

**LETTERS FROM INDIA FROM CAMPBELL CLARK AND EDGAR CLARK
TO THEIR BROTHER GORDON WYATT CLARK**

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PART 1

CAMPBELL CLARK – LETTERS FROM INDIA TO HIS ELDER BROTHER GORDON WYATT CLARK

Born 16 June 1827, 4th (living) son of Matthew Clark & Catherine Squibb of London. Died 28 March 1896.

Cadet 15 August 1844, Ensign 9 Dec 1844, Lieutenant 15 Aug 1847, Captain 28 Nov 1859, Major 28 Nov 1868, Lt Col 1 Oct 1877, Colonel on retirement 19 Feb 1879

Went out as cadet on Bengal establishment 6 March 1845.¹

Obtained commission in 2nd European Regt, Bengal Fusiliers, later 104th Royal Munsters. 1839 re-formed as from a nucleus of 1st Bengal (European) Regiment; 1850 renamed the 2nd Bengal (European) Fusiliers 1859 renamed the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers 1862 renamed the 104th Regiment of Foot (Bengal Fusiliers) [1881 merged with the 101st Regiment of Foot and became 2nd Battalion The Royal Munster Fusiliers; 1922 disbanded on the formation of the Irish Free State] Every Bengal native infantry regiment either mutinied or was disbanded during or after the Indian Mutiny

Stations of 2nd Bengal (European) Light Infantry:

- **1845** Shikapore
- **1845** Sukkur Sindh Province.
- **1845** Karachi Sindh
- **1846** Rohree
- **1845** Bahawalpore
- **1845** Subatha
- **1848-9** 2nd Sikh War Punjab campaign; 2nd Brigade: Brigadier Godby 3 battns inc. 2nd European Light Infantry; battles of Chillianwallah, Gujerat;
- **1848** Ferozepore
- **1849** Lahore
- **1850** Agra
- **1853** 2nd Burma War
- **1856** India
- **1857** Indian Mutiny
- **1859** Delhi
- **1860** Roorkee

Clark had Home leave 1856-7

¹ Clark Campbell IOR/L/MIL/9/202/537-42 1952025

Letter 1

To Gordon Wyatt Clark Esq^r 6/ Sussex Place Regents Park London England [home of Matthew Clark] Per Overland Mail Via Bombay . No envelope, folded, seal missing, stamped SUCKV? & more; and 3 AN? MR 21 1846

December 31st 1845 Sukkur [aged 18½]

My dear Gordon [Gordon is 23 & has recently returned to England from Bengal]

This must be but a short epistle as I am writing in haste for the Post – I have received your last letter enclosing Agnes's² & have as you anticipated joined my Corps as you will learn from Emma's³ letter. I think I have most certainly got among as gentlemanly a set of fellows as I could find any-where with but one fault and that is that I think they are inclined to keep up the honour of the Corps rather too extravagantly that is to say they do not care how high the mess bills are nor how much they are in debt as long as their creditors do not bother them nor dun them for payment, all of which is very well for those that afford the thing as some can who have money at command but for myself as you know it wont do and though I join the Mess yet I am out of debt and intend to be so but it is hard work I can assure you for as you know certain things must be subscribed for and certain things kept up for such a Corps which it would be difficult to name but which one falls into just as one falls into companionship. I do not mind these things as long as I can keep within my pay but I do I assure you entertain a dread of getting at all into debt for I could no more bear to look that man in the face who is my Creditor than to think it honourable of one man to defraud another of his due. However so long as my pay is sufficient alls well but if I am obliged to get into debt it shall be with some bank and not with those detestable Parsees and if ever it does come to pass, although I shall use every effort to prevent it you shall know of it. What hangs upon my mind is that I have got to buy a Tent & a horse for marching and where on earth I am to raise the money I know not. I was obliged to shoot my horse on the March from Kurrachee [Karachi] to Katree [?] and in consequence to buy a Bazaar tat for 25 Rupees which I am sure will some day break my neck as he stumbles at every third pace and during he march over rough ground in the nights it is not exactly comfortable. By the bye he has got the soubriquet of Handsome Bob from his extreme ugliness. I only hope we shall not be disappointed in going to the Punjaub for if we are it will be shameful. Don't trouble yourself about my getting married I have one instance of a Captain Naylor⁴ of Our's who has eight uneducated children growing up around him now - Entre nous he drowns unpleasant thoughts in company with Bacchus and as they must be ever present so Bacchus is never very far absent. Don't let this slip out any-where as he is in his heart as good a soul as ever lived and was more so 20 years ago so I should not like any-one to hear any-thing about the matter. However tis a fact and wife & children are alike all pitied by the Corps. Oh! For a brush with the

² Agnes Matilda Clark (1826-97), 3rd of 4 living daughters, 14 months older than Campbell.

³ Emma Ann Clark (1819-1908), 2nd daughter, 3 years older than Gordon.

⁴ Christopher Henry Naylor was the most junior (tenth) captain when the 2nd European Regt was reformed in 1839 (*Asiatic Journal* 1840). He was born 1804, married Maria Gowan 1830 in Delhi & died a major in 1854.

