during the last eight days of his life he was unable to lie down even for a few minutes. . . . Weak as he was, he spoke often of the depressed position of army medical officers, regretting that so little success had attended his efforts to obtain a due recognition of their services ; adding, with emphasis, "The day *must* come when your services will be recognised. Another great war will end this long controversy in your favour." Such were the dying words of this good and gallant soldier.'—Thus to the last he never moved out of the old unselfish groove of his choice. On March 11—while all England was rejoicing over the marriage festivities of her Prince—the loyal heart ceased to beat ; struggles—controversies—triumphs—all were over ; the spirit had passed beyond the range of earthly things. A little past one o'clock on the morning of that day he died, sitting in his arm-chair, without a struggle—his face unmoved—his hands resting as if in sleep. His face had lost much of the suffering look of his later years : his head was slightly bent forward and looked very noble. Lady Outram and his son were at his side ; the latter had arrived on the previous afternoon, having but just returned from attendance upon the last weeks of the venerable Mrs.

Outram. Her long life had been brought to a close by a brief and unexpected illness—the break-up of age—which mercifully spared her the blow impending over those who loved James Outram.

But the memory of the man remained, and his reputation rose anew, phoenix-like, from his ashes. No sooner did the news of his death reach England than the press teemed with articles in his honour. In India, similar tributes poured freely in. A volume of spontaneous eulogy invoked by the inspiring theme might be easily filled from the columns of the press at home and abroad. We select two specimens from the better known papers. Thus spoke the 'Times' on March 13, 1863:—

James Outram was an illustration of what can be done by a strong-minded, truth-loving, honest, and valiant nature in such an arena as India affords. Because he had neither rank nor fortune, he stood in that press of self-reliant men from which the hand of patron or politician could pluck no favourite. He took his place among his peers in the race when there was a fair field and no favour, and he came to the front and bore himself so well that his distanced rivals echoed the applause which greeted the winner. It was but natural that he should have been proud of the service in which he won such honours, and that he should be jealous of any measure which did it wrong. And to the last he was the Indian officer to whom the Indian Army was dear, who loved its reputation, and resisted any effort to destroy its individuality. . . . Truly was he told in the address which was voted to him by his countrymen at home, 'By men of your stamp was our Indian Empire won; by men of your stamp must it be preserved'—by men as honest, as single-minded, as chivalrous, as humane, with as much love for the people of the country, as much pride in an Indian career, and as little thought of self as James Outram.

Not long afterwards, the following appeared in the 'Times of India':—

The telegraph at last announces the death of good, brave, and chivalrous Sir James Outram! No lips will open to speak of the

deceased but in terms of regret, respect, love, and admiration. James Outram was a man of whom any army, any government, any nation might be proud. He was one of those few, in high place, whose claims to be considered a master-mind men never paused to analyse. They knew he would do no wrong, and was ever desirous to do good, and that sufficed. And much good has he left behind him. His life was as utile as chivalresque. He was brave as the best of olden knights, loveable as best of olden priors. . . . We shall not quit our mournful topic without saying that in him whom the blast of the grim trumpeter has now summoned from amongst us the empire had a prop; the army one of its best chiefs and most disinterested friends; India an honest, right-thinking, and independent statesman; misfortune, worth, virtue, a true friend, whose hand was as ready to give as his heart to sympathise or his tongue to counsel. Way! and let the hand-maidens of history strew his grave with the flowers of an undying renown.

It is not surprising that the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, and his Council, resolved to honour the remains of 'this faithful servant of India' by a resting-place in Westminster Abbey and a funeral at the cost of the Government. The cordial approval of Dean Trench was at once accorded, and Sir John Lawrence, Sir John Willoughby, Captain Eastwick, and Sir John Kaye undertook the loving labour of carrying out all the necessary arrangements.

CHAPTER VII. AND LAST.

Funeral in Westminster Abbey—'In Memoriam' sketches from the pens of old friends: Sir Bartle Frere—Sir Vincent Eyre—Sir Joseph Fayer—Sir George Clerk, and others—Conclusion.

'A RESTING-PLACE in the sanctuary which is the most ancient, venerable, and most honoured in the land—a gathering of men illustrious by rank, station, and service, around his grave—the spontaneous assemblage of a great and sympathetic crowd in the cathedral and its precincts, proved yesterday how much of respect and admiration James Outram had won in distant climes from his countrymen.' In these words did our leading journal open a sympathetic and graphic account of the funeral of a hero, to whose remains no man could grudge the honour awarded by this national ceremony. It was fit that the seal of public approval should have thus been openly set upon the last page of an exceptionally noble record, one which needed not the aid of conventional biography to extract its moral, or expound its meaning, so patent that he 'who runs may read.' We will not here repeat the detailed particulars of an occasion which was ably chronicled and commented on in the columns of the daily and weekly press; the illustrations of skilful draughtsmen being in some instances added to the word-painting of descriptive writers. Those only who have assisted at similar ceremonies in that grand and truly English Abbey—the brightest architectural jewel of the nation—can fully realise the effect produced within its majestic walls on March 25, 1863, by a combination of so many of the elements



that raise emotion. We are told, and can readily understand, that the reading of the service was impressive, the music exquisitely performed, and that the assemblage of spectators represented the aristocracy of birth, of valour, and of worth ;¹ but such were not the causes which stirred brave hearts to their depths that day. There lay all that was left to them of as true and loyal a nature as they had ever known—there lay not only a statesman, a warrior, a nation's loss, but a comrade, a leader—above all, a friend. 'There were in the train following his coffin some who haply remembered the day when, in the heat and fire of Lucknow, he dismounted from his horse to protect a poor native lad whose parents had been slain, and who sat weeping by the roadside.' Haply it was the memory of a personal kindness which, at the words 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' made a 'stout Highlander, who had doubtless faced death for many a weary night in the Alam Bágh,' wipe 'with his cuff the tears that flowed down his cheek.'

The Highlanders at Outram's funeral were volunteers. Four officers—Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, Captain Thomson, Lieutenant Browne, and Quartermaster Skrine—with Sergeant-Major Pocock and nineteen other non-commissioned officers—came up from Shorncliffe to pay 'on behalf of their regiment, the last honours to one by whom it was their

¹ Besides Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, the Duke of Argyll, the Earls of Dalhousie and Shaftesbury, Lords Chelmsford, Lyveden, and Harris, Sir John McNeill, and many well-known and eminent noblemen and statesmen, there were present, from among Outram's brother-campaigners, Lords Clyde and Keane, Sir Edward Lugard, and Sir Henry Havelock ; and, from among his brother-administrators, such men as Sir George Russell Clerk, Sir John Lawrence, and Sir Henry Rawlinson. Of his personal friends, whether of England or India, so great was the concourse, that it were invidious to select the more familiar or remarkable names. It was remarked of Lord Clyde on that day, as he stood at the head of the grave, that his countenance had a melancholy and meditative—almost, if not quite, tearful look. The distinguished soldier died just five months afterwards, on August 14 of the same year.

privilege to have been led to battle and to conquest.' Sir John Kaye, who, had he lived, would himself have painted Outram's entire career with all his literary experience and practised skill, tells these particulars regarding the presence in the Abbey of the kilted soldiers:—

'The 78th Highlanders knew Outram well. There were some men still in the regiment who, twenty years before, had served in the dreary furnace of Scinde; but it was on the great battle-field of Oude that they had learnt to love and to honour a leader who was ever as mindful of their interests as he was regardless of his own: who was as tender towards, and as careful of, his men as though they were his children; who never sacrificed a life except to the stern necessity of the fight. On the morning of March 25, these gallant fellows stood at the door of the mansion which held the remains of their beloved general, and earnestly sought to be allowed to carry the body to its last resting-place. Most reluctantly was the request refused;¹ but they marched beside the hearse, and filed through the Abbey beside the coffin, and were beside it when it was lowered into the grave. And as they stood there, their thoughts went back to the Alam Bâgh, with tender memories and sorrowful regrets that such a chief was lost to them for ever. Not merely of the more stirring events of the memorable campaign thought they in that solemn hour; not merely of his forwardness in action, of the enthusiasm which sent him ever where danger was the thickest, and of the glories to which he had led them. They thought also of his kindness, of the love which he had shown them, of his unceasing efforts to administer to their comforts, and to mitigate the rigours of war. They remembered the much he had done, the more he had striven

¹ The extreme weight of the leaden coffin and the distance to be traversed rendered the arrangement impossible without risk of retarding the arrival of the funeral procession at the Abbey.

to do for them ; how he had gone about from the camp at the Alam Bâgh into the surrounding villages, endeavouring to obtain milk and other little luxuries for his men ; how anxiously he had watched the progress of the sick and the wounded, doing all that he could to lighten their sufferings, and grieving that he could do no more ; and how, when the grim business of actual battle was slack, he had found healthy amusement for his followers, and instituted races and games, and all kinds of 'rural sports' in the camp, just as though it were a season of high holiday in the palmiest days of peace. Doubtless there rose up before those noble fellows, their hearts swelling beneath their tartans, the image of their dear general, as he stood watching their amusements, the never-failing cheroot between his lips, a bland smile on his face, and a twinkle of delight in his eyes ; and as they sorrowed most of all that they should see that face no more, they threw their wreath upon his bier.'

The grave is near the centre of the nave, marked by a marble slab bearing the pregnant epitaph suggested by Dean Stanley:—

'THE BAYARD OF INDIA.'

Within a few yards lie Clyde, Pollock, Dundonald, and one who in a widely different sphere developed sterling British qualities of a like type to those of the single-minded Anglo-Indian, 'sans peur et sans reproche'—David Livingstone. Latest of all, 'rests from his labours' the administrator with a soldier's heart, whose honoured family name must ever be closely linked with that of this soldier-statesman—John, first Lord Lawrence. Over the doorway of exit from the aisle to the Jerusalem chamber is the monument erected by the Secretary of State for India in Council, of which a necessarily imperfect photograph is reproduced in this volume. A Bhil and a Sind Baluch are the mourners. The relief represents the

meeting of Campbell, Outram, and Havelock at Lakhnau, and the inscription is from the sympathetic pen of Sir John Kaye. Over the entrance of the western transept are windows to the memory of gallant officers of Sir James Outram's division who fell in Oudh, as recorded on the pavement below; and in 'Poet's Corner' the monument of his far-off kinsman meets the eye. So it happens that there is something at hand to suggest the name of James Outram to the visitor, from whatever side he may enter the Abbey.

At this last stage of our work, we can, perhaps, render no better tribute to the memory of the distinguished officer whose career we have attempted, however feebly, to portray, nor can we more fitly study the reader's advantage, than by selecting from reminiscences illustrative of Outram's character, with which we have been favoured by willing contributors. The writers will be recognised as men whom high position and honourable name, combined with antecedent vocation, have constituted competent authorities on the subject.

Sir Bartle Frere, before commencing to relate the experiences of a personal acquaintance antedating to 1836 or 1837, reverts to the time when Outram was 'the great pacificator and civiliser of Khandesh.'¹ Referring to the treatment which the Bhils had been used to under preceding

¹ The services to the State of Sir Bartle Frere, both in and out of India, are too well known to need allusion. In the fact that amid so many pressing and important duties His Excellency has found time voluntarily to string together these valuable reminiscences of an old friend and fellow-councillor, we have fresh evidence of the affectionate regard entertained towards Outram by those who have had exceptional opportunities of testing his value. Unfortunately for the biographer and the public, the papers arrived too late for the good purpose to which they might have been applied in the preparation of the present biography. All the chapters of vol. i. having been struck off, and a great part of vol. ii. being in type when they came to hand, it has become necessary, to avoid repetition of already printed narrative, to omit, under permission considerably given in anticipation, certain portions of the contribution and change the order of the paragraphs.

Governments, and which rendered it so difficult for our officers to obtain their confidence and bring them in as recruits to their standard, he says :—

‘After being induced to remain all day in camp the Bhils would slip away as the shades of evening approached, fearful of treachery during the night. One night, when Outram had persuaded a number to join him, and when he thought he had entirely gained their confidence, they all disappeared in a manner no one could account for; till it was remembered that a large box from Bombay had been brought that day in a cart and opened in the presence of the Bhils, who had crowded round to gaze at the wonders it disclosed. Amongst the contents was a uniform coat, and one of the servants, in reply to the Bhils’ questions as to what it was, said, “Oh, it’s a pattern of the coats all you Bhils are to be dressed in. Then you will be put into great boxes like this and sent over sea to London.” The Bhils said nothing at the time; but were observed sitting together whispering; and when night came they all decamped, scrupulously leaving behind them in their huts everything they had received from the “Sahib.”

‘He afterwards learned that, for months after he first tried to enlist men for his Bhil corps, Bhil opinion as to his object was divided. It was generally supposed that the Bhil recruits were wanted to be made into sepoy, and sent across the great “black water” to England. Others believed that Outram required them to fatten for the cannibal Rajah whose servant he was. The liberal supply of food given to all in his camp favoured this idea. The Sahibs cared as little as the Bhils themselves for what was hallowed or unhallowed in the way of food, and the Hindu and Mahomedan servants would frequently terrify the Bhils by telling them “that people who eat beef and pork were not likely to stick at cannibalism.”

'After many months, Outram succeeded in securing the complete confidence of the whole tribe. But this was not effected till he and his assistants had impressed on the Bhils that the English officers were not only no cannibals, but were quite their equals in all things on which the Bhils most prided themselves; that they could walk longer, climb better, and were as courageous and more effective hunters than the Bhils themselves. This was not difficult with such men as Outram had assigned to him for his companions and assistants. They were all young officers, full of energy, spirit, and the high principle of British soldiers.... Always taking the post of danger, always daring what the wildest of the Bhils shrank from, and always by his courage and coolness being successful, Outram established such an ascendancy over these men, that they who had at first refused every offer to enlist, crowded around him with offers of service, and he was enabled to choose the best and bravest of the tribe to form his corps, which for many years not only kept the peace of the wilder portions of Khandesh, but put a stop to all marauding, whether by man or wild beast, within the sphere under his charge. His daring was only equalled by his generosity and the warmth and kindliness of his nature.'

'The first time I met Outram was at a hog hunt at Ahmedabad, about 1836 or 1837, and I then, as a very young sportsman, witnessed the extraordinary kindness and generosity of disposition which tempered his fiery and forward nature. Naturally anxious to be always first in anything that required energy or daring, he could not bear to yield

¹ Sir John Malcolm thus indicated the qualities which enabled him to effect his purpose among the Bhils. The difficulties in the way were such as 'Lieutenant Outram's local influence and personal character could alone have overcome, affording an example of what may be done by officers who add to knowledge of their duty as soldiers an acquaintance with the habits, prejudices, and languages of the natives, and who, by conciliatory conduct to all ranks, secure their confidence, and are thus enabled to effect objects which by military force alone they could never accomplish.'

the spear to any competitor, unless he happened to be some youngster upon a pony, with but little chance of the first spear, in which case Outram was always ready to give way and let the youngster have a chance.