Seiks [Sikhs] Gordon Our boys are chaps of mettle principally Irish none the worse for that but unfortunately very few in number Sir Hugh Gough⁵ led some Regiments up to the mouths of guns with the fuse just ready to explode them, and an officer who has written to our Major says "God bless Sir Henry Hardinge he has saved our honour & ourselves" for he himself when the blunder could not be mended although Sir Hugh Guffy ordered a retreat led the troops on in person and saved them. The 3rd Dragoons are almost annihilated⁶. But I must conclude with love to [old *crossed out*] Dear Dame and all brothers and sisters⁷. I have not told you half I intended but I am afraid of being too late for Post. & so remain your most affectionate Brother

Campbell Clark

Next Post letters to Mother & Father

Letter 2

May 22nd 1846 Subathar Addressed Gordon W Clark Esq^{re} 6 Sussex Place &c Overland Mail via Calcutta no envelope, folded and sealed (seal missing) Stamped "Calcutta GPO ???PLETTER 31 May 1846" aet 18 (nearly 19)

Dear Gordon

I am always delighted when I see your handwriting as I now it contains some spirited lines. I often think what a selfish animal I am for I have often wished that you had remained out here, and indeed I think from the tenor of your letters that it will be some few months even years before you will have made up your mind which you think was the best for you leaving India or not although there is not doubt will [*sic, recte* which] will be the best eventually, not but there are advantages on both sides⁸. You cannot imagine the rage and disappointment of our Officers and men when we found ourselves balked of all opportunity to distinguish ourselves. Certainly our Corps was not raised for fighting but merely to see what amount of bodily fatigue and exertion could be borne by European troops. I have just received a letter from my dear Mother which pleased me very much and made me long to be home and see all she tells me of. I am delighted to hear that Agnes is so happy and comfortable and hope after her ecstasy of happiness is somewhat moderated to hear from her again⁹. When is my

⁵ Sir Hugh Gough (1779-1869), a veteran of the Peninsular War, was c-in-c India 1843-9. He commanded in person during the First Sikh War of 1845 (aged 66); the governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge (1785-1856, another Peninsular veteran), serving as his 2ic.

⁶ 3rd King's Own Light Dragoons lost 152 men and 60 horses.

⁷ Campbell had five living brothers and four living sisters in London, not counting the eldest brother, George William, who was making a mess of his life in Australia, and only intermittently in touch with his father.

⁸ Gordon had come home in 1845 to help in his father's business. He told his son Harry long after that he hated coming back to "the drudgery of a city life" after "the delights of 'John Company's' service". He once told Harry that "during the first year he was sorely tempted to throw it up, enlist and return to India as a private soldier."

⁹ The ecstasy was not of long duration. Agnes had married Charles Senior in February 1846; her husband died after 2½ years, leaving her with a son who soon died and a daughter. She remarried after 9 years but her second husband died after less than 4 years.

good old bachelor Herbert going to join himself in wedlock I should be glad to hear of it although now you two are together I am afraid it will not take place as soon, as when I left him he was in want of a Chum and had accordingly become romantic and sentimental and thinking that by some curious coincidence he might some day become a husband¹⁰. I hope Matt¹¹ will get over his measles and Mary-Anne become fascinating and pretty. She is never in want of a friend for conversation although it may be sometimes likened to an India Fiddle which makes a good deal of buzzing without allowing one to distinguish what tune it plays.¹² You will see by my letter to Matthew that I have arrived here &c. By the bye do you still smother our respected Parent in the cruel way you used to when I was at home with you. I suppose my Father has given up his idea of paying a visit to India as he used to talk about.¹³ So I hear you are to go to Brighton if so I hope you all find the bathes as beneficial to you all as they appear to have been – By the bye do you ever remember meeting a man of the name of Eccles at Dinapore he is in our Corps and told me one day he met you there occasionally. My Father's kindness in remitting me the 50£ was as you may suppose most heartfully felt by me. Now by the way I must tell you how we get on with the Glorious First¹⁴ who are here with us. Our general opinion is that they are rather slow and pompous which does not do with us rough and ready workmen, however we manage to dine and tiff with them and they with us. I hear that you were very intimate with the 62nd Queen's¹⁵. What do you think of their conduct? Don't however go by the opinion of the Duke [of Wellington, the British Army C-in-C] or any of these grandees but by the facts stated in the papers, not that I wish to disparage the 62nd, for I believe an Englishman will always do his duty in such cases, whatever it be, but I would wish to see justice done to Lilly who is a good officer.

I dare say you will all think I have forgotten to write lately but I assure you it was from want of opportunity and not inclination. I hope we may remain here as I may perhaps be able to meet Edgar at Calcutta although I fear not as it will be an expensive pleasure. I must now say Adieu for a while as I have to send in my Report as Orderly Officer for yesterday so believe me to be ever

your most affectionate Brother

Campbell Clark

¹⁰ Herbert Francis Clark (1821-1849) never did marry, as he was killed driving in the City with Gordon, who was unhurt.

¹¹ Matthew Edward Clark (1834-1913), the youngest brother but one.

¹² Mary Anne Clark (1831-1896), the youngest living sister, never married.

¹³ This would presumably have been to increase sales of wines and spirits in India.

¹⁴ First Bengal European Regiment

¹⁵ Not the 62nd Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, but the 62nd Regiment of Foot, who fought in the First Sikh War; I don't know why Queen's, aspersions were cast on it after the battle of Ferozeshah as the division commander reported that the regiment was "panic-struck" during the fighting and that was the cause of its losses. This was contradicted by the commanding general, Gough. In the end, Gough's version was supported by Parliament and the Duke of Wellington

Letter 3

Andakullee?¹⁶ September 6th 1849 Via Bombay per Overland Mail - written on good quality black-edged paper aet 22