'Outram' was then political agent in the wild districts between Guzerat and Rajpootana, and soon after accompanied Lord Keane, then Sir John Keane, with the Bombay column of the army of the Indus, which was destined to take part in the first Afghan war, by marching through Scinde and up the Bolan Pass to Candahar. Scinde was then very imperfectly known to us through the reports of Sir Henry Pottinger's, Burnes's, and other missions, which had been sent to open the way to closer intercourse with the Ameers. The policy of the Ameers had been one of almost Japanese exclusion of all representatives of foreign Powers, and the observations made by the envoys were watched with the utmost jealousy. The Ameers had consented to grant a passage through their territory to the Upper Indus, but consent had been very unwillingly given; and when Sir John Keane landed his force at the mouth of the Indus, he found that what little assistance the Ameers could have given to enable him to pass through the unhealthy part of the delta, and to reach the less deadly portions of Lower Scinde, was withheld, and there was every prospect of his force being decimated by malarious fever before they could move. In this extremity, Outram was deputed to Kurrachee, at that time little better than a large fishing village, with a few houses of Hindoo traders, living in apparent poverty, and carrying on with difficulty the small export trade of the country, which did not at that time exceed 30,000*l.* per annum in total value. Here Outram obtained the aid of Sheth Nao Mull, whose history would in itself have furnished the materials for an Oriental romance.

'Nao Mull's father had been a compulsory convert to

Mahomedanism, and the son had long wished for an opportunity to assist the English, to whom he looked for the chance of avenging the wrongs of the Hindoos upon their Mahomedan oppressors. He obtained the aid of the semi-independent Jokiya tribe, great breeders of camels, in the almost desert country bordering on the Kelat territory of Las-baila. The carriage required to move Sir John Keane's force was thus obtained, and Sir John Keane marched on through Scinde, and up the Bolan pass, accompanied by Outram, whose share in that campaign is very fully described in the various histories of the Afghan war. Outram returned with the column under General Sir Thomas Wilshire, who was charged to bring to account the Khan of Kelat, for his supposed unfriendly conduct to Sir John Keane's army during its advance.

‘Into the history of Outram’s career in Scinde and his difference with Sir Charles Napier, it is unnecessary that I should now enter. His heroic defence of the Hyderabad Residency will live among the striking episodes of that brilliant campaign. Perhaps few people have had better opportunities than I have of estimating the character and great ability of both parties to these unhappy differences, and I need only say, as the net result of all I have seen and heard and read on the subject, that it was one of those differences certain to arise where two men of high spirit, and impatient of control, are required to work together with ill-defined relative responsibilities, and holding conflicting views of what justice and sound policy required. Outram believed most sincerely that he could have, by personal influence, induced the Ameer to do all that the Government of India could reasonably require of them. Sir Charles Napier, on the other hand, felt assured that the knot was one which could only be cut by the sword, and that the constitution of the Ameer’s authority was such as to make it impossible for a barbarian

power to exist alongside the advancing influence of the British Government.

‘When I returned to India in 1846, Outram was resident at the then quiet little Maratha court of Satara, greatly beloved and respected by the Rajah and all belonging to him, but very much out of place in a position which afforded no scope for his fiery energies. I succeeded him in this post, and had often occasion to witness the scrupulous care with which he attended to the rights of the poorest and meanest, even when they afforded little room for the action of that energetic nature, which could never rest without some great task to employ it. During many subsequent years, when I was in Scinde, and he was Resident at Baroda, when he took the command of the British forces in the Persian war, and went thence to take part in the struggle of the mutiny of 1857, we were in constant correspondence; but I did not meet him again till I joined him as a member of Lord Canning’s Council at Calcutta in 1860. He was then suffering visibly from overwork and incessant strain on his physical powers, during years of such excitement and labour; but he had always abundant energy for any subject which related to the welfare of the soldier or to the rights of native princes or people, and the favourite work of his latter days in Calcutta was the provision of means for exercise and recreation for the English soldiers to whom Calcutta and the neighbouring cantonment of Dum-dum had so frequently afforded nothing but the road to a premature grave. After he returned home, he continued to take his old interest in the military position in Egypt, and there he was found by Lord Canning, who was returning himself to England. He had, as Lord Canning expressed it, “death on his face,” but his interest in his old pursuits was undiminished.

‘It may be hoped that the class of political officers to which Outram naturally belonged will never die out in our

Eastern Empire; but every year must lessen the field in which his extraordinary energy and self-reliance developed itself. Of his military capacity, others can speak with more professional weight, but he was in every respect a born soldier, and, whether in the field or in the cabinet, he was the soldier's friend.'

Just as received, we now add a 'Souvenir' by Sir Vincent Eyre, an eminent comrade whose well-known name forms its best introduction. It is dated Rome, January 2, 1880.

'In the political and military history of our vast Eastern Empire, during recent times, the figure of "OUTRAM, THE BAYARD OF INDIA," stands forth in the open foreground, like a grand heroic statue, which needs no extrinsic aid of polishing or gilding, "to give the world assurance of a MAN."

'Recalling him to mind through the vista of bygone years, since first it was my valued privilege to serve under his command, my memory prefers to conjure up his image, in its own simple unadorned grandeur of outline, rather than in any such minuteness of detail as would, doubtless, better suit the purpose of his biographer.

'Yet I can readily believe that the lives of few men of his celebrity and varied career have so abounded in rich materials of exciting adventure wherewith to fill an attractive and instructive volume. But it was not amid scenes and events quite in harmony with such ideas that I found my lot cast, for a time, with his.

'Our first chance meeting was, as entire strangers, in a waiting-room of the old India House, in the autumn of 1856, when he had just received a sudden order to proceed to Persia, to assume the chief command of an expedition then assembling for a campaign in that country. In mutual ignorance of each other's identity, we plunged into what proved an interesting discourse on Indian affairs, during

which it took me not long to discover that I was listening to "a Master in Israel." On being summoned away by a messenger, he inquired my name, and at once most generously volunteered to further my views with the high official he was about to interview. On the spur of the moment I had nothing to suggest; so he cordially pressed my hand, with an emphatic hope that we might "soon meet again on Indian soil." He sailed next day for the Persian Gulf, and on the 24th of the following August, in the memorable year 1857, his wish was fulfilled; for we met at Buxar, on the river Ganges, on board the steamer which was conveying himself and his chief Staff Officer, Colonel (now Lord) Napier, to Allahabad, to assume command of the forces destined for the relief of Lucknow. [*Quorum pars fui.*]

'He had, during that brief interval, brought the Persian war to a triumphant conclusion, somewhat after the fashion of Cæsar's "Veni, vidi, vici." General Havelock, who had been one of his chief co-operators in gaining that signal success, had preceded him to Calcutta, and was now making heroic efforts to suppress the great mutinous and insurrectionary movement which threatened the very existence of British rule, amid the battlefields of Cawnpore and Oudh, in the face of appalling difficulties and overwhelming odds. There was, at that particular juncture, *an ominous pause in the struggle*; and the crisis seemed to have reached its height when Outram landed in Calcutta in the beginning of August, and was at once hailed, by the universal voice of his countrymen, as "the right man" required to face and appease the spreading storm.

'Havelock's operations having been brought to a temporary standstill for lack of reinforcements, Outram, his personal friend and late chief in the Persian war, was appointed to a high command of special character, for the rescue of Oudh and the adjacent provinces. But, the idea of

"superseding" his brave and useful comrade in arms, by virtue of his superior rank, was utterly foreign to his chivalrous nature; and he lost no time in assuring Havelock that "*to him alone should be the glory of relieving Lucknow.*"

'That act of self-negation has probably no parallel in military annals. I refer to it now, because, after the first relief of Lucknow had been happily accomplished, it fell to my own lot, as "Brigadier of Cavalry and Artillery," to forward to the Commander-in-Chief *a certain document.*

'It is well known that General Outram carried out his generous intentions towards Havelock, during the march of our forces from Cawnpore to Lucknow, by temporarily sinking his military rank, and serving as a volunteer with Captain Barrow's troop of "Volunteer Horse," and a small detachment of Native Irregular Cavalry attached thereto, the troopers of which latter had remained "faithful to their salt." In two engagements with the enemy, in the course of that march, Outram placed himself at the head of a little band of those troopers, and wielding in his grasp only a stout cudgel, daringly charged into the thick of the foe in most dashing style; and with such a signal exhibition of personal skill and prowess, as amply to justify his familiar soubriquet of the "Indian Bayard."

'When the relief of the Lucknow garrison had been fairly accomplished, Havelock, before surrendering his military authority to Outram, issued an order that the officers and men of each particular corps of the relieving force should elect one of their own body, whether officer or private, who should be deemed by general consent to have most fairly earned the distinction of the "Victoria Cross." The unanimous choice of the "Cavalry" fell on Sir James Outram, and it formed part of my own official duty, as Brigadier of that arm (in conjunction with the Artillery), to forward the formal document to head-quarters. Happily, it was in my

power to do this through the intervention of Colonel Berkeley, the Chief of the Staff, without the knowledge of Outram himself, who might otherwise have felt himself placed in an embarrassing position.

'The Commander-in-Chief, unfortunately, did not consider an officer of such exalted rank would be an appropriate recipient of the Victoria Cross; which envied decoration could, in his opinion, be only conferred as a rule on those below the rank of Field Officer. When the matter eventually became known to Outram himself, he acknowledged to me that *he would have counted and prized the "Victoria Cross" more than any other military distinction that could be conferred; "not even excepting the G.C.B."* This feeling was quite in harmony with his whole character and antecedents, and I feel assured that it would have gratified the whole Indian army to have seen so appropriate and well-earned a decoration on the breast of their favourite hero.

'As a Commander in the field, the generous chivalry of his nature was constantly manifesting itself, not only in the utter disregard of personal danger, but in the prominence he was ever ready to give, when opportunity offered, to the humblest services of those under him, and in his anxiety that the full meed of merit should be rendered to even the lowest in rank, when fairly due. Such just and genial attributes could not fail to secure for him a degree of personal attachment and devotion such as has fallen to the lot of few leaders of men since the days of Cæsar and his favourite legions.

'In those military operations wherein he bore the chief command, and which came under my own observation, he seemed to combine two excellent yet quite opposite attributes; each valuable in its own particular way, but rarely found united in one person—viz., *a most vigilant "caution,"*

with an irresistible "dash." The union of these two qualities proved of inestimable value to the small force (mustering less than 4,000 men), which, under his masterly guiding mind, was left behind (on the departure of the Commander-in-Chief from Lucknow on November 26, 1857), *to maintain a defensive position* on the open plain of Alumbagh, on the south side of the city, for a period of nearly four months, during which it had to ward off repeated attacks from the mutinous forces that occupied Lucknow itself; whose numbers were being constantly reinforced from the adjoining province of Rohilcund, whence they were being gradually dislodged and dispersed by the Commander-in-Chief's effective tactics, and driven, as a last refuge, to concentrate within the walls of Lucknow, to make there a final united stand against the British power which they had so recklessly defied.

‘Thus, towards the end of January 1858, the Alumbagh force under Outram found itself in face of a vast hostile army, consisting chiefly of trained soldiers, whose numbers had by that time increased to upwards of 100,000; and whose position, behind the fortified strongholds of Lucknow, enabled them to dispose of large bodies for field operations against the Alumbagh force, and perhaps to cut off its communications with Cawnpore and intercept all needful supplies. Seldom has a General been placed for so long a period in a position so full of anxious responsibility.

‘Outram, in view of the daily increasing danger, was possessed with an ardent and impatient longing to attack his foe by a *coup-de-main*, but his hands had been tied by strict orders from head-quarters to *act solely on the defensive*, until the Commander-in-Chief himself should return to the scene, for a final onslaught. So the lion-hearted Outram did his utmost to strengthen the weak points of his extensive position, with the aid of trenches, batteries, and abattis; so that when the enemy took courage, with their accumulated

numbers, to make a series of formidable attacks, in bodies of 30,000 trained soldiers at a time, in front, flank, and rear, Outram was always prepared to give them a warm reception at every point assailed, and even to follow up each victory to the very walls of their city of refuge. Also, through his timely precautions, he invariably gained reliable notice beforehand, through his own trusty spies, of each intended attack; and thus it came to pass that his intimate knowledge of the native character, joined to his own peculiar power of influencing it to advantage, operated marvellously in our favour.

'It was a bold idea of Sir Colin Campbell to leave a small British force, under 4,000 strong, during so long a period, in such an exposed position; but the result proved that he was justified, *by his knowledge of the remarkable man* whom he entrusted with the heavy responsibility of maintaining it at all hazards! Heretofore, perhaps, the defence of "the Alumbagh lines" at Lucknow by Outram has been insufficiently understood, and therefore too faintly appreciated by his countrymen at large; but it may fairly take rank, though on a more limited scale, with the far-famed defence of the "lines of Torres Vedras" by Wellington in 1810.

'I would venture now to offer my humble tribute of admiration to the character of Outram in his civil and social capacity. During his residence in Calcutta, as member of the Supreme Council of India, it was my good fortune to be a frequent guest in his house, and to enjoy a considerable share of his confidence. His active mind seemed to be perpetually occupied with the practical problem of how he could best serve the interests of his country, and benefit those classes, whether European or native, who fell within the legitimate range of his influence. Above all, the welfare of the "British soldier" in India was ever uppermost in his thoughts. To this end, among many other benevolent acts,

he expended large sums in the purchase of books for distribution to various regimental libraries ; and he did all in his power to introduce a system of healthy recreations and useful occupations in barracks, during those periods of unavoidable idleness when the soldier is most liable to fall into evil habits from sheer lack of proper objects to engage his attention. These efforts culminated in the establishment, at the cantonment of DumDum, of what became known as "The Outram Institute," and was the first "soldiers' club," on a durable basis, introduced into India. Its success may be said to have given the first impetus to a general adoption of the system throughout the service, with well-known beneficial results. In this, as well as in more ways than I need here particularise, but which will doubtless find a place in the forthcoming biography, Outram may be said to have established an unquestionable claim to special distinction as "The Soldier's Friend."

'It is well known that he was strongly opposed to the abolition of the old "local European regiments" in India, and that he drew up, for submission to the Home Government of that day, an able and exhaustive state paper on the "amalgamation" question. The subsequent experience gained during the past twenty years has tended to justify his opinions, inasmuch as the re-establishment of a local European force is understood to be at present a matter of consideration with our home authorities.

'In connection with this important subject, I may perhaps be pardoned for mentioning that a "memorandum" drawn up by myself, at the invitation of Lord Canning, was honoured with the approval of his Lordship and of Outram, although it was foreseen by them that, as the scheme suggested therein did not harmonise with the "purchase system" then in force, it was not likely to be adopted by the Home Government. But, as that objection no longer stands in the

way, it may be as well to state briefly that my proposal was simply as follows: viz. That a given number of European "local battalions," *for permanent service in India*, should be linked, regimentally, with an equal number of "home battalions" in Great Britain and Ireland; and that *there should be a free interchange of officers and men between the two*. It was agreed that such a system would create a reciprocity of interests, whereby both countries would benefit. India would thereby gain a constant influx of young soldiers, ready disciplined, and prepared to rough it in the climate of the East; while England would get back from time to time, as circumstances might render desirable, a corresponding supply of home-sick, yet still efficient and valuable veterans, experienced in war, and probably with medals on their breasts to stimulate their younger comrades at home, and "show how fields are won." Thus, in a few words, the "home battalions" might become the nurseries of the "Indian battalions," and would be "arks of refuge" for our returned veteran soldiers, after a sufficient period of exposure and buffeting in India. *One list of names, for purposes of promotion, might combine the officers of both battalions.* I may add that the late Sir Howard Douglas, in his last published essay on "The Defence of England," in 1859, made favourable allusion to this scheme as "deserving of consideration." The present system of "linked regiments" does not appear to satisfy the requirements of the service, especially as regards India, and will probably undergo some modification. It might be fairly expected that the prospect of a prolonged "local service" in India would once more attract a valuable class of recruits, who now stand aloof, especially as there would be always an open door for their return under advantageous conditions to the "home battalion" should their health so require.

'In conclusion, it may be said of Outram that throughout his whole public career he was actuated by the chivalrous

spirit of a true "knight errant," as a redresser of wrongs and an upholder of the weak against the strong, whenever his keen sense of duty impelled him to battle in behalf of the oppressed. In so doing he was ever, even to rashness, regardless of self and of his own personal interests; neither was he dismayed by the frowns of any "Jupiter hostis" in high position, who might take dire offence at his proceedings and shake the terrific sceptre of office over his head. In all such cases Outram, more than any public man previously known in our Indian history, acted unflinchingly and persistently on the principle of "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*" It is well that the life of a man so truly noble should be duly commemorated, as an instructive and encouraging example for the imitation of those who follow in his wake as labourers, like him, in the vast and ever-extending field of our Indian empire. To every such worthy son of Britain, in whose breast the fire of a laudable ambition is kindling into flame, I would say:—

*Macte novâ virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra !*¹

To Sir Joseph Fayrer² we are indebted for the following interesting notes:—

'I first made Sir James Outram's acquaintance when he came to be Resident at Lucknow in 1854. I was then Residency surgeon and extra assistant Resident. In both capacities I had much to say to him, and got to know him very intimately, and to love and honour him as much as one man can love and honour another. He was so generous, straightforward, brave, true, wise, and sagacious; so far-seeing and large-hearted, so considerate for others, so uncon-

¹ 'Go ahead, my boy, in thy new path of virtue and valour, which leads to glory!'

² Surgeon-General Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I. Mention has before been made of this distinguished medical officer, and his reminiscences of life within the Lakhnau Residency will be found at p. 240 of the present volume.

scious of self, and so child-like in his simple-heartedness, that it was impossible not to feel for him as I and so many others did who knew him well. The simple inscription on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, "The Bayard of India," is a very fitting one, for to no man in our day, I believe, could that name be more truly given.

'I was with him until he went home from Lucknow on account of his health, which was a good deal broken by climate, although he had then no organic disease. He had had much worry and strain in arranging the affairs of Oude after the annexation. There was much, indeed, that was distasteful to him in that duty, and he was glad to get away. He had suffered much from neuralgia and muscular pains from the result of imperfect assimilation. The return to Europe no doubt did him much good. I next saw him (though I had frequently corresponded with him) when he came to our relief in the Residency. He came into my house then, and remained there until we evacuated the place in November 1857, and I remember I thought that, despite fatigue and a wound in the arm, he looked wonderfully well. I took leave of him at the Dilkhoosha, when we made that forced march to Cawnpore to Wyndham's relief, and, being then sent home on account of illness resulting from the siege of the Residency, I did not see him again until I returned to Calcutta in April 1859, when he became President of the Council, on the Governor-General going away up country. Again I saw him frequently, as did Dr. Macpherson, under whose care I found him, and experienced the same continued and affectionate kindness from him until he finally returned to Europe. I never saw him after that, and when I heard of his death I felt I had lost one of my best friends. I do not know the precise cause of death. He had suffered much from chronic bronchitis and a weak heart, and I imagine some visceral change, probably increasing cardiac debility and

dilatation, must have developed after he left India. A portrait of him, that he allowed a friend of mine in Paris to paint for me very shortly before his death, has a worn, emaciated, and anxious look, that is suggestive of serious illness.

‘He had originally a powerful and vigorous frame, but it had been much tried by climate and work in India for so many years—and such work too!—few men could have sustained the continuous mental and physical strain so long and so well as he did. He was abstemious, simple, and regular in his mode of life (though rather inclined to eat indigestible things) during my knowledge of him—with one exception, and that was smoking. I think I never knew any man smoke more than he did. I have no doubt it did him harm, for it interfered with his digestion, and must have affected, though it may have been slightly, his nervous system. It was the only point on which we did not agree, and I often spoke to him about it. One of the most touching and beautiful, as well as kind, letters I ever had from him—I wish I had it now, but it was lost with many other valuable things at Lucknow—was in reply to an earnest written remonstrance with him on the subject: the purport of it was that no doubt I was right, but he *could not* do what I advised. He never felt or thought that it did him harm, and so he continued it to the last. You ask me for any anecdotes illustrative of his character. I remember none but that show how everything he did was the outcome of a loyal, brave, and true heart and an unselfish nature; no one who knew him, and associated with him as I did, could have failed to receive abundant proof of it. . . . He was, as you know, a great sportsman, and was fond of animals of all kinds; he used to tell me of his adventures in former years with wild ones, and once showed me the scars made by a panther which he had attacked on foot. . . .

‘I did not see him again till I returned to Calcutta in

1859. He was then a member of Council, and as the Governor-General was away in the north-west he had just become President of the Council. He then asked me to become his private secretary. He was entitled to a staff as President. I pointed out that, though nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be with him again, I thought the duty would hardly consist well with those of my professorship at the college, and that I was sure if he made such an appointment it would be looked on with dislike by the other services. He said that was his affair, he had a right to choose whom he pleased, and he wished for me, if I could undertake the office. However, at my request he postponed it for a short time, and spoke of the matter to others. On the pretext that it was expedient not to incur expense, he was advised not to appoint any private secretary, but an aide-de-camp, who was a son of the Lieutenant-Governor.

'I saw much of him in Calcutta, until he finally left for Europe, whence I and others heard from him. He never seemed to tire of doing kind and thoughtful things for his friends. He wrote several letters to my father, and ever continued to take an interest in my welfare. I know how great a proof it was of his regard for me when he consented to sit several times to Mr. A. Buxton for his portrait. I may just add one other incident illustrative of the humble view he took of his own great powers. In Calcutta he showed me a letter offering him a high appointment in one of the other Presidencies, and his reply to it, saying that he did not consider himself fit for it. He was a better judge of others than of himself. Of the many great men that the India of former days has produced, none ever exceeded him in the mental power of grasping all the prominent points of any great subject, and none ever gave effect to the method of dealing with it with greater force or vigour.

'One of the last minutes he wrote in Calcutta had refer-

ence to the provision of hospital accommodation and comforts for sick officers coming to the Presidency, and, like all he did, it was full of thought and care for those who so much needed it. I may add, he was one of the best friends the medical service ever had, and he was always anxious to do justice to their claims and to advance their interests.

‘These are, after all, but a few trifling illustrations of his character; but it was in the general tenor of his noble and unselfish life, and in the constantly recurring evidences of it, that he lives in the affection and memory of those who were with him and served under him.’

Another well-known comrade, General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, thus summarises the character of one whose conduct of operations in the field he had enjoyed special opportunities of observing with a critical eye:—

‘A truly great man, uniting in his own person the most opposite qualities—utter fearlessness with singular modesty, intense ambition with self-depreciation, unbounded energy and independence with great deference to authority that did not strain his conscience; unselfish to such an extent as to be unjust to himself. . . . In short, a character so rare that I have never met his like. He was a born strategist, with a quick perception of the features of a country for military requirements that seemed intuitive, and which I only mastered after long control of the country in which he operated.’

Among the eminent men who filled the office of Governor-General during the period of which we have been writing, Lords Auckland, Dalhousie, and Canning are those with whom Outram was in most frequent correspondence; and the confidential and important nature of that correspondence is of itself sufficient to demonstrate the high degree of merit which he must have attained to become thus distinguished among his fellows. If Lord Auckland discerned in Outram’s

early manhood the same qualities of soldier-statesmanship that Lord Canning recognised in his later years, Lord Dalhousie added to this same appreciation a warmth of personal regard, again exhibited on his retirement from public life. When an invalid at Malvern, receiving the sad instalments of news of the revolt then spreading rapidly over Northern India, he wrote to Mrs. Outram that it was to her son, 'and such as he, that the country must look at this time.' He had before 'heartily and sincerely' congratulated her on the 'accumulated honours which had accrued to her son from the Persian campaign,' so well won and so fully approved by the whole public.

Dr. Bisset, under whose tuition Outram's early boyhood was passed at the Udney School near Aberdeen, when 'Moderator' of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, met the succeeding Earl of Dalhousie, and had occasion to ask from him a note of introduction for a friend, to the nobleman ruling at the time in Calcutta. 'I think your strongest claim on the Indian Government,' wrote the then Secretary for War, 'is having trained such a general and statesman as Outram for the public service, and this I have mentioned to Lord Elgin.'

Lord Hardinge, though not led into that frequent and confidential communication with Outram which the particular employment of the latter had brought about in the other instances mentioned, was not insensible to, or forgetful of, his merits. We have seen that his lordship highly approved of his conduct of the Southern Maratha campaign; and we further know that in expressing annoyance that an Outram and Napier controversy had ever arisen, he characterised the litigants as 'two of the best officers in either service.'

Among the Governors of Bombay, we have cited the well-known names of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, as statesmen who took note of Outram's promising youth.

Later on, Sir James Carnac, Sir George Arthur, Sir George Clerk, and Lord Elphinstone all bore testimony to the fruit-bearing vigour of his manhood. Indeed, such abundant evidence of their sentiments in this respect has been already supplied in the preceding pages, that we will but add to the record a brief extract from a late letter addressed to the present biographer by one, and not the least eminent, of the number. Sir George Clerk, writing from Bournemouth, on March 12, 1880, thus incidentally reverts to his own acquaintance with Outram:—

‘I never knew one who combined, with thorough sterling character and soldierly qualities, so much of single-mindedness and modesty; and heaps of experience have come in my way too, during a long and busy public life.’

We now add the testimony of a gentleman not belonging to the official world, or enrolled in the covenanted or uncovenanted service of India. Mr. J. H. Fergusson, an esteemed and upright representative of the mercantile community of Calcutta, and the original honorary secretary of the Testimonial Committees, has contributed the following personal recollections and impressions:—

‘Those features in Sir James Outram’s character which I was able principally to observe were, I think, his grand simplicity and self-abnegation, his generosity, his contempt of all pecuniary advantage to himself, and his geniality and power of sympathy with all ranks and classes of men. He was ever accustomed in honour to prefer others to himself in genuine unconsciousness of his own superiority. He was, without guile and without *arrière pensée*, a true knight under all circumstances, and in every relation of life. Self was nowhere with him. The world heard of some of his more striking acts of self-effacement. But the world could scarcely know that these actions were the simple outcome

of the principles by which he was habitually actuated. He was always ready to sacrifice himself for the advantage of others. He would always take without ostentation the post of danger and trial, or of labour and difficulty, and would so order things of his own intention that others should, if possible, receive the honour and the reward.

'From my intimacy with him in regard to the management of his affairs, I had special knowledge of the delicate generosity of his character, and of his thoughtfulness for others—for none more than for the soldier, in small things as well as in great. The men of one of the regiments to which he had sent supplies of books, periodicals, and games, through me, after the Mutiny, asked their Colonel to send word to Sir James Outram that they were ready at any time to go through fire and water for him. They knew him to be a thorough soldier, and not less to be their thorough-going friend. And just as his sympathy abounded towards them, and towards all who worked with him, high and low, so it would overflow towards a little child in the form of both arms full of toys—brought round by himself, on Christmas-day, when a Member of the Government in Calcutta.

'By sympathising appreciation of good work done, added to sympathising encouragement, he brought out all the best qualities of the doers, and made them, so to speak, all that they afterwards became. Besides that, he was their fast friend through life, and never forgot their interests, however unmindful of his own. Advantage to himself was what he never thought of, and money was literally the dirt under his feet, except only when he could make it helpful to others.

'There never was a man more entirely simple and free from all self-consciousness. There was about him the highest ideal of dignity, because there was the absence both of all assumption and of all affected disclaimers of dignity.'

The above tributes 'in memoriam' are, as it were, original and unpublished contributions to the biography—wreaths laid by sorrowing yet discriminating friends upon the tomb. Miscellaneous and incidental vouchers of the extraordinary repute he had attained among his brother-officers might be produced in any number. Here is a short but significant extract of a letter from Colonel C. W. Grant, written to Outram himself in 1853 :—

'Did I once tell you that in 1849 we went to Dharangón, and put up for a few days at your old house, a most comfortable one by-the-bye? I went to the Bhil Lines—saw the regiment on parade with their band playing "Love not," or some civilised air, and then went to the schoolroom, where I saw at least fifty children of these *wild* (!) Bhils busy reading and writing. I do not know when I had been so interested in anything; and if, my dear Outram, the reclaiming these poor wild creatures had been the one sole act of your life, it would have been sufficient to ensure you a pleasant retrospect as long as you live—had not your subsequent career been one long act of singleness of purpose and devotedness to your country, through disappointments and vexations enough to have tried the firmest resolve. This Bhil episode must, I am sure, still form one of the most agreeable and satisfactory retrospects of your active and honourable career.'