My dear Gordon

I got your letter dated 16th June and one from my Father 25th June one day after I had sent off a letter to my Mother. Gillanders¹⁷ had previously informed me that he had at my disposal Rs 545-7¹⁸ - for which I am indeed grateful to my dear Father. I was so annoyed at not getting the two letters alluded to above in time to answer the by last Mail, more particularly as you told me I never send you a line and I am afraid I have been somewhat remiss lately but will endeavour to make up for it in future by writing more frequently- When I read your own and my dear Father's letter which came together I could not help thinking that I must be one of the most favoured persons that ever lived, to have such a good Father and Mother and such kind Brothers & Sisters as I have got, and please God I will some day gladden my heart by a sight of you all. I have often thought it would be more trying to me than 50 Goojerats if it were only to catch a sight of old Mr Hervey again at his desk in Great Tower Street¹⁹, and I think you will have to put a straight jacket on me before I have been with you long. But I am writing rather rapidly considering I have only been out about four years so I will say nothing more about it, excepting to desire you to remember me to Mr Hervey whom I hope is quite well- Now I will give you some news – More steps for me – Our Senior Captain is to be bought out so that the 6 Months Battn the news of which has just arrived will tend to insure our getting the step – One of our Captains imputed cowardice to one of the Majors now commanding the Corps. This he did in a private letter to the Adj^t General of the Army – A Court of Inquiry took the result as yet being that the Captain is under arrest awaiting trial by Court Martial “for falsely and recklessly imputing Cowardice to Major – his commanding officer during the actions of Chillian and Goojrat.” The result of trial on such a charge is not very doubtful. I am sorry to say that that charge was not made through any good motive such as [*missing*] Corps, but on the contrary through nothing but m[alice?] and mean pique so the Captain in question has not a grain of sympathy shewn towards him – He cares not a pin for the disgrace he was bringing upon so fine a Corps as was ever embodied but acted for self he has got his reward and richly does he deserve it. You don't know how glad I am to hear from you all that my Regt is admired at Home. I could not have felt prouder of my Corps than I did before it ever fired a shot for I knew it would do its duty when called upon and in my own heart I was as proud as any peacock of belonging to

¹⁶ Somewhere near Lahore?

¹⁷ F.M. Gillanders, a cousin of John Gladstone's wife (and so cousin of WE Gladstone) first went to India in 1818. With David Ogilvie, nephew of John Gladstone, he had established a firm of merchants, Gillanders, Ogilvy, & Co, in Calcutta in 1824. By 1837 when Gillanders retired the firm was Gillanders Arbuthnot. It still exists.

¹⁸ About £70.

¹⁹ Matthew Clark's office was at 72 Great Tower Street, in the City, until 1882.

such a Corps, but I am glad to hear that John Company's only European Regt that was engaged has attracted attention for it deserved to do so, as there was not a Corps in the whole force who worked harder, marched better, or fought with more cool and at the same time eager bravery than the Hon^{ble} Co^s 2nd Eurⁿ Regt and proud may be our good Company of us – Now Gordon what do you say to that? There is not a word of braggadoccio in it though – Thank my dear Father for his kind letter and his generosity to me – I am so glad you have sent me out a ring of poor Herbert's ²⁰I shall indeed esteem it greatly, just like my kind thoughtfull Mother to think of me – give her a kiss for me Gordon and say she must bear up against her severe loss and I shall live to see her again, blessed be that day when it come.-I am reading a little of the Bagha- behar every day you know that entertaining book I dare say. I think it very likely that I shall have another step besides the ones I mentioned to you but it is a disagreeable business so I will not say anything more about it just now – except that if it takes place that I shall have to pay pretty nearly all my Batta²¹ for it, I do not mind that though. Now good bye for the present and I will soon send you another letter – By the bye tell my dear Father I am taking his advice of not saying any-thing about his having made interest with Sir Cha^s Napier²² for me. I want to know – if you would like the Contents of my journal during the Campaign as if so I will copy it on thin paper and send it to you. Good bye once more Gordon I hope Matthew ²³ will soon be able to assist you in what I am sure must be hard work for you just now that is the business.

With kind love to all at Home believe me ever your most affectionate Brother Campbell Clark

Letter 4

Andakulee November 5th [1849] Via Bombay per Overland Mail - written on good quality black-edged paper aet 22

My dear Gordon

I forget whether I mentioned to you in my last letter or rather I should say to my Mother that our destination this Relief was Agra I am very glad to go there as we shall have every-thing comparatively cheap and as it is no longer a large station for Troops we shall be able to live quietly and shall I hope remain there for three years.²⁴ Edgar's Regt goes to azeerabad²⁵ one of the new Punjaub Stations – I am sorry for this as he will have to build a House in all probability. At all events he must buy if he does not build, but the present site of the Cantonments is I believe to be changed to a place about 40 miles off in which case he must of course build. We have been looking out for a long time for

²⁰ Herbert Francis Clark had been driving in the City with Gordon, had a collision with a dray, was thrown out and died 20 April 1849. Gordon, from his greater experience of driving when in India, had been sitting in a less dangerous way, and was not thrown out.

²¹ A rather complex special allowance of pay in the EIC army.

²² Napier had been sent out as commander-in-chief to replace Gough.

²³ Matthew Edward Clark (1834-1913) did join the firm and became a partner in 1858. He was a thorn in the side of his nephew Harry, Gordon's son, who eventually had to persuade him to retire.

²⁴ They did.