Major C. Giberne, late of the Bombay Army, after relating how Outram had gained the confidence and attachment of the Bhils by treating them with the greatest personal kindness—at first allowing them to come into his tent, and examine anything they fancied—adds: 'He was about six years my senior, and I well remember the kind of romantic deference with which the younger officers all regarded him. Even as a young man he was possessed of that rare combina-

tion of sound judgment, quick decision, unflinching determination, calmness both in counsel and in action, fearless personal intrepidity which so pre-eminently distinguished him in after years, and which, while he himself invariably led the way on every occasion of doubt, difficulty, or danger, seemed instinctively to command the sympathy and support of everyone, whether European or native, who followed his leadership or acted under his orders.'

But although many such extracts are at hand and available, our space has been well-nigh exhausted. Nor may we venture to extract, however sparingly, from more than two or three of the many published sketches of Outram's career and character which the intelligence of his death called into print.

Dr. Montagu Butler, the learned and eloquent headmaster of Harrow, spoke thus of Outram in the school chapel, about the time of the funeral:—'During the course of last week a great man was borne to his rest in that famous Abbey where so much that has made England great appeals to the gratitude and the admiration of posterity. The act by which he will probably best be known to future times—because it is identified with a great crisis in our national history—was a signal act of chivalrous magnanimity. Many of you will remember how, when after the long and terrible suspense succours were at last to be thrown into Lucknow, Outram, though the senior officer present, refused to associate his name with the chief glory of the coming exploit, but persisted in making it over to Havelock, who had borne the burden and heat of the day. In that one day he resigned the command, and entered Lucknow as a volunteer. The fame of that chivalrous deed spread far and wide: but its true nobleness is founded in this fact, that it was not an isolated deed, but a deed felt to be of a piece with the whole character of the man. The more his life is studied in its

details, the more it will be found how habitually he made a practice of esteeming others better than himself, of looking less at his own things, and more at the things of others.'

The late Sir John William Kaye, too, whom we have before quoted, the historian who has shown how even the dry bones of Indian annals can become things animate and of vital interest, has left us a faithful and bright word-picture, of which the following are no weak specimens:—'There were men of higher rank than James Outram; men who had commanded greater armies, and who had governed more extensive territories. There was no one great event, changing the destinies of empires, to which he could point as peculiarly his own. His career was without a Waterloo. But a life of sustained devotion to the public service, a life made beautiful by repeated acts of heroism and chivalry, a life of stainless truth and unsullied honour, made England echo back the praises which pealed across the Eastern seas. . . . That he was ambitious is not to be denied; but his ambition had but little of the common element of selfishness. He would never consent to rise at the expense of others, nor would he benefit himself to the injury of the State. No man was ever more liberal in the bestowal of praise on others, more willing to acknowledge the assistance he had derived from his comrades, or more eager to obtain for them the recognition of the Crown. Indeed, it may be said that he almost wearied the Government by importuning them to obtain honours and rewards for the officers and men who had served under him. . . . It was, indeed, always with some reference to the good of others, or to the honour of the great service to which he was so proud of belonging, that he coveted distinction; but even for this he would have taken no high office, the duties of which he did not know that he was capable of adequately discharging. If he thought that any man was capable of doing the work better than himself,

he was always willing to give place to him.' . . . Again: 'It was in the largeness and the overflow' of his sympathies, in the 'rich loving-kindness redundantly kind,' which he felt for men of all races and all classes, that Outram differed from and excelled all his contemporaries, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Henry Lawrence. His compassion, indeed, was boundless.

He could afford to suffer
With those whom he saw suffer.

It was this compassion, this faculty of seeing with other men's eyes, of thinking with other men's hearts—a faculty the absence of which from our chief rulers brought us to our sorest straits in India—which made Outram so strenuous an opponent of injustice in all its forms.¹

Across the Channel, the story told was much to the same effect; for the nationality of the true hero is, after all, but a conventional consideration. The more universal his acceptance in the world, the more honour does he confer on the country to which, by birth, he belongs.

M. de Valbezen, a popular writer on England, whose name should be pleasantly familiar to the readers of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' and who has narrated with ability and intelligence certain chapters of the Indian Mutinies, was Sir James Outram's guest² at Lakhnau in March 1855. Retracing his career some years after the funeral in the

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*: May 1863. Article 'Westminster Abbey, March 25, 1863.'

² 'The first time I had the honour of sitting at his table,' writes M. de Valbezen, 'with a half-serious half-comic air he put me the question, "Well, would you have any objection to be poisoned?" "Undoubtedly I would, Sir James," I replied, rather taken aback. "Then mind what you are at here, for they have tried it already on me more than once." The water, in fact, was padlocked in a tin case. This visible precaution made me understand that the General's words were not random ones, and, in spite of the abundance and delicacy of the food, I will not venture to say that I gave full rein to my appetite.'

Abbey, and when monuments had arisen here and there to the memory of the soldier-statesman, he says :—

‘In one of the public gardens near those fine quays which have metamorphosed the aspect of the Thames, rises the bronze statue of the *preux chevalier* worthy to have inspired Macaulay when his pen traced these noble expressions :— “He was among those who, proud of an honourable poverty, after having made and dethroned kings, find their reward in the thought that their name is not only placed high on the list of warriors, but on a yet better list—in the golden book of those who have acted and suffered for the good of humanity.”’

Twenty years ago, M. de Montalembert, of the French Academy, described him, in one of the most eloquent of his writings, as ‘celui-là des généraux anglais qui avait opéré sous lord Dalhousie la réunion de l’Oude. . . . et qui, dans la dernière campagne, s’était attiré l’admiration universelle en consentant, comme notre Boufflers à Malplaquet et lord Hardinge dans l’Inde,¹ à rester comme volontaire sous les ordres de son subordonné, parce que ce subordonné était Havelock, et qu’il ne voulait pas lui dérober la gloire d’une victoire à moitié gagnée.’²

But eulogistic notices of Sir James Outram, called forth by his lamented death, and arising incidentally out of circumstances which have occurred since that period, are far too numerous to be adverted to one by one. We might find them scattered broadcast over the continent of Europe in the recognised organs of public opinion, and expressed by the native newspapers throughout the length and breadth of British India. Only we are warned that it is time to drop the curtain, and bring our labours to a close.

¹ In the London copy, ‘Afghanistan’—a manifest error.

² Débat sur l’Inde au Parlement Anglais; par M. le Comte de Montalembert. (London, Jeffs, 1858.)

The biographer has little to add to the above-recorded testimony of those who have been connected with James Outram by ties of intimate friendship, or association in professional work—whether in the field or at the desk. But he pleads that acquaintance with his subject which enables him to accept or reject the judgment of others upon it; and he has no hesitation in endorsing, as genuine and trustworthy, the sketches of character which form the staple of the present and concluding chapter of his book. In this belief, it will be no matter for surprise that he sees in the man whose career he has traced from childhood to the grave an example to the rising generation of the day—as also to all who have gone forth to take their part in the battle of life, or who may still be striving to maintain a conflict long since begun. There is no pretence of perfection in the standard exhibited; nor do we profess to have brought forward a model without a flaw. But in a character such as Outram's it may well prove a harder task to indicate the particular defects to be avoided, than to proclaim the virtues it behoves us to imitate. Wherefore, we must be excused for preferring the last to the first as a standing-point.

Who can say that any modifications in Nature's handiwork suggested by human Criticism might not have impaired those parts of the original fabric which even the more astute of human critics would have sought to preserve intact? In any case, the result would not have been recognised in the familiar figure so welcomed by the mass. The foibles as well as the virtues went to the composition of that 'James Outram' whom Anglo-Indians knew and admired for thirty years.

On the other hand, were we asked what particular feature in Outram's character is the more worthy of imitation, we should have little difficulty in giving a reply. All may not possess his sound judgment and discrimination, his tact and foresight, his nerve and physical power. Special gifts of

Providence, such as these—however subject to growth and development, and strengthened by practice—are not to be confounded with the acquisitions of Study and Perseverance. But all may imitate him in his honesty, his love of truth, his courage, his zeal, his sympathetic kindliness, his abnegation of self—qualities which, exercised in a good cause, are essentially Christian ; for they necessarily co-exist with abhorrence of deceit and falsehood, and of mean-spiritedness, indifference, pride, and selfishness.

His character and career cannot, perhaps, be summarised in more accurate and expressive terms than are supplied by the well-weighed sentences which were prepared by Colonel Yule to be engraved on the granite pedestal of Foley's Statue on the Calcutta Esplanade :—

HIS LIFE WAS GIVEN TO INDIA :

IN EARLY MANHOOD HE RECLAIMED WILD RACES BY WINNING THEIR HEARTS :
GHAZNI, KHALAT, THE INDIAN CAUCASUS, WITNESSED THE DARING DEEDS OF HIS PRIME :
PERSIA BROUGHT TO SUB FOR PEACE,—LUCKNOW RELIEVED, DEFENDED AND RECOVERED,—
WERE FIELDS OF HIS LATER GLORIES.

MANY WISE RULERS, MANY VALIANT CAPTAINS, HAD HIS COUNTRY SENT HITHER ;
BUT NEVER ANY LOVED AS THIS MAN WAS, BY THOSE WHOM THEY GOVERNED OR LED TO BATTLE
FAITHFUL SERVANT OF ENGLAND :

LARGE-MINDED AND KINDLY RULER OF HER SUBJECTS :
DOING NOUGHT THROUGH VAINGLORY, BUT 'EVER ESTEEMING OTHERS BETTER THAN HIMSELF ;'
VALIANT, INCORRUPT, SELF-DENYING, MAGNANIMOUS,
IN ALL THE TRUE KNIGHT !

IF AN OPPONENT ONCE STYLED HIM
THE BAYARD OF INDIA,
THY WHO SET UP THIS MEMORIAL
MAY WELL LACK WORDS
TO UTTER ALL THEIR LOVING ADMIRATION !

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM ANDERSON, page 27.

THE circumstances of the murder, in 1848, at Multani by the soldiers of Mulraj, of two British officers, Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant Anderson of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, will be found recorded in modern histories of India. Of the character of the latter officer some interesting particulars are given by those who were associated with him shortly before his death.

Mr. Cocks, Assistant Resident, Lahor, sent the following letter to Colonel Outram in the year of the sad occurrence :—

‘I wrote to you a few days ago about poor Anderson. You will not be surprised to receive a new letter from me. I wish I could make the task a pleasant one, but alas ! it is one of the saddest I have ever undertaken. The first attack upon our friends would have been of slight consequence, but the torch once lit, the fire of insubordination spread ; and on the 21st a regular attack was made on the Eedgah, where the wounded officers lay. Moolraj is at the bottom of the whole. The crowd collected and increased from hundreds to thousands. The fight went on, however, bravely until the Sikh force, which had accompanied them down to Mooltan, went over to the enemy. The end is easily imagined ; suffice it to say that both my friends behaved like noble and gallant British officers, endeavouring to save the lives of the few servants who remained, and then making a good defence of their own persons—their death was not lingering.

‘Agnew was a friend of many years’ standing. I mourn him as

a brother. Anderson was comparatively a new acquaintance, but his frank and intelligent manners, coupled with his kind heart and gentlemanlike feelings, had endeared him to all of us who were thrown in his society, and we all deeply sympathise in the loss his family has sustained.'

There has also been found an extract from a letter written by the deceased officer himself, on board the boat conveying him on the fatal expedition to Multan :—

'We do not know yet precisely what our duties are to be, but I fancy I shall be obliged to disband some 3,000 or 4,000 irregular troops of Moolraj, the late Ijāradār, and keep on some 2,000 or so for regular regiments, and also to superintend the discipline and equipment of two Sikh regiments and a battery. . . . My other duties will be to help Agnew as much as possible in his revenue and magisterial transactions, everything—to say I am a lucky fellow only is less than the truth. I could not in all India have had a better appointment given me than the present one. Agnew is a first-rate and a most distinguished man. The country we are appointed to has never been directly governed by the Sikhs, but by Ijāra.¹ It is very rich, and it is expected that an increase of six or eight lakhs will accrue to Government by the new system.

'We expect in the cold season to be obliged to use the strong arm against the Belooch and Afghan tribes on the west of Indus, and hence the military operations; but Agnew will not resort to arms without great necessity, and he managed so well in Huzarah that it is to be *hoped* we shall avoid fighting here. . . . I am indebted to John Lawrence for my present berth, and to Napier² having given me a good character just at the right time—the *vera causa* was Outram's letter to Mr. Clerk. Outram is more known here than in Bombay. There is no one in the whole Residency who does not thoroughly support him, from Currie to myself.

The following extract from a local paper of the period refers to Lieutenant Anderson's military career generally :—

¹ *Ijāra*; a farm contract. *Ijāradār*; the farmer of land or revenue; holder of a monopoly.

² Major Napier, Bengal Engineers, under whom Anderson was previously employed—now Lord Napier of Magdala.

‘ During a service of about ten years he had held appointments of trust in India and Scinde. In 1843 he was compelled by sickness to visit Europe, where he remained until the Punjaub war started him from Germany *en route* to India. Hearing at Malta of the cessation of hostilities, he turned his steps to Constantinople, and pursued his way, unattended, leisurely and inquiringly, through Persia to Bombay. No man of his standing was more generally known and appreciated, or stood higher in the estimation of the army. Many—and amongst them no less a man than Sir C. Napier—watched his path with interest, and foretold his future greatness. In Lieutenant Anderson, with the chivalrous gallantry of the soldier, were combined accomplishments and learning which would adorn the collegian. He was deeply versed in the literature of his own country, and possessed not only talent but genius. With power such as the ablest might envy, he was modest and unassuming—most loved where best known. His ambition was noble, and he entered on this his last course with the hope which such a mind would naturally entertain. He was the brother-in-law and friend of Colonel Outram. The Bombay Army has never numbered in its ranks one worthier of its pride than him whose murdered remains now moulder at Moultan.’

APPENDIX K.

INVASION OF INDIA FROM THE WESTWARD, page 80.

ON August 20, 1839, Outram had thus written from Kabul :—

‘ Unless to prevent an European enemy obtaining a temporary footing in Affghanistan, and breathing-time therein, I am satisfied that our armies need never enter this country, and that such a measure should be avoided if possible ; that it would suffice to maintain our ascendancy tranquilly on the Indus until invasion is threatened, when our detachments, pushed forward to the main passes, within reach of supplies and support, might defy any army in the world, especially after traversing such a country as Affghanistan ;—or were it feared that our enemy’s object was to establish himself in this country (Affghanistan) in the first instance, that, a small force advanced to Cabool, which (being received as friends) would always be practicable to, and within reach of, our troops on the Indus, would effectually frustrate his design. . . . What I mean to say is, that British power on the Indus must secure the preponderance of our influence here (at Cabool) above that of any European power—and that that alone would most probably prove a sufficient bar to the advance of any hostile army into Affghanistan ; but that it would then be in our power to establish troops at Cabool, if necessary, long before our enemies could approach, without a hope being left to them of maintaining themselves elsewhere in that country, or the possibility of debouching into the valley of the Indus by any other route.’