²⁵ Wazirabad, a cantonment until 1855 when the garrison was moved to Sialkot as being less unhealthy

Batta and it has come at last in the shape of six Months Donation Batta, most a propos for me as I have my share of two steps to pay and I must buy a new Tent for the next March &c – Indeed to tell you the truth I reckoned all along upon getting 12 months Batta so that now this 6 months Batta has come and that my Father sent me 50£ from Home it very nearly makes up what I thought I should have got from Government – I am afraid I omitted to mention that the ring you sent to Gillanders & Co of Calcutta to be forwarded to me reached quite safely. I am very glad you sent it to me as it is the only thing I have which belonged to Herbert except my writing desk which was if I remember rightly once his. Lahore being now one of those stations where a large body of Troops is collected there is as you may suppose a great deal of duty, insomuch so that I am hardly ever free from duty of some kind such as District Regimental Courts Martial, Courts of Inquiry Committees, Regimental duties &c &c. I am of course speaking generally as I do not mean to say that I never have a day to myself, and although the duty is heavy yet I would just as soon do it as long as I am in good health. The trial mentioned to you as coming on in our Regt has taken place but the result is not yet known although the party tried appears to be very certain that he has saved his commission – But these are all regimental secrets so I hope you will keep them as such- I can[not?] understand what is to be done with the jewels we have here as prize booty if the Queen will not have them, unless they are sold for the benefit of the Army, to whom however it would I should think be much more pleasing if her Majesty would take the Koh-i-noor and any other stones of great value there may be and keep them as crown Jewels²⁶- I must bring this epistle to a conclusion as I am in the midst of Mess Bills &c – Why don't you marry good Brother of mine and not live a Batchelor all your life. You will be getting too old if you don't make haste²⁷. Tell Emma too that she must marry²⁸, although you would both of you be a great loss to my Father & Mother so perhaps you had better not do so. I shall see Edgar on his way up from Banda and shall let you know how he looks and if the climate has agreed with him or not- Give my love to my dear Father and Mother, Agnes, Emma, and all at Home and wish them all a merry Christmas & a happy New Year I shall not forget to drink all your healths on the 25th of next month and that too in a Bottle of the best Claret I can get – Once more and ? and believe me true ? as ever [last words are crossed and written very fast and carelessly]

Your most affectionate Brother Campbell Clark

²⁶ The Koh-i-Nor diamond was indeed presented to Queen Victoria by the young son of Rangit Singh in 1850 and is currently in the Queen Consort's crown. Other of the jewels in the plunder from the Punjab did fund army charities.

²⁷ Gordon W Clark married in June 1852 Anna Maria Welch (1823-91). He was 29.

²⁸ Emma Ann Clark did not marry until 1870, after the death of Matthew Clark, when she was 51. Her husband Robert Bagshaw had been MP for Harwich.

Letter 5

Cawnpore 4th January 1858 [aet 30]

My dear Gordon

Only imagine my delight at receiving a letter from Mother dated 14th and afterwards 16th Octr. but meaning Novr. because I see the Post Mark outside is 17th Novr., and your letter of the 24th Nov^r – Only imagine my having written two letters Home and sent them both via Southampton, however I am in hopes that this will be in time as they give up to 5 P.M. as the latest date at the Post Office – So poor Aunt Martha²⁹ is dead not that the intelligence in the last surprised me as she had been so often ill – I got a letter from Katey³⁰ dated 7th Nov^r by the last Mail wherein she informed me of her condition – Now I will tell you about myself – I am rapidly recovering from my wound and am enabled to sit up in a chair – I hope to be able to get about again and have both wounds i.e. the one made by the entrance and that by the exit of the bullet, quite healed up in another fortnight, and when I regain sufficient strength I think I shall just dâk³¹ down to Benares, so that Ted [Edgar] and I may have a meeting, as I do not see why we should not see each other before we get shot and as there is lots of fear of that kind going on just now why one of us may get rather too hard a knock though I hope we may both escape – I have only one fear about my wound, and that is that there may be still some flannel shirt or red flannel of which my coat³² was made or merino under waistcoat, or dyed blue trouser in my stomach and that may trouble me after the wound has healed up³³ – I think in my former letters I have gone into detail as to the when and where of my wound that you cannot want to here any more about it. We were quite beaten on the day in question and it was my first experience of a defeat which I did not find by any means so pleasant as victory to which I have been accustomed, but between you and I the Regiments³⁴ we are getting out are not half drilled and they are not up to the way of fighting Niggers as Corps are that have been out in the Country for some time they don't seem to know that it only wants a good cheer and a clash and all is over with Jack Sepoy except in cases where they are in very great numbers, which was I suppose the case on the 27th [November] as we had with Zemindars³⁵ and blackguards of other kinds about 25,000 against us of whom 15,000 were Sepoys and as they had 46 Guns it was rather hard work – I missed very much not having either sword or revolver and never expected to see either again but I am glad to say I got back all my traps except a Tent – After I had got all my things inside the Entrenchment a grape shot went right through one of my boxes, I say I got but I should have

²⁹ Martha Elizabeth Clark (1784-1857), second daughter of Charles and Mary Clark, 18 months older than Matthew Clark, a spinster like both her sisters who survived infancy.

³⁰ The eldest Clark sister, Catherine Amelia (1816-98), m. 1845 Llewelyn Wynne; 4th son (of 6), Sir Trevredyn Rashleigh Wynne (1853-1942), was Chief Engineer and later Managing Director, Bengal Nagpur Railway; Chairman Indian Government Railway Board; Member of Imperial Legislative Council.

³¹ Travel by relays of bearers or horses.

³² The coat still exists, and has been deposited 2012 in the National Army Museum.

³³ There was in fact a link of his gold watch chain in the wound with a fragment of lead adhering, and the exit wound did not heal until this came away (*Family of Clark*).

³⁴ As Campbell could not reach his own regiment on returning from leave he had been attached to the 67th and 88th regiments according to *The Family of Clark*; but the 67th only went to India in 1858. Four companies of the 88th were at Cawnpore by November 25th 1857.