Referring to the above passage in February 1854, he says :—

‘ This was written while yet it was in our power—as I then trusted we were about to do—to withdraw from Affghanistan, leaving such favourable impression of our power and generosity as would have ensured our being hailed as friends whenever we might find it convenient to return. But though I then contemplated the

maintenance of very different relations with the Affghans to what actually now exist, the position of any European host approaching from the westward would be little bettered by their friendly reception in Affghanistan.

‘ However friendly that reception might be in the first instance, and however sincere the Affghan chiefs might be in their wish to continue on friendly terms with the Army of Infidels they had admitted into their country, it is scarcely possible that such amicable relations could be maintained long enough to afford the latter time to recover from the effects of the fatigue and privation it had undergone in coming so far; to replenish its exhausted stores, and to recruit its carriage cattle. For Affghanistan produces little beyond what is required for its own consumption; and the demands on such limited resources—to supply the wants of so great a host having no means of procuring foreign supply either of provisions or carriage cattle (as we did from India to a vast amount)—would inevitably soon create such a dearth in the land as must excite the irritation of the population against the cause of their distress. And no efforts of their chiefs could then restrain them from acting as hostilely towards those quondam friends, as heretofore they did against the British army. Warned by our example they might retrograde to the Persian frontier ere yet the severity of winter should increase their difficulties,—or they might occupy Candahar and maintain themselves during winter; but under such circumstances they must abandon all hope of advancing further, at any rate until vastly reinforced—and, were they to await reinforcements, ere *they* could arrive from such a distance, they would find themselves so involved in warfare with the surrounding tribes, on whom they would have to prey for the means of subsistence, that all the power that could be brought to their aid would be required to extricate them from their perilous position.

‘ But, assuming the incredible hypothesis that Russia and Persia united could bring into *friendly* Affghanistan such an imposing force, and so well provided with *every* requisite, as would render them independent of the resources of that country—an incredible assumption, I say, for how could distant Russia and impoverished Persia furnish and support, so far from their resources, such a vast army as would be required to operate on India, when *we*, with our ample resources so near at hand, could scarce support (ere yet our difficulties arose) the comparatively small army which we sent into

Affghanistan! Assuming this, and that they are fully prepared either at Candahar or Cabool, or at both, I shall now consider the reception that awaits them on their descent from the Affghan passes into the valley of the Indus.

‘I had formerly—under the supposition of our political supremacy in Affghanistan—contemplated our holding the Bolan pass and Khybur defiles against the invaders. But our altered position with the Affghans may render it inexpedient that we should involve ourselves in hostilities with the hill tribes to obtain and hold possession of them (though, as respects the Bolan pass, *that* I am sure could be peaceably acquired through the Khan of Kelat, notwithstanding the ill requital he met with on a former occasion). And it is unnecessary for us to dispute the passes, now that our possession of the Punjab and Sindé has secured to us the entire resources of those countries, with the means immediately at hand of concentrating such armies on the plains before them as will suffice to overcome any European and Asiatic force that could be brought against us from the westward.

‘Ere Russian or Persian troops could reach Candahar or Cabool we certainly should have authentic intelligence of their approach. It would then be time enough to enter on defensive preparations. It is scarcely possible that less than one season would be required by the enemy to recruit in Affghanistan, ere descending the passes—but allowing that a shorter halt would suffice, there still would be ample time to concentrate sufficient forces at Shikarpore and Peshawar to meet the enemy when he debouches from the Bolan or Khybur. And so far from agitating India by the appearance of troops hurrying from all quarters, and the country being swept for carriage cattle, as on former occasions, the quiet movement of a few corps to the frontier—as if for ordinary relief to reinforce the troops in the Punjab and Sindé—would swell the armies of Peshawar and Shikarpore to a strength equal to any emergency; while reserve forces might be leisurely assembled at Feerozpoor and Corachie should it be deemed advisable.

‘It would then rest with the generals to select their own battlefield. Of Peshawar I know nothing, but it appears obvious that it would be preferable to meet the enemy at Jamrood or somewhere near the pass, to awaiting him at Peshawar. The general commanding the Sindé Army would have the choice, either of awaiting within the Sindé frontier, to oppose the invader after his passage of

a fifty-mile desert, which he could only attempt to cross in detachments that would be cut off in detail—or, himself to pass the desert, and concentrate his army at Dadur (six miles from the mouth of the Bolan pass) to attack the enemy the moment he emerges into the plain—or, having crossed the desert, to await at Bhaug (half-way between the desert and Dadur, where water and forage are abundant) until the entire force of the enemy had descended into the plain, when he would move forward to the attack.

‘The latter is the course I myself should adopt, because it would enable me utterly to annihilate the foe, who would have no retreat but the pass; and we well know how flying and defeated men would be dealt with by the ruthless Kakur and other tribes of the pass, in their attempt to escape by that way. The *first* is objectionable, as the invaders might attempt to turn our position by moving down to Gundava, and thence seek to penetrate to Larkana, or he might obtain a passage through the Murrie hills, and thus menace our frontier from various points. The *second* plan is also objectionable, as it might deter the enemy from descending the main pass, and so induce him to pour his detachments down the smaller passes of Seebee and Gundava (which also would be sufficiently nearly commanded from the position at Bhaug), and thus necessitate detached operations on our part.

‘I believe there are only two other passes besides those above adverted to, by which disciplined troops could descend from Affghanistan into the valley of the Indus: those of Dera Ghazee Khan and Dera Ismael Khan, in the Sooleiman range—the former has never, so far as I know, been explored by any European; but the information I was enabled to obtain regarding it satisfied me that it is impracticable for troops accompanied by artillery. Precise information respecting the other pass—Dera Ismail Khan—is, I believe, in possession of Government; I having, when occupied in the Eastern Ghilzie country, deputed Lieut. Broadfoot, of the Bengal Engineers, to examine it, who accomplished the somewhat perilous undertaking very effectually. I have not his report at hand, but my impression is that he pronounced the pass impracticable for artillery. However this may be, the debouches of both these passes are now effectually guarded by British detachments; and were either menaced by the invaders, there would be no difficulty in reinforcing the latter from Peshawar, and the former from Sukkur, in ample time to repel the enemy.’

APPENDIX L.

COMPLIMENTARY ORDERS AND NOTICES, page 185.

THE successful termination of the Persian campaign gave occasion to many congratulatory and laudatory articles in the press as well as the official recognition of Government. We subjoin three or four extracts of varied character :—

‘On May 7, 1857, in the House of Lords, Lord Portsmouth spoke as follows: “I must be allowed to express my opinion that Her Majesty’s Government deserve great credit for breaking through the whole course of routine, by appointing Sir James Outram, an Indian officer, to the chief command of the expedition. That was putting the right man in the right place, and they deserve every credit for it.” Some two months later, Mr. Vernon Smith stated, in the House of Commons: “Long will the rapidity with which the Persian Expedition was fitted out be sung in story on these shores. . . . When Persia is again disposed to offer us an insult she will pause before she does so. . . . She will call to mind the victories which General Outram has achieved, and the bravery which upon the part of the youngest lieutenants of the service has been so conspicuously displayed.”’

In notifying the ratifications of the Treaty with Persia, the Governor-General in Council thus expressed the sense entertained of the services of the Chief who had commanded the expeditionary force :—

‘The brilliant reputation of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., has acquired additional lustre from the promptitude, the vigorous energy, and ability with which he has exercised the command entrusted to him; and the Governor-General in Council desires to record his high sense of the important services rendered by this distinguished officer.’

We read in the *Times* of May 18, 1857 :—

‘Skilful arrangements combined with intrepid conduct soon placed Mohumra in possession of the British; but this achievement, though extremely creditable in itself, does not represent the most striking feature of the expedition. The distinctive character of General Outram’s campaign is to be sought rather in the extraordinary boldness and promptitude by which the victory was improved, and the accumulation of results which a single success was thus made to produce. No sooner had the Persian army retired from its entrenchments at Mohumra, and commenced its retreat into the interior, than Sir James despatched a force on its track, although it was perfectly clear that the original strength of the enemy had been very considerable, and that his loss had been comparatively trifling; while, to crown the difficulties of the crisis, the British cavalry had not been able to complete its landing, and a single troop of horse only was available for the contemplated service. . . . It is not every general who would venture on making forty-five troopers do duty for the cavalry of an army, or who would send 300 men in pursuit of 13,000. Numbers, it is true, count in reality for little under such conditions, and the event has shown as much, but it requires a commander of no ordinary merit to act unshrinkingly on the conviction.’

Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, Commissioner to Herat, thus addressed the Government of India on June 7, 1858 :—

‘I take this opportunity of reporting, that during my march through Persia I have observed in many instances the good effects of the late occupations by British troops. The whole people of Fars (Southern Persia) are loud in their praises of the justice and humanity evinced on every occasion by all officers with whom they came in contact; the treating wounded soldiers and presenting them with a gratuity on their recovery was contrasted with the conduct of their own people, who instantly plundered them of the clothes and money they had received from their enemies; the prompt payment and liberal price given for every necessary article has kept up the impression of the unlimited resources of the Government, and the wealth of individuals.

‘The discontent which prevails in Persia at the present time is quite incredible, and the pent-up feelings of an oppressed people would burst forth into revolution if they only knew where to find a leader.’

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. second is the fact that the
3. third is the fact that the
4. fourth is the fact that the
5. fifth is the fact that the
6. sixth is the fact that the
7. seventh is the fact that the
8. eighth is the fact that the
9. ninth is the fact that the
10. tenth is the fact that the

11. The first of these is the fact that the
12. second is the fact that the
13. third is the fact that the
14. fourth is the fact that the
15. fifth is the fact that the
16. sixth is the fact that the
17. seventh is the fact that the
18. eighth is the fact that the
19. ninth is the fact that the
20. tenth is the fact that the
21. eleventh is the fact that the
22. twelfth is the fact that the
23. thirteenth is the fact that the
24. fourteenth is the fact that the
25. fifteenth is the fact that the
26. sixteenth is the fact that the
27. seventeenth is the fact that the
28. eighteenth is the fact that the
29. nineteenth is the fact that the
30. twentieth is the fact that the

“Camp Kalogan, Sept. 9, 1857.

“My dear Johnson,—I am right glad to find you are so near, and probably your services may be required sooner than you expected. I hear that 400 Oude people, with 4 guns, under a rampant Oude Zemindar, have crossed the Ganges, who purpose to plunder the country after the troops have passed on to Cawnpoor: where these fellows are located is said to be six coss from this camp, and five from our next camp. It is a great object to *chuppao* (attack) them to-morrow night, and if you could arrive at this ground (the 51st milestone from Allahabad) to-morrow, early enough to rest your horses well before night, we may arrange a simultaneous movement, so as to fall upon the fellows at daybreak on the 11th. To-morrow my camp will be at Thureearun (at the 64th milepost), from whence I will send a letter to await your arrival here, giving you minute instructions, so as to ensure your men and mine reaching the spot as nearly as possible at the same time.

“Do not ask anything about these Oude plunderers, lest they may be put on their guard by hearing you are enquiring about them.

“Sincerely yours,
(Signed) “J. OUTRAM.”

‘On receipt of this I made arrangements, and halted the next morning, near the 51st milestone, and awaited further instructions, which Captain Dawson brought me in the following note:—

“Camp Kurranea, 1½ P.M.

“My dear Johnson,—Captain Dawson, who takes this note to you, will explain the object of your *dour* (expedition), and will accompany you to Hutwa Kass, the place of rendezvous, with Major Vincent Eyre, who has with him two guns, and 150 Europeans. We calculate that Hutwa Kass is about 10 miles from your camp. I send you my own watch set to our time.

“Sincerely yours,
(Signed) “J. OUTRAM.”

‘I carried out the instructions contained in the above, and in company with Captain Dawson we commenced our march again to join Brigadier Vincent Eyre, and owing to the General’s fore-

sight in sending me his watch with their time both detachments reached Hutgaon within a few minutes of each other. I reported myself to Brigadier Vincent Eyre, and we halted till about 1 A.M., and then recommenced our advance in order to attack the enemy at daylight, but it was ascertained at that time that the enemy were making for their boats. I was sent in pursuit with Lieut. Charles Havelock, and after a gallop of a couple of miles I found the enemy had gained the boats and were working them across the river.

‘I dismounted the whole of my men instant, left the horses under shelter, to take care of themselves (they were too tired to go very far away), and with a continued carbine fire we kept the rebels from working their boats across the river—the wind at the same time drifting them to my side, where they stuck fast against the shore. The enemy returned our fire, and had they jumped ashore and charged through our detachment, would most of them have escaped, and done us considerable damage, owing to their superiority of numbers; but I kept them at bay till the infantry (a detachment of the 5th Fusiliers) came up, and the two guns, all under Brigadier Vincent Eyre—and at the first volley the whole of the enemy jumped from the boats into the river, and few (if any) escaped. Had it not been for this body of the 12th Irregulars, or even had these arrived ten minutes later, the rebels would have worked the boats into the middle of the river, and out of shot, and the whole would have escaped. The news of this complete success rapidly spread among the neighbouring rebel districts in Oude, and they never attempted a similar expedition; and in reporting this affair to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir James Outram stated that a general insurrection would have followed had the enemy not been destroyed, and they would have interrupted the communication in his rear between Cawnpoor and Allahabad. This body of men of the 12th Irregular Cavalry behaved faithfully and well from the time I took command of them, and on the 23rd of September, at the action of the Alumbagh, took a forward and active part, and charged and silenced a gun that had long been dealing destruction against our advancing forces. The behaviour of this body of men under my command gave such satisfaction to the generals in command, that after their entry into Lucknow General Outram ordered every native officer and trooper 100 rupees reward, and each received one or two steps in promotion.’

APPENDIX N.

DRAFT FAREWELL ORDER; INTENDED FOR ISSUE, HAD IT BEEN PRACTICABLE TO WITHDRAW A PORTION OF THE FORCE FROM LAKHNÁO IN OCTOBER, 1857. (Page 244.)

THE interests of the Lucknow Garrison requiring that Major-General Outram should leave them for a brief period, the Major-General tenders to Brigadier Inglis and his gallant troops an affectionate adieu, and his most heartfelt wishes for their prosperity.