³⁵ The landlord class in Bengal.

said Best who as soon as he heard I was wounded came and took care of me, and really I think I am indebted to him for my life for he never left my bedside for the first three days – Whether they will give me leave to the Hills or not I don't know but I hope they will for it will set me up again, and at present I am as weak as I can be – the Collector and Magistrate of the District³⁶ here is a great friend of mine and his Deputy quite a recent acquaintance is also a capital fellow, he got an Officer of the 1st Fusiliers who was badly wounded and myself out of the General Hospital in the Entrenchment and had us carried down to where he was living in a house that had escaped destruction where he gave us up his own room and has made us as comfortable as he could do – The Gen^l Hospital was a terrible place and I really think had we remained there we should have died or gone very near death so you may suppose how glad we were to get away to a comfortable room and a carpet down over the pukka floor – From the 27th Nov^r to the 7th Decr. was a very unpleasant time in the Entrenchment for a wounded man our own Guns shook the place very much and the sound of the Enemy's shot whizzing through the Entrenchment was by no means pleasant – The Chief³⁷ is hammering away at Fatty-Ghur³⁸ this time, the Rebels disputed his passage at a small river about 12 miles this side of Fatty-Ghur where they had I believe broke down a Bridge and lost Guns they having of course got the usual thrashing – Give my love to Anna³⁹ and tell her I hope she enjoyed her riding trip which I understand you took with a knapsack – I dare say I shall see Sim⁴⁰ every body passes through Cawnpore – I suppose my letter in which I mentioned poor Ted's loss has reached Home, it must be a sad thing for him to find himself suddenly without wife and child indeed one may say children. Now good bye old fellow if I only get strong again I shall have another shot at the Pandies⁴¹ –

Y^r Afe^{te} Brother

Campbell Clark

P.S. I find I have written all over one of the sides of this which was to act as an envelope –

³⁶ This, from letter 8, was J Power, son of a retired major-general and later magistrate at Mynpoorie and judge at Moradabad, N W Provinces. Among those whose "excellent services" during the Mutiny the Governor-general in 1859 after the final settlement of the Mutiny invited the British Government to notice.

³⁷ Presumably Sir Colin Campbell who had arrived in India in August to take command of the British armies.

³⁸ An older form of Fatehpur?

³⁹ Anna Maria Clark, Gordon's wife.

⁴⁰ Gordon's eldest daughter was to marry Charles Alexander Sim of the Madras Engineers (1840-97); this might be a connection of his. There was a Captain Sim in the Bengal NI thirty years earlier; Major D Sim was acting chief engineer Madras 1831. Neither is C A Sim's father.

⁴¹ A derogatory English term for the mutineers, after Mangal Pandey, the first Sepoy to kill a British officer, at Barrackpore on March 29 1857.

Letter 6

Cawnpore 3rd February 1858 [aet 30]

My dear Gordon

I just scribble a few lines in the hope of its not being too late for the mail to tell you what you little expected to hear viz that I am coming Home by order of the Doctors – I went before a Committee the other day, told the President that I thought of I went to the Hills for the coming hot Weather it would put me all right, when my papers were sent to me I found myself down for a Years leave to England and as all the Doctors advise me to go I have after many pros and cons decided on doing so – The Fund⁴² will give me [?]00 Rupees and 80 £ 1 on my return to India so I shall not put the Govt. to expense s I did before, and as I have really had a very dangerous wound, the result of which is not even yet determined, I think I am not doing wrong in coming Home – I don't wish for a moment to lead you to believe from the above that any danger to myself is anticipated because the Doctors assure me to the contrary, but it does not seem to me that they know or at all events they do not agree, as to what will be the result of a certain pricking and throbbing which goes on in my stomach- It is stated in my certificate that "there is now a large tumour in the muscular substance which will requite time to determine its results" – I have been examined lately by another Surgeon who told me that some of the muscular construction had been injured by the bullet in such a way as to take away the support necessary for the bowels which is the cause of great protusion of the stomach or rather part of it, and I am ordered to wear a truss, which of the muscle has been torn away must it seems to me be for life if only injured and it can recover itself this may be dispensed with hereafter. I dare say I have not described it very well, but I have principally decided on coming Home for from what the Doctor who attended me through my Critical stage told me that he strongly advised my so doing &c – Although I tell you I am coming Home it is not unfeasible that I might get the leave altered to the Hills but in all probability I shall not – If any abcess were to form and another piece of watch chain or part of my clothes be extracted and the Doctors were to be able to say beyond a doubt how matters stood with regard to the wound I might not come Home, but I don't think that likely – I address this to the City that you may read it without being obliged to communicate it to anyone unless you think fit – Notwithstanding al I have written I hope by the time I reach Home to find that I am so well and the interior of my stomach has so righted itself that you will all call me an impostor – I addressed a note to you to forward to Kate Marsh⁴³. Kindly let her know that an answer had better be sent to Home – I shall most probably start by the last Steamer in March from Calcutta – and if I can manage it I should go via Trieste – Tell Emma I got her letters of 7th Decr this morning – Congratulate Kate for me on the advent of little Theresa Emma⁴⁴ Love to Anna and your little ones

⁴² Presumably Indian Mutiny Relief Fund. This fund, collected for the relief of victims of the Mutiny, had paid out upwards of £400,000 by 1874.

⁴³ Unidentified.

⁴⁴ Theresa Emma Edith Wynne had been born 28 November 1857; later married Thomas Frederick D'Arcy Todd.

Letter 7

Cawnpore 14 February 1858 [aet 30]

My dear Gordon

I have quite made up my mind and am coming Home I think by the last Steamer in March perhaps by the first – I find I cannot by any possibility be of any use for some long time owing to my wound indeed the President of the Medical Board assembled here said to me the other day, You will never be for any duty again as for instance if you had to double in Light Infantry manoeuvres you would most probably bring on ventral hernia he then said wont they out you on some Staff Employ? You may imagine that I was not very pleased with this speech as unless I can get on Staff Employ I am liable at any time to be invalided Every thing goes by comparison and because I am alive every body says you are a very lucky fellow to have lived and to be now alive after such a wound – This is not very satisfactory but all things are ordained for our good and I assure you I try hard not to complain even to myself but every now and then the thought will come uppermost that I am crippled for life. The C in Chief is still here and according to all accounts the Lucknow people have been so impressed by the number and weight of the Guns coming against them, also by the force, that they are all evacuating the place- It will be a great pity if this turns out to be true, meantime the Nana is trying to cross from the Oude side so as to go to Calpu⁴⁵ which is on the other side of the Jumna where the Gwalior contingent are and many other rascals of all kinds of Regiments – I think if I can manage it I shall go via Trieste⁴⁶ as it seems to me in this life if one ever puts off doing a thing when opportunity offers, it does not occur again – I want very much to get an opinion on my wound from two or three first rate men at Home which will enable me to decide in my own mind whether I am to be a useless piece of lumber for the rest of my life or not – I cannot make out whether or no I shall see Edgar as he has not written to me for the last week but I think I shall manage it –

16th Feby. I got a letter from Edgar by which I find I shall not be able to say good bye to him as he is by this time with the Gurkha Force, so that I shall, unless he comes Home in the mean time have to wait until I return to India before I can see him – I intend to keep his letter to shew you – 17th Feby. I start tonight about 9 p.m. – and am rather afraid of the jolting I shall get before I reach my journeys end – I have just parted from Sim who is hard at work here and annoyed that he cannot go to Lucknow⁴⁷, but I should not be at all surprised at his seeing service here when perhaps least expected, unless the C in Chief has made up his mind to leave more troops here than he originally intended – Now good bye until next Mail day – Give my love to all at Home and believe me

Affect^y Yours

Campbell Clark

⁴⁵ Kalpi was taken by Sir Hugh Rose at the end of May. The Nana Sahib was chased into the jungles of southern Nepal and vanished.

⁴⁶ A less used alternative to Marseille as a port on the route via Egypt.

⁴⁷ Lucknow was finally recaptured in March 1858.

Letter 8

Fort William⁴⁸ 12 March 1858 [aet 30]

My dear Gordon,

This is quite a business letter so by the beginning you will know that you are to be troubled and perhaps in such a way that with your good business habits you will very possibly say to yourself as you so often have to me “what a fool you are Campbell” As I am going via Trieste I shall of course take with me only a Portmanteau from Alexandria, the rest of my luggage therefore will go on to Southampton, where it will of course want to be cleared so will you tell Mr. Thos. Hill who was I think the man you employed before to do all the needful for me. Now among my baggage there will I need scarcely say be some cheroots I think from 1500 to 2000 – I suppose these will again be seized until I can make a declaration before a Magistrate to the effect that they are only for private consumption, this is rather a bore as they will have to remain some time at the Custom house and may be charged-

There will also be another box addressed to me but which when opened will be found to contain a list signed by a Mr. Power a Magistrate – The contents are (5) five Cashmere shawls, a piece of Kincab⁴⁹ stuff and some other things – Now as I have no wish to pay for them the duty on which [*sic*] will I have no doubt be heavy I want Mr Hill or whosoever you appoint to clear my things to write to Cox & Greenwood Army Agents, Craig’s Court, Charing Cross, they being the Agents of General Power⁵⁰ C.B., K.H. 2 Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, for whom I am taking Home the box from his Son Mr. J. Power of the Civil Service – Perhaps it would be as well to let the Agents know this at once so that they may obtain instructions from Genl. Power to be in readiness to clear the box in question – which with my luggage will arrive at Southampton by the Mail leaving India on the 23rd of this month, so that they will be at Southampton by about the 6th of May or sooner. All this will appear very complicated to you so pray relieve yourself as I before suggested – The fact is my friend J. Power is a very good fellow and I was very much indebted to him by his having given up a room in a house for the benefit of myself and another officer a wounded friend of mine and having got us out of the General Hospital – Notwithstanding all this my friend is I am afraid very loose in money matters, as the duty may be from 5 to 20£s I really cannot afford to pay it and I therefore propose in this way to get out of it – I shall mark the box with these three capital letters M G P so that although marked with my address it may be easily recognised the letters for Major General Power – I am going to be awfully business like about this so shall write you again on the same subject by the next Mail – If we are to have a War with France⁵¹ I shall not trouble Paris on my way home – Love to all – I am well but not quite satisfied with my abdominal arrangements –

Yr. affectionate Brother

Campbell Clark

⁴⁸ Calcutta, headquarters of the Bengal presidency’s military.

⁴⁹ Kincab or Kinkhwab, still in fashion in India for saris &c

⁵⁰ ?Commanded troops in the war of 1812-14 with the US.