When he first advanced to Lucknow, the Major-General hoped to be able to send the ladies, children, and invalids of the Garrison to Cawnpore, under an adequate escort; and with the aid of the remainder of the force to restore tranquillity and confidence to the well-disposed inhabitants of the city, and to secure to them uninterrupted communication with the surrounding districts.

But in these hopes he was disappointed. The violence, brutality, and lawless rapacity of the insurgents had too effectually cut off supplies and baggage cattle to render it possible to effect the desired removal for the present. Some of the native noblemen from whom assistance might reasonably have been expected were reported to have been murdered; others had been imprisoned on account of their friendship towards the British Government; and others, who had long remained faithful, had, under coercion of superior force, been driven into acts of hostility which precluded them from tendering, or the Major-General from soliciting, their assistance, and the state of Brigadier Inglis's commissariat at the end of a three months' siege did not justify the Major-General in quartering a larger force on the original Garrison during the uncertain period requisite to effect the thorough clearing of this densely populated city, full of intricate streets, and fortified houses and palaces.

The preservation of the Garrison, therefore, demanded that the

Major-General should—after strengthening the defences, destroying those works and positions of the enemy from which it had principally suffered, and reinforcing it to the extent deemed necessary by its Commandant—return to Cawnpore to expedite to the utmost of his power the organisation of a force adequate to effect the thorough emancipation of its brave defenders and the well-disposed citizens of Lucknow. The force requisite for the accomplishment of these objects is being concentrated in Cawnpore—and in a very short period the Major-General hopes once more to hail in person those brave friends to whom he now bids adieu—to convey to them an expression of the admiration with which their past conduct has been regarded by the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and to congratulate them on the acquisition of fresh laurels.

The Major-General has reinforced the Garrison to the full extent deemed necessary by Brigadier Inglis ; and with every confidence in the ability of that gallant officer and his glorious Garrison to maintain themselves in their present position, the Major-General bids them each, and all, a hearty God's-speed.

It would have afforded the Major-General very sincere pleasure to have been at liberty to have communicated to the assembled troops in person the message which he leaves to Brigadier Inglis to communicate to them. But the movement requisite to effect a junction with the Alum Bagh detachment is one of great delicacy and peril ; and its success depends in a great measure on the Major-General's intentions not being perceived until the moment of their execution.

APPENDIX O.

ADDRESS TO H.M.'S 78TH HIGHLANDERS, page 308.

Extract from the 'History of the Service of the 78th Highlanders.'

ON January 26 the 2nd Brigade was paraded to witness the presentation of six good-conduct medals to men of the 78th Highlanders, on which occasion Sir James Outram addressed the regiment in a most complimentary manner; the substance of his speech he conveyed in a letter to Brigadier Hamilton, of which the following is a copy :—

'Camp, Alum Bagh, Jan. 26, 1858.

'My dear Brigadier,—I should be very sorry that the 78th should attribute anything I said to-day to the excitement of the moment, and therefore somewhat more perhaps than what I would deliberately record. What I did say is what *I really feel*, and what I am sure must be the sentiment of every Englishman who knows what the 78th has done during the past year; and I had fully weighed what I should say, before I went to parade.

'While fresh in my mind, I will here record what I did say, in case you may think my deliberately and conscientiously expressed testimony to the merits of your noble regiment of any value.

'The following is the spirit, and I think almost literally what I said :—

"78th Highlanders,—I gladly seize the opportunity of the brigade being assembled to witness the presentation of good conduct medals to some of your deserving comrades, to say a few words to you; to tell you of my high estimation of the very admirable conduct of the whole regiment during the year, completed to-morrow, that I have been associated with you in the field, commencing in Persia.

"Your exemplary conduct, 78th, in every respect, throughout

the past eventful year, I can truly say, and *I do most emphatically declare*, has never been surpassed by any troops of any nation in any age, whether for indomitable valour in the field, or steady discipline in the camp, under an amount of fighting, hardship, and privation such as British troops have seldom, if ever, heretofore been exposed to.

“The cheerfulness with which you have gone through all this has excited my admiration as much as the undaunted pluck with which you always close with your enemy whenever you can get at him, no matter what his odds against you are, or what the advantage of his position ; and my feelings are but those of your countrymen all over the world, who are now watching your career with intense interest.

“I trust it will not be long before the campaign will be brought to a glorious conclusion, by the utter destruction of the hosts of rebels in our front, on the capture of this doomed city, their last refuge ; and I am sure that you, 78th, who will have borne the brunt of the war so gloriously from first to last, when you return to old England, will be hailed and rewarded by your grateful and admiring countrymen, as the band of heroes, as which you so well deserve to be regarded.

“Good and glorious as your conduct has been, 78th, your goodness and your glory has been nobly emulated by all the troops of this division, which have shared your toils, your dangers, and your triumphs. To them also my acknowledgments are due, and they will be gratefully tendered when opportunity offers.

“Especially to the gallant 90th, now at your side, as they have ever stood by you, fought with you, and suffered with you, since we crossed the Ganges together. The great and brilliant services rendered by the 90th in the Crimean war, even they have been eclipsed by what it has already done in India.

“Nor must we forget, 78th, your gallant comrades of the 64th, though no longer with us, who served with you in Persia, served with you here, and have suffered as you have done. No ; I shall not forget the 64th in a hurry, nor shall I forget you.

‘Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ‘J. OUTRAM.

‘To Brigadier Hamilton, Commanding 2nd Brigade,
‘Oude Field Force.’

APPENDIX P.

FINAL CAPTURE OF LAKHNAO, page 332.

Recommendations of Officers contained in Sir James Outram's Memorandum.

. . . 28. I HAVE to express my particular acknowledgments to Brigadier-General Walpole, who afforded me on every occasion the most cordial support, and very ably carried out the operations which fell to his share ; also to Brigadier-General Sir James Hope Grant, commanding the Cavalry, whose vigilance and activity in the execution of his onerous duties were unceasing.

29. Brigadier Wood, C.B., commanding the Field Batteries, and Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, commanding the Siege Train, carried on their respective duties to my entire satisfaction. The services of Lieutenant-Colonel Turner, B.A., specially attached to the Force, were of the highest value to me, and I beg to tender him my cordial acknowledgment for the same.

30. It is a source of much gratification to me to submit the names of those Officers engaged in the operations on the north bank of the Goomtee, who have been honourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole and their respective Commanders, viz. Brigadiers Horsford, C.B., and Douglas, commanding 5th and 6th Brigades ; Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, commanding 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade ; Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, C.B., commanding 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade ; Captain Gibbon, R.A., who commanded the 9-Pounder Field Battery.

31. The Brigadier-General also particularly notices the conduct of Captain Barwell, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Carey, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General ; also that of Captain Warner, A.D.C., and Lieutenant Eccles, his Orderly Officer.

32. The Brigadiers wish to record the services of their respec-

tive Staffs:—Captain Macpherson, 78th Highlanders (wounded), Brigade-Major of the 5th Brigade; Brevet-Major Mollan, Brigade-Major 6th Brigade; and Brevet-Major Ross, and Lieutenant Walker, their Orderly Officers.

33. Brigadier Wood, C.B., favourably mentions the conduct and professional knowledge of Lieutenant-Colonel Turner, Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar, Major Yates, Brevet-Major Pennycuik, Captain Gibbon, Captain Mackinnon, Captain Remington, and Captain Johnston; he also notices the assistance he received from Captain Frith, his Brigade-Major, and Captain Scott, in charge of the Commissariat arrangement.

34. Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, commanding Siege Train, eulogises Captains Thring, Goodenough, and Walker, R.A.; Captain Pearson and Lieutenant Simeon, B.A.; and Lieutenants Cuthbert and FitzMaurice, R.A.; and Major Turner and Captain Young, Staff Officers.

35. Major Nicholson, R.E., highly applauds the energy displayed by the officers of that Department, viz. Lieutenants Malcolm, Wynne, Swetenham, and Keith, R.E.; and Lieutenants Watson, Tennant, Hovenden, and Nuthall, B.E.

36. Lieutenant-Colonel Wells records the services of Major Bruce, and Captains Provost, Dove, and Norton of the 23rd Fusiliers.

37. I have next to notice the services of the Officers engaged on the south, or the city side of the river.

38. Brigadier Napier; Captain Hutchinson, Brigade-Major; and Lieutenant Greathed, of the Engineers, afforded me, on different occasions, the greatest assistance by their professional advice, and I tender them my cordial thanks; they were ably seconded by Lieutenant Tulloch, and Mr. May, attached to that department.

39. Major Brasyer led his Seikhs with his usual gallantry, and, I regret to add, was severely wounded.

40. My thanks are also due to Captain Bennett, commanding Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.

41. Captain Coles, in command of two Squadrons of the 9th Lancers, did good service in pursuing the enemy when they abandoned their position in the Moosa Bagh. On this occasion the local knowledge of Captain Carey, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the 3rd Division, was of much use to me. Captain Dodgson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Gordon,

Deputy Judge-Advocate-General ; and Ensign Hewitt, 41st Regiment N.I., Orderly Officer, were present at the occupation of the Moosa Bagh, having joined me from Alum Bagh, where they had been of much service in their respective appointments.

42. I have lastly to bring to His Excellency's consideration the services of those Officers who had the good fortune to be engaged in all the operations on both sides of the river.

43. Brigadier Douglas has carried out all his instructions with signal ability and success, and deserves my cordial acknowledgments ; as does Major Nicholson, R.E., who evinced the most indefatigable industry in the construction of the heavy Batteries which it fell to his Department to execute, and in choosing sites for which he was constantly exposed to very heavy fire.

44. Lieutenant-Colonel Wells commanded the 23rd Fusiliers, until incapacitated by illness (on the last day's operation) when the command was assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt, who also commanded the left Column of attack on the 11th instant, across the river ; Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor in command of the 79th Highlanders ; Major Green, Punjaub Rifles ; and Captain Cunliffe, who commanded the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, until the arrival of Captain Hume, who also deserves my thanks. Captain Middleton, Commanding the Field Battery, which was actively engaged throughout.

45. Brigadier Douglas mentions with approbation Captain Stevenson, Acting Brigade-Major ; and Lieutenants Walker, 79th, and Utterton, 23rd Fusiliers, his A.D.C. and Orderly Officer.

46. I have the highest pleasure in acknowledging how much I am indebted to the Officers of my Personal Staff.

47. His Excellency is already aware of the opinion I have formed of the merits and services of Colonel Berkeley, H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, my Military Secretary ; and the assistance I have derived from him throughout these operations is an additional obligation I am under to this most deserving Officer.

48. Captain Chamier, A.D.C., and Lieutenant Hargood, A.D.C. (horse killed), have worked with the unremitting zeal and activity which have characterised their conduct in all the operations in which I have been engaged since I left Allahabad in September last.

49. Captain Weston, 65th Regiment N.I., Orderly Officer, has signalised himself by the spirit and gallantry which he has displayed on several occasions, and has been of much use to me.

50. Captains Orr and Bunbury, of the Intelligence Department, have performed their duties with great ability, and Mr. Denison, C.S., who recently brought up despatches from the Governor-General, accompanied the Forces, and was most active and zealous in rendering aid to the poor sufferers who were blown up in the explosion on the 17th instant.

51. Mr. Kavanagh, Assistant-Commissioner, from his knowledge of the localities, rendered good service on several occasions.

J. OUTRAM, *Major-General,*
Comdg. the 1st Divn. of the Army.

N.B.—The casualties during these operations are included in the general casualty returns of the army occupied in the Siege, which accompanied the Commander-in-Chief's despatch; the total loss sustained in these operations under General Outram was as follows :—

Casualties during the operations North of the Goomtee, from March 6 to March 14 (not including those of the Cavalry division under General Grant, of which no separate returns were received).

Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Officers, 5,	Officers, 9,	} . . 139
Rank and file, 21,	Rank and file, 104,	

*Casualties during the operations in the city,
from March 15 to March 19.*

Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Officers, 3,	Officers, 4,	} . . 99
Rank and file, 42,	Rank and file, 50,	
Total, killed and wounded		238

INDEX.

ABD

ABDU-R-RAHMAN Khan, i. 191
 Addiscombe College, i. 13
 Aden, ii. 87; how it became a British possession, 88 *note*
 Afghan war, the, i. 249
 Afghanistan, the first advance into, i. 401; Outram's review of the outbreak in, 408
 Agnew, Mr. Vans, murder of, ii. 25, 422
 Ahwaz, the expedition to, ii. 177
 Ajunda, dispersion of Bhil marauders at, i. 76
 Akaba, Gulf of, the proposed canal to, ii. 91
 Alam-bagh, action at the, ii. 226; Outram's defence of the, 279
 Ali Murad, i. 302
 Allahabad, Outram's advice to gar- rison, ii. 122
 Allen, Captain, ii. 91
 Anderson, Major Henry, i. 7 *note*
 — Dr. James, i. 6; his survey of the Scottish coast, 7
 — Margaret (afterwards Mrs. Benjamin Outram). *See* Outram
 — Margaret (afterwards Lady Outram), i. 126. *See* Outram
 — Lieutenant William, murder of, ii. 27, 421
 Anstey, Mr. Chisholm, ii. 70
 Antapûr, i. 46
 Argyll, Duke of, ii. 377
 Arthur, Sir George, i. 331, 347
 Auckland, Lord, recommends Outram for service in the Afghan campaign, i. 153; appoints Outram to a political agency in Lower Sind, 211; correspondence

BIT

of, with Outram, 223, 228, 244; his views concerning Kalât, 275, 276; his testimony to Outram, 291
BABÁ Farkî, ii. 20, 42
 Bâbâ Nafrâ, ii. 47
 Balaji Ahirakar, i. 364
 Badger, Rev. Dr., on Outram's appointment to Aden, ii. 89; on Outram's behaviour in the attack on Muhamra, 176; his account of a visit paid to Egypt by Outram, 376
 Bakhar, fortress of, i. 225
 Ballard, General, ii. 150
 Bamian, i. 181; Outram's letter from, 184
 Barazjân, ii. 151
 Barnewell, Colonel, i. 365 *note*, ii. 11
 Baroda, the Gâikawar of, i. 89, ii. 83; the Khatpat system in, 12
 Battye, Lieutenant, ii. 51
 Bax, Mr., i. 72, 125; letter to Outram from, 212
 Bell, Mr. Ross, i. 226, 227, 404; death of, 228
 Bharwattia, the system of, i. 142, 143
 Bhils, the, of Khandeah, i. 52; their lawlessness, 56; effects of Outram's work among them, 78
 ' Birkenhead ' troop-ship, i. 7 *note*
 Birmah, campaign of 1824 in, anecdote relating to the, i. 42
 Bisset, Dr., his recollections of Outram, i. 14
 Bithûr, i. 25