⁵¹ Following the attempt by Orsini in January 1858 to assassinate Napoleon III with a bomb made in Birmingham there was considerable Franco-British tension which led to creation of the Volunteer Force in 1859

Letter 9

Calcutta 22nd November 1860 Spence's Hotel⁵² [aet 32]

Dear Gordon

I don't think I have sent you as line since I saw your boat gradually recede from the Massilia to the Marseilles shore, I drank of a bitter cup then but the taste has been subdued by time and an exceedingly rough buffeting which we got immediately the steamer was outside the harbour. Only fancy my forgetting when at Marseilles to go to the Port Office where there were some letters as Campbell a fellow Passenger with the young wife told me he had seen some which were given him by mistake - Mrs Campbell turned out a failure she was like a boy very brusque in her manner. Please tell Edgar that I had a Capt Davidson of Engineers⁵³ as a fellow Passenger who knew Ted in Oude I think and before that at Sialkote. I picked up a great number of acquaintances during the voyage among others we had some very nice China passengers The sea ran very high washed over our stern smashing a boat that was hung there and sweeping oil down the deck - On this side from Suez we also had bad weather and had two boats on the starboard side completely stove in- We were three days at the Sand heads⁵⁴ beating about among the reefs without being able to get out a pilot brig the current so strong and the gale so bad that we were three days going ten miles - The Steamer rolling nearly bulwarks under - She is a very excellent sea boat but her engines are not strong enough - She was sent to be used by French troops but as they could not agree for some reason was employed to take us owing to the non appearance of the Candia - She was one of the Cunard line⁵⁵ and went a trip to Australia, she is fitted with accommodation for about 60 or 80 1st Class Passengers and about 40 2nd Class, so that with 144 1st Class and about 60 2nd Class we were as you may suppose in a very unpleasantly crowded state- However we have at last got to our journey's end which is a great comfort more especially as I had three half Castes with four yellow children just outside my Cabin door from Madras from which place we were 8 days instead of four - I have applied for permission to join my Regt, and shall I think escape Recruits⁵⁶. I start immediately after the arrival of the Agamemnon⁵⁷ with ?Cloud and Crib both I hope to find alive and well. I hope Anna or you have written to tell me how you proceeded after I left you at Marseilles. I enjoyed my trip through very much, it was only clouded by the knowledge that I was to leave at the end of it. How is my Parrot⁵⁸ I hope well again and in good chattering order, poor girl I let her do too much in packing for me - No news of course every body waiting for this amalgamation⁵⁹, many officers who have done and are doing no duty whatever. Capt. Fellowes one of my fellow Passengers had met Poll Squibb⁶⁰ at Home - Give my love to Anna and perhaps kiss but I shall leave that to your discretion. Love to Mat and all of you that dear old girl Kate and to you and in short to every-body and believe me Your affectionate Bro
Campbell

PS I try very hard not to think of any of you but I don't succeed - How is Ted - How do the stables come on⁶¹ - did the Govr. like my likeness and dozen⁶²?

⁵² Opened 1830, only closed 1962.

⁵³ Alexander Davidson (1829-1902) joined the Bombay Engineers as Second Lieutenant 1848, becoming Lieutenant 1854, and Captain 1857. He retired as Major-General on 31 December 1878

⁵⁴ Near Calcutta; a notorious place for shipwrecks.

⁵⁵ Founded 1839, primarily a transatlantic line.

⁵⁶ Probably he means escorting recruits.

⁵⁷ Possibly the battleship of that name, completed 1852, the first major steam warship; paid off 1862.

⁵⁸ Perhaps Gordon's eldest child Adelaide, then aged seven.

⁵⁹ The European regiments of the Bengal army were merged with the British army in 1860.

⁶⁰ Possibly their cousin Mary Ann Squibb (1824-86).

⁶¹ Probably at Strawberry Hill, Chessington, which Gordon had bought as a summer home in 1858 and where he and Anna and their growing family moved to in 1864.

PART 2

EDGAR CLARK⁶³ – LETTERS FROM INDIA TO HIS ELDER BROTHER GORDON WYATT CLARK

Born 2 March 1830, 5th (living) son of Matthew Clark & Catherine Squibb of London. Died 26 January 1883.

Married Roorkee 19 February 1855 Elizabeth, eldest daughter of late Major Neville Anburey Parker, 58th Regt. Bengal Infantry. She died Lucknow 30 Jul 1857. Son Edgar Matthew Clark b 1856 d Lucknow 1857, daughter Elizabeth b & d Lucknow 1857

Married 14 October 1869 Elizabeth, daughter of John Taylor of Clapham. Five daughters.

Captain 27 Nov 1862, dated 18 2 1861, “of the late 21st Native Infantry”, Bengal Staff Corps, on its formation

Major 20 Nov 1867, Bengal Staff Corps

Lt Col 20 11 1873, Bengal Staff Corps

Retired as Maj Gen 1881 Clark, Edgar Gibson Bengal Staff **Corps** IOR/L/MIL/10/91 ff.45-46

Letter 1

Benares⁶⁴ May 17th 1848 [aet 18] [no envelope; folded & sealed (seal has Clark lark with ear of Corn); stamped CALCUTTA GPO SHIP LETTER MAY 18TH 1848; addressed Gordon Wyatt Clark Esqre, 72 Tower Street, City, London, England; via Southampton Via Calcutta Paid EGC]

I have really very little to say as the times are very dull & there is nothing going on with the exception of a flare up at Moultan which I hope to be in as I expect they will not commence hostilities until the cold weather about which time I expect to be posted. There is to be some theatricals on the 8th of June & a ball afterwards which I intend going to. The weather is hot there being very few Hot winds so that our bungalow is not very cool but if there are any winds then ours is one of the coolest in the Station. Have they at home not received my letters yet wishing you & all to direct my letters to Benares. I suppose you get [got?] on with the drill awfully well & surpass[?ed] all the others. How does old Shekha get on with his bad leg? Does he use a stick? I have got such a jolly puppy. I heard from Campbell yesterday saying that his regiment was ordered to be in readiness for this affair. The origin of it is I believe the nigers? killing 2 Civilians – There is in the 9th a Captain Murray who I know very little of but he is a very nice man. All of the officers of the 9th that are here are good fellows more or less with the exception of one who is a blackguard. I should like to be able to join the Mess of the 9th but it is so expensive & I can live for just half as much at home – The other night while riding out with another fellow we were overtaken by a “dust storm” so as not to be able to see our horses ears

⁶² A gift of a dozen bottles of wine?