BOL

- Bolan pass, the, i. 170
 Bonwári, operations in the neighbourhood of, i. 74
 Boyd, Mr. W. S., his estimate of the Bhíl population of Khandesh, i. 52
 Brasyer, Colonel, ii. 122
 Brigga, Colonel, i. 52, 57
 Brough, Lieutenant-Colonel, his testimony to Outram's gallantry, i. 368
 Brown, Captain, i. 323
 Burnes, Sir Alexander, i. 171, 225, 226
 Burney, Colonel, ii. 199
 Bushahr, the victory at, ii. 138
 Butler, Dr., his eulogy of Outram, ii. 413
 Butterley ironworks, established by Mr. Benjamin Outram, i. 5

- CANNING, Lord, assumes the Governor-Generalship, ii. 112; his intercourse with Outram, 121; his confiscation proclamation, 334
 Carnac, Sir James, i. 224
 Carnegie, Captain, ii. 292
 Carr, Bishop, presents a bible and prayer-book to Outram, i. 335
 Chamier, Captain, his anecdote of Outram, ii. 313
 Clarendon, Lord, Outram's interview with, ii. 74
 Clerk, Sir George, ii. 11, 23, 247; his testimony to Outram's character, 410
 Clyde, Lord, letter to Outram from, ii. 204; confirms Outram's transfer of command to Havelock, 220 *note*; advances upon Lakhnau, 267; his report on the evacuation of Lucknow, 271; his general order from the Martinière, 274; his final advance upon Lakhnau, 323
 Codnor Park, i. 5
 Coghlan, General, ii. 94
 Colville, Sir James, ii. 79
 Colville, Sir Charles, i. 24 *note*, 40; relates an anecdote of Outram, 43
 Conway, Captain, i. 320
 Couper, Sir George, ii. 286
 Creed, Lieutenant Henry, i. 200

PAT

- DADAR, i. 255
 Dalhousie, Lord, i. 12, ii. 77, 83, 85; his farewell letter to Outram, i. 122; retires from the Governor-Generalship, ii. 112; recommends Outram to the favour of the Crown, 121
 Daji Pandit, i. 364
 Dang country, expedition into the, i. 87
 Davidson, Colonel, his description of the Bhíls, i. 55
 Deacon, Colonel, i. 45
 Deas, Lady, i. 4 *note*
 Delamotte, General, i. 362, 366; on Outram's bravery at the storm of Panáls, 369
 Dennie, Colonel, his account of a journey from Sakhar to Kwatta, i. 229 *note*
 Deschamps, Major, i. 49
 Dharangón, massacre of Bhíls at, i. 63
 Doet Muhammad, Outram's pursuit of, i. 181
 Duff, Mr. Grant, his description of the Máhi Kánta, i. 117
 Durand, Captain, i. 270
 Durjan Singh, i. 93

- EASTWICK, Captain, i. 159
 Edwardes, Lieutenant Herbert, ii. 25
 Ellenborough, Lord, the withdrawal orders of, i. 260; his note to Outram, 271
 Elliott, Mr., i. 45
 Elphinstone, Mr., letter to Mrs. Outram from, i. 97; on Outram's promotions, 342
 England, General, defeat of, at Haikalsái, i. 267
 Esnia, a Bhíl rebel, capture of, i. 93
 Esson, Rev. Mr., i. 19
 Ethersey, Commodore, ii. 169
 Eyre, Sir Vincent, his 'Souvenir' of Outram, ii. 396; dispersion of invaders at Hatgaon by, 213, 430

- FALKLAND, Lord, ii. 23
 Fane, Sir Henry, i. 163
 Farquharson, General, i. 207
 — Mrs., i. 92
 Fathpúr, ii. 215

FAT

- Fath Singh, Rajah of Rupál, i. 119, 129
 Fawcett, Mr., his eulogy of Outram, i. 297
 Fayrer, Sir Joseph, on Outram's life in the Lakhnau Residency, ii. 310, 404
 Felix, Major Orlando, i. 121, 360
 Fergusson, J. H., his recollections and impressions of Outram, ii. 410
 Fitzgerald, Lord, his testimony to Outram, i. 291
 — Lieutenant, i. 330
 Franklin, Benjamin, his connection with the Outram family, i. 4
 Fraser, General, ii. 92
 Frere, Sir Bartle, his sketch of Outram's career, ii. 390
 — Mr. William, ii. 54

GHÁZIU-D-DÍN Haidar, ii. 95

- Ghasni, capture of, i. 177
 Ghilzais, the, i. 176, 187
 Giberne, Mr., on recruiting among the Bhill, i. 78
 Giberne, Major, his story of a tiger hunt with Outram, 106; his sketch of Outram's character, ii. 412
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E., on Napier's conquest of Sind, i. 349
 Goolygaun, Outram's first hunting exploit at, i. 24
 Gorakhpur, the abandonment of, ii. 208
 Gordon, Major, i. 348
 — Lieutenant, ii. 292
 Govinda, a Bhill rebel, i. 73
 Graham, Mr., i. 47
 — Captain Douglas, on Khandesh and the Bhill, i. 51, 57; his opinion of the Dangchis, 87; his stories of Outram's *shikar* exploits, 107
 Grant, Colonel C. W., on Outram's work among the Bhill, ii. 412
 — Sir James Hope, ii. 322
 — Mr. J. P., ii. 198
 — Sir Robert, i. 121, 125
 — Major-General Sir W. K., sent against the Joasmi pirates, i. 26
 Gravatt, Lieutenant, i. 202
 Graydon, Captain, Outram's sympathetic remarks upon the death of, ii. 317
 Gujrat, the victory at, ii. 33

JET

- H**AIDARABAD, the attack upon the Residency at, i. 317
 Haidar Khel, i. 181
 Haikalzál, disaster to our troops at, i. 257
 Hajji Guk pass, i. 183
 Hajji Khan, the Nasiru-d-danlah, duplicity of, i. 181; conviction of, 187
 Haldane, Colonel, his anecdote of Outram, ii. 168
 Halliburton, Major, ii. 252
 Hammersley, Lieutenant, i. 258
 Hardinge, Sir Henry, i. 360
 Hart, Lieutenant, i. 97
 Hastings, Marquis of, Governor-General, i. 26
 Hatgaon, Kyre's dispersion of invaders at, ii. 213, 430
 Hatnia, a Bhill rebel, capture of, i. 94
 Havelock, General, his friendship with Outram, ii. 144; victory of, at Mangalwár, 225; his report of the action at the Alam-bágh, 226; his death, 278
 Hayes, Captain Fletcher, ii. 104, 123; his notes of Outram's audience with the King of Oudh, 112
 Henderson, Admiral, i. 7, *note*, 20
 — Colonel, i. 20
 Herring, Colonel, murder of, i. 188; capture of his assassins, 189
 Hiswah, ii. 91
 Hunt, Captain, ii. 167
 Hunter, Captain, ii. 91

IMAMGARH, i. 310

- India, the amalgamation in, i. 423, ii. 343, 353; invasion of, from the westward, 80, 425
 Inglis, Brigadier, ii. 241
 Irvine, Mr. Forbes, i. 15

JACKSON, Miss, captivity of, ii. 294

- Jacob, General, i. 292; ii. 143, 169; his summary of Outram's character, 408
 Jambú, a marauding Bhill, capture of, i. 69
 Jerak, village of, i. 160
 Jessop, William, his connection with the Butterley ironworks, i. 5
 Jetha Bai, the story of, ii. 47
 Jetha Nand, i. 222

JOA

- Joasmi pirates, *the*, i. 26
 Johnson, Brevet-Major W. J., his notes on Eyre's dispersion of invaders at Hatgaon, ii. 430
 Johnston, Dr., his testimony to Outram's capacity for command, i. 41

KABUL, i. 236

- Kala Abdullah, i. 257
 Kalá-i-Margha, destruction of, i. 192
 Kalát, siege of, i. 196; failure of British policy in, 227
 Kandahar, occupation of, i. 171
 Kanjak banditti, capture of, i. 190
 Karáchi, i. 155
 Karm Singh, Thákur of Gorwára, i. 142
 Káthiawár, i. 35
 Kavanagh, Mr., ii. 268
 Kaye, Sir John, his account of Outram's funeral, ii. 388; his sketch of Outram's character, 414
 Keane, Sir John, i. 124, 153, 164
 Kelly, Captain, i. 62
 Kerisera, remarkable huntingadventure at, i. 37
 Khairpur, i. 225, 226
 Khandesh, the province of, i. 51, 341
 Khatpat, meaning of, ii. 12; Outram's crusade against, 14; Government circular relative to, 50
 Khsht, ii. 146
 Khundoo, a Bhíl shikari, death of, i. 104
 Khush-áb, battle of, ii. 154
 Kittúr, the expedition against, i. 43
 Kolapur, the insurrection in, i. 361
 Kotri, i. 163
 Kuh-i-Baba, *the*, i. 184
 Kúli insurrection, *the*, i. 135
 Kuria Muria islands, ii. 92
 Kwatta, i. 235, 274

LAHAJ, Sultan of, ii. 90

- Lakhi pass, *the*, i. 163
 Lakhnau, the defence of, ii. 228; relief of, 232; the final advance upon, 323
 Lang, Captain, i. 155
 Lawrence, Sir Henry, his testimony to Outram and Sir George Clerk, i. 250; meets Outram in Egypt, ii. 29; takes charge of Oudh, 163 *note*; death of, 192

MON

- Lawrence, Lady, ii. 42
 — Sir John, ii. 121
 Lieder, Rev. Mr., ii. 30
 Low, Colonel, ii. 100; on British relations with Oudh, 109
 Lugard, Colonel, ii. 155
 Lushington, Mr., on the restoration of Shal to the Khan of Kalát, i. 282 *note*

MACDONALD, Major, letter to Outram from, i. 124

- Macdonald, Mr., ii. 196 *note*
 MacLagan, Dr., his compliment to Mrs. Outram, ii. 369
 Mac Naghten, Mr., i. 165, 189
 — Sir William, murder of, i. 241
 Maddock, Mr., letter from, i. 298
 Madu Singh, Rajah of Ramnagar, ii. 210 *note*
 Mahdeo Singh, a Bhíl rebel, i. 73
 Máhi Kánta, *the*, i. 116; disturbed state of, 119; pacification of, 398
 Malair, capture of, i. 46
 Malan, Major, ii. 357 *note*
 Malcolm, Sir John, on the Bhíla, i. 52; his testimony to Francis Outram, 83; his reply to James Outram, 85; on Outram's influence over the Bhíla, ii. 392 *note*
 Malet, Mr. Arthur, ii. 55 *note*
 Mangalwar, ii. 225
 Mangles, Mr., on Outram's administration of Baroda, ii. 69
 — Mr. Ross, ii. 196
 Manohar, the fort of, i. 374
 Mansantosh, the fort of, i. 374
 Man Singh, Rajah of Shahganj, ii. 210 *note*
 Maratha country, Southern, disturbances in *the*, i. 361
 Maruf, the fort of, i. 192
 Matari, town of, i. 326
 Melville, Lord, i. 9
 Metcalfe, Sir Charles, i. 98
 Miáni, battle of, i. 327
 Mihrab Khan, i. 196; death of, 202
 Mihtar Musa Khan, surrender of, i. 191
 Mir Rustam, i. 302
 Mir Shahdad, i. 330
 Money, Mr., on the evacuation of Lucknow, i. 276; reminiscence of Outram related by, ii. 240
 Montalembert, M. de, his notice of Outram, ii. 416

MON

- Montgomery, Sir Robert, succeeds Outram as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, ii. 334
 Morris, Ensign, i. 97
 Muhammad Sadik, i. 277
 Muhammad Sharif, i. 277; capture of, 283
 Muhamra, the attack on, ii. 170
 Munbee, Lieutenant, i. 376
 Murray, Sir Charles A., ii. 140

NAPIER, Sir Charles, appointed to the command in Sind, i. 288; appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army, ii. 34; styles Outram the 'Bayard of India,' 292; his complimentary letters to Outram, 291, 307; his views on the government of Sind, 300; reply to Outram, 314; despatch reporting the victory of Miáni, 325

— Sir William, his opposition to Outram on the Sind question, i. 350, ii. 4

— Lord, of Magdala, ii. 198, 240, 363

Narsu Pant, ii. 23, 43, 54, 84

Nasir Khan of Khalát, i. 116, 226, 231; concludes a treaty of friendship with the Indian Government, 233

Nasir Khan of Khairpur, i. 329

Nasru-d-din Haidar, ii. 95

Nasru-d-daulah, ii. 96

Neill, Colonel, death of, ii. 233

Nimar, i. 356

Nott, General, i. 246, 277

Nur Muhammad, i. 218; Outram's account of his death, *ib.*

OGILVIE, Dr., i. 24, ii. 61 *note*, 89, 288

Olpherts, Major W., ii. 286; letter from Outram to, 365

Ord, Colonel Richard, his stories of *shikar*, i. 35, 105

Orr, Mrs., captivity of, ii. 294

Oudh, British relations with, ii. 94; religious warfare in, 105; annexation of, 109

Outram, Anna (afterwards Mrs. Sligo), i. 8, 10. *See* Sligo

— Benjamin, his engineering talents, i. 4; establishes the Butter-

OUT

ley ironworks, 5; his premature death, 6; his children, 8

Outram, Mrs. Benjamin, birth and education of, i. 7; her marriage and widowhood, 8; receives a pension from Government, 9; her interview with Lord Melville, *ib.*; her residence at Aberdeen, 10; her character and habits, *ib.*; her anecdote concerning her son James's letter-writing, 33; Dr. MacLagan's compliment to, ii. 369; her death, 383

— Sir Benjamin Fonseca, i. 4 *note*

— Dr. Edmund, i. 4 *note*, 20

— Eliza, i. 8

— Francis, i. 8; his career at Ad-discombe, 13; his services at the siege of Kittur, 45; commits suicide, 82; his character, *ib.*

— James, birth and ancestry of, i. 3; admitted to Udney School, 14; anecdotes of his boyhood, 15; removed to the Rev. Mr. Esson's school, Aberdeen, 19; enters Marischal College, 20; accepts an Indian cadetship, 21; military predisposition, 22; *physique*, 24, 49; arrives at Bombay, 25; joins his regiment as lieutenant, 27; letters describing the duties of an adjutant, 27, 29; sick leave to Bombay, 30; injured by an accidental explosion, 31; anecdote concerning his letter-writing, 33; his *shikar* adventures with Lieutenant Ord, 35; quartered at Rajkot, 37; his 'first spears,' 39; complimented at a review, 40; sent in command of a wing of his regiment to Malegaon, 41; second sick leave, 41; alleged challenge to the Commander-in-Chief, 42; assists at the siege of Kittur, 45; captures the fortress of Malair, and quells a rebellion, 46; appointed to command a Bhil corps, 49; his method of allaying their suspicion, 72; his ideas of danger and duty, 79; his 'Memorandum on the Invasion of India from the Westward,' ii. 80, 425; letter regarding his deceased brother Francis, i. 84; expedition against the Dangchis, 87; receives the thanks of Government, 91; quells insubordination in the

OUT

Yáwal and Sonda districts, 91; his captain's commission, 93; marches against the Barwani Bhils, 93; how he won the affection of his Bhil corps, 98; his *shikar* adventures in Khandesh, 100; appointed to inquire into the affairs of Gujrat, 116, 120; proceeds into the Máhi Kánta, 121; his report, 122; offered command of the expeditionary force, 123; marries Miss Margaret Anderson, 126; his measures against the refractory Gujrat chiefs, 128; co-operates with the Gáikawár's troops in the attack on Ransipur, 135; exculpates himself from the censure of the Court of Directors, 145, 149; volunteers for service in the Afghan war, 153; his suggestions regarding the campaign, 154; goes on a special mission to Cutch, 155; and to the court of Haidarabad, 159; his proposed plan of attack approved, 163; interviews Shah Shuja, 165; quells a mutiny among the camp-followers, 167; disabled by an accident, 169; his opinions on the policy of the expedition, 171; his exploit before Ghazni, 178; omission of his name from the despatches, and its effect on his future promotion, *ib.*, 209, 403; pursuit of Dost Muhammad, 181; letter from Bamian, 184; goes on an expedition against the Ghilzais, 187; captures Kanjak banditti, 190; and a marauding Barakzai tribe, 192; his thoughts on Shah Shuja's restoration, 193; takes part in the siege of Kalát, 196; his ride from Kalát to Sonmiani, 203; promoted to major, 209; and invested with an order by Shah Shuja, 210; appointed to a political agency in Lower Sind, 211; letter to the Envoy, 212; his negotiations for the cession of Shikárpur, 216; present at the death of Nur Muhammad, 218; appointed political agent in Sind and Baluchistan, 223; his journey to Kwatta, 229; his scheme for the government of Sind and Baluch-

OUT

istan, 230, 407; concludes a treaty with the Khan of Kalát, 233; letters on the troubles at Kabul, 236; advocates bold measures, 246; letter to Colonel Palmer, 247; presses his views on the authorities, 249; *résumé* of his work during the crisis, 251; letters illustrating his views on Afghan politics, 252; letters to Captain Durand and Mr. Willoughby on military movements, 255; defends Lieutenant Hammersley, 258; letter to Mr. Maddock on available military resources, 261; proposes pecuniary in lieu of military help to the Khan of Kalát, 274; and the transfer of the Shál and Sibi districts to that State, 275; assigns the former district, 278; replies to the censure of the Governor-General, 281; illness, 284; letters to Mr. Bax, *ib.*; to his mother and to Colonel Sutherland, 286; returns to Sakhar, 288; his meeting with Sir Charles Napier, 289; remanded to his regiment, 290; toasted by Sir Charles Napier as the 'Bayard of India,' 294; farewell banquet, 296; receives a fresh appointment in Sind, 298; arrives at Haidarabad, 300; extracts from his journal relating to the proceedings of the Amirs, 300; his relations with Sir Charles Napier, 309; letter to his mother, 310; letter to Sir Charles concerning his salary, 311; dissents from Sir Charles's Sind policy, 313; conferences with the Amirs relative to the treaties, 318; despatch describing the attack on the Residency, 319; burns the enemy's *shikáryáhs* at Míáni, 327; his sympathy for the Amirs, 331; returns to Bombay, *ib.*; letters to Sir George Arthur and Sir Charles Napier, 332; presented with a sword and piece of plate, 334; returns to England, 336; made Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and C.B., 341; his memorandum on his proceedings in Sind, 347, 358; re-

OUT

turns to India, 354; appointed to Nimar, 356; his life at Mandlairsir, 359; resigns his appointment, 360; put on special duty in the Southern Maratha campaign, 361; assists at the taking of Samangarh, 362; refuses a political agency in the Southern Maratha country, 365; defends his conduct in Kolapur and Sawant-Wari, 366; his bravery at Panála, 368; aids in suppressing an insurrection in Sawant-Wari, 371; his negotiations with the Portuguese authorities at Goa, 379; appointed Resident at Satára, 381; his 'Commentary' in reply to Napier's 'Conquest of Scinde,' *ib.* 4; diverts his share of the Sind prize money to charitable objects, 5; his unsuccessful application for service in the Panjab war, 7; his duties at Satára, 8; appointed Resident at Baroda, 11; his crusade against the system of *khatpat*, 12; measures for reinstating Bába Farkí, 24; visits Egypt on sick leave, 27; his 'Memoir on Egypt,' 36; returns to Bombay, 41; receives the thanks of Government for his 'Memoir,' 41; resumes Bába Farkí's case, 46; his prosecution of Baba Nafra, 48; his life at the Residency, 50; his 'Khatpat Report,' 55; and consequent resignation, 60; the attempts to poison him, 61; returns a second time to England, 62; sympathy with his position, 66; opinion of the Court of Directors on his case, 67; solicits their intervention with the Indian Government, 72; loses his chance of employment in the Crimean war, 76, 81; returns to India, *ib.*; interviews Lord Dalhousie, 78; appointed honorary aide-de-camp and reinstated at Baroda, 79; visits the Gaikawár, 83; takes charge of the Residency at Aden, 86; appointed Chief Commissioner in Oudh, 92; his progress to Lakhnau, 102; grapples with *khatpat* in his new post, 104; issues his official report, 106; his views on the an-

OUT

nexation, 112; his thoughts on the Crimean war, 118; knighted, 120; returns home on sick leave, 121; appointed to the command of the Persian expedition, 130; his plans of campaign, 135; his opinion of Persian diplomacy, 141; letter to Lord Canning, 144; arrives at Bushahr, 147; his arrangements for the Karun expedition, *ib.*; marches upon the Persian encampment at Barazján, 151; and defeats the enemy at Khush-áb, 153; his views on his transfer to Rajputana, 163; attacks Muhamra, 168; despatches an expedition to Ahwaz, 177; his review of the position at the end of the war, 180; receives the Grand Cross of the Bath, 185; his remarks on the mutinous spirit of the Bengal army, 187; returns to Bombay, 190; at Calcutta, 192; appointed to command two divisions of the Bengal army, *ib.*; concern for the safety of his wife and son, 195; proceeds up the river to Dánapur, 199; arrives at Banáras, 206; resigns to Havelock the glory of relieving Lakhnau, 207, 219; his views on the treatment of the native army, 216; his meeting with Havelock at Kánhpur, 218; his suggestions for crossing the Ganges, 222; issues a proclamation to the people of Oudh, 224; his exploit as a volunteer at Mangalwár, 225; his bravery at the Alam-bágh, 226; wounded in the advance upon Lakhnau, 234; his general order, *ib.*; besieged in Lakhnau, 247; his official report, 253; letters of Captain Bruce, 256; his detailed plan of relief, 259; meeting with Sir Colin Campbell, 270; evacuates the Residency, 273; his death-bed interview with Havelock, 278; occupies the Alam-bágh, 279; conducts a sortie against the rebels, 283; organises a police force, 292; his views on the caste question, *ib.*; drives back 30,000 mutineers, with a loss of six wounded, 295; how he lost the Victoria Cross, 301; brilliantly

OUT

- repels fresh attacks, 303; reminiscences of his life in the Residency, 309; his opinions on the best mode of attacking the city, 320, 334; his operations on the other side of the Gúmí, 323; appointed to a seat in the Governor-General's Council, 334; modifies Lord Canning's proclamation of confiscation, 335; and closes his administration of Oudh, 336; takes his seat at the Council-board, 338; letter to Captain Eastwick on the future administration of Oudh, 339; his Minutes and Memoranda (1) on army reorganisation, 341; (2) on the amnesty, 346; (3) on honours for native Indians, 348; (4) on rewards to civil and military officers for distinguished conduct during the mutinies, 349; approves the abolition of the Council, 352; his minute on the amalgamation of the armies, 353; on the treatment of the soldier, 356; on army training and discipline, 360; his interest in the Chinese expedition, 362; his concern for the British soldier, 366; voted the thanks of the House of Commons, 367; baronetcy conferred upon him, 368; voted the freedom of the City of London, and a sword, *ib.* 374; public meeting at Calcutta in his honour, 369; returns finally to England, 372; public meeting at London, 375; statues erected to him, *ib.*; receives from Oxford the Degree of D.C.L., 376; presentation to him of the London testimonial, 377; the Shield presented by his Bombay admirers, 379; the last two years of his life, 380; his death, 383; his funeral in Westminster Abbey, 386; testimonies to his character, 390
- Outram, Lady, i. 151, 224, ii. 30, 65, 117, 319, 374; her narrow escape from the mutineers, 189
- Joseph, of Alfreton, i. 4
- Joseph, of Glasgow, i. 4 *note*, 92
- Margaret (afterwards Mrs. Farquharson), i. 8, 90
- Rev. Thomas, i. 4

SAD

- Outram, Dr. William, i. 3
- Ovans, Captain, i. 57; his description of a Bhil recruit, 78; his work among the Bhils, 147; capture of, 364, 367, 370; letter to Outram, 371
- Owen, Dr., i. 220

PANJAB war, the, ii. 7

- Parr, General T. Chase, i. 105
- Partáb Singh, i. 135
- Partridge, Lieutenant, i. 97
- Peel, Captain, naval brigade of, ii. 203
- Pepys, his notice of Archdeacon Outram, i. 3
- Persia, the war with, ii. 131
- Pius IX. presents a gold medal to Outram, i. 335 *note*
- Playfair, Lieutenant, ii. 90
- Pontardent, Captain, i. 274
- Poole, Lieutenant-Colonel, despatch from, reporting Outram's bravery, i. 368
- Mr. Stuart, his recollections of Outram, ii. 37; his anecdote of Outram's appointment to the Persian expedition, 130
- Pottinger, Colonel, i. 204, 211, 214, 217

RAJIA, Nayak of Dassowa, i. 94

- Rajkot, hog-hunting at, i. 37
- Ram Chandar Balaji, Mamlutdar of Yáwal, i. 92
- Ramsay, Colonel Balcarras, ii. 7
- Ransipur, the attack on, i. 135
- Rawlinson, Sir Henry, on Afghan affairs, i. 247 *note*; on the strength of an expeditionary force moving from Sind to Herat, ii. 135 *note*
- Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de, ii. 75
- Reeves, Mr., i. 363
- Renny, Ensign, i. 97
- Rigby, Captain, i. 57
- Ripon, Lord, i. 343
- Robertson, Colonel Archibald, i. 57
- Captain, his reminiscences of Outram, ii. 157, 315
- Russell, Dr., his reminiscences of Outram, ii. 336
- Rustam Sahá, Rajah of Dairah, ii. 210 *note*

SA'DAT Khan, ii. 94

- Sadra, i. 152

SAK

- Sakhar, i. 255
 Samangarh, capture of, i. 362
 Sarabhai, the case of, ii. 14
 Sarda district, outrages in, i. 91
 Sawant-Wari, i. 371
 Scott, Captain Stanley, his stories of Outram's *shikar* exploits, i. 100
 Seepria, a Bhil rebel, i. 76
 Sehwan, i. 164
 Seton, Colonel Alexander, i. 7 *note*
 Sett Nao Mall, i. 207
 Shahji, Rajah, ii. 8
 Shah Shuja, the Sindi tribute to, i. 158; his conference with Outram, 165; his State entry into Kandahar, 171; receives Outram in open *darbār*, 188
 Shāl district, i. 274; assigned to the Khan of Kalāt, 276
 Shatu-l-Arab, the, ii. 169, 170
 Shikarpur, Outram's journey to, i. 165; cession of, 214
 Shiraz, ii. 165
 Shustar, ii. 146
 Shutargardan pass, i. 184
 Sibi district, i. 276
 Silput Rajah, surrender of, i. 89
 Sinclair, Miss Catherine, her reminiscences of Mrs. Benjamin Outram, i. 13
 Sind, the Amirs of, i. 156, 412; British relations with, 157; rising in, 319; conquest of, 329
 — Lower, Outram's official work in, i. 216; the Talpur Amirs of, 217
 — Upper, affairs of, i. 225
 Sindwa Ghat, the, i. 88 *note*
 Sleeman, Sir W. J., on the condition of Oudh, ii. 97
 Sligo, George, marries Miss Anna Outram, i. 10
 — Mrs., her anecdotes of her brother's boyhood, i. 17
 Smiles, Mr., on the origin of the word 'tram,' i. 5
 Sonmiāni, Outram's ride to, i. 203
 Sonthals, rebellion of the, ii. 119
 Stacy, Colonel, i. 231, 238; his account of the meeting of Outram and Nasir Khan, 232
 Stalker, General, i. 24 *note*, ii. 136, 155, 161; death of, 169

ZUR

- Stanley, Dean, i. 294 *note*; suggests the epitaph for Outram, ii. 389
 Stevenson, Mr., i. 45
 Surāj Mall, i. 119, 131
 Sutherland, Colonel, i. 292
 Sykes, Lieutenant-Colonel, on Outram's administrative work, ii. 68, 124

THACKERAY, Mr., i. 44

- Thatta, camp at, i. 159, 162
 'Tram,' a supposed abbreviation of 'Outram,' i. 5
 Troward, Colonel, his report on the action at Ransipur, i. 136
 Tucker, Mr. St. George, i. 359
 Turner, Colonel, i. 40

VALBEZEN, M. de, his eulogy of Outram, ii. 415

WAJID Ali Shah, ii. 96

- Wallace, Colonel, i. 361; commends Outram's services at Samangarh, 362
 Washington, General, letters of, to Dr. James Anderson, i. 385
 Whitmore, Ensign, i. 47
 Williams, Mr., on Outram's operations against the Kulis, i. 140 *note*
 Willoughby, Mr., defends Outram's proceedings in the case of Bābā Farkī, ii. 46
 Willsbire, General, i. 169, 198, 203
 Wilson, Brigadier, ii. 246
 Wyllie, General Sir W., i. 24 *note*

YĀWAL district, outrages in, i. 91

- Young, Commodore, his report on the taking of Muhamra, ii. 174
 Yule, Mr., ii. 199

ZĀI Kara, town of, i. 46

- Zurmal valley, the, i. 190

THE END.

Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-street Square, and Parliament-street.