⁶³ HEIC Army Cadet Papers Clark Edgar Gibson IOR/l/mil/9/216/627-32 1952077

⁶⁴ The previous year Ensign Sandford had arrived in India “and before the end of the month was sent up to Benares to do duty with the 9th Native Infantry” <http://www.dnw.co.uk/medals/auctionarchive/searchcataloguearchive/itemdetail.lasso?itemid=28203>

at the same time it was lightning like blazes so that our animals got frighten[ed] & it was with difficulty that we could manage them. When we came home all the rooms of the house were fill[ed] with dust so unexpected was the Storm The vacancies in the Army have been very rapid & very many of them but still I am about 35th for posting.

Have you been down to Lady Plumber's lately? I hope your toes have not suffered much from the wooden leg? There are such a set of gir[l?]s here Oh! My eye! Do you know anyone in either the 65th 48th or 9th Regts as these are the Regts that are here. There is one of the 65th name Jessup who is expected by everyone soon to be brought up with a Court martial he is a 'blackguard' another step I gained thereby if it happens within the next 5 or 6 months. How is the old Governor⁶⁵? Have I told you that my uniform box(?) was pryed [*sic*] by a robber but I fortunately got back every thing with the exception of a watch of a friend of mine which they managed to secure. I come out very ?? with my Silver Spoons & forks together with my crested knives.⁶⁶ What blackguards this nigger servants are you are obliged to look after every thing I sit in my Pyjamas all day with such 'Nobby' strings to tie them with. There are some most jolly "griffs"⁶⁷ amongst these may be mentioned Thurston? & Fitzgerald the former is a first rate fellow – I have called upon every body nearly in the Station but some how or other I am never invited out to dinner or any thing else. There is a large ball to take place in about 3 or 4 days but by some means or other they have left me out. Benares is a nasty hole which I believe is the opinion of most people that live here. I must now conclude this letter of nothing at all as there is nothing going on here. There are unfortunately very few parties this season which is not at all usual Benares generally very gay during the season. With love to all at home Believe me to remain Your affectionate brother Edgar Gibson Clark

Letter 2

Benares August 23rd 1848 [no envelope; folded & sealed; stamped BENARES GPO 1848 SEPT 1 PAID; also CALCUTTA GPO SHIP LETTER ? SEP ?; also AR 31 OC 31 1848; also INDIA; addressed Gordon Wyatt Clark Esqre, 72 Tower Street, City, London, England; via Southampton Via Calcutta Pd to Calcutta; EGC; Paid]

My dear Gordon

You will no doubt be disappointed at not receiving a letter from me dated the 15th of this month as I promised. About the 9th or 10th I was taken unwell with fever and slightly with ague & c I remained in bed from the 10th to the 19th or 20th so that I was unable either to go up for the Colloquial [exam in Hindi?] or write to you. I had had a Moonshee for 2 months on purpose to pass when I was taken unwell & therefore unable to go. The Ranee of Lahore is down here now, indeed she has been ere now for 3 weeks & upwards. She came down in a beautiful palkee⁶⁸ kind of conveyance borne by 6 men. This thing which is between a Palkee and a Howlah is made

⁶⁵ Matthew Clark was by then 62 years old

⁶⁶ The Clarks had adopted (helped themselves to!) a traditional Clark coat of arms; this was finally regularised by Gordon's sons with the College of Heralds, his eldest son Harry saying it was the biggest waste of money he had ever made.

⁶⁷ "A European newly arrived in India, and unaccustomed to Indian ways and peculiarities; a novice, new-comer, greenhorn". OED, 1793 onwards.

⁶⁸ palanquin

of pure silver surmounted at all the corners on the top with gold Peacocks. The Howlah⁶⁹ on the Elephant also is silver. They have taken away from her 9 lacs of rupees (£90,000). When any one next writes please address 21st N. I. Banda as I shall be there in 3 or 4 days more I hope. The Mail does not leave till the 1st & 2nd of September but as I shall be on my road at that time I am obliged to write to day 23d August, but as things go on here the same day after day you lose nothing by my writing a few days earlier. Tell Emma please that her letter was more than a month beyond the proper time thank her also for the Baptismal Certificate. I will answer her letter by the next mail if I am well. There is one poor Griff here who caught the fever became delirious & his life despaired of he is still very unwell indeed. Now for bad news I always said doing duty ruined a Griff. When I join my Regiment I shall have to buy a step which will cost I suppose 500 Rupees. I shall also join the Regiment without a farthing all owing cause to my bad management but although I & the person living with me have been by no means fast rather on the contrary yet we are in debt. With regards to horse flesh I have had little of nothing to do. I am at last obliged to go into the Banks!!! Of course as you may suppose I am very sorry to do so & will not be in them longer than I can help. I hope you will not tell the Governor because I know it will make him angry. The English shops from which you are obliged to buy your Vinegar & necessaries do charged [*sic*] so enormously that you cannot help being in debt. If a Griff is up in Benares 6 or 7 months doing duty he is sure to get in to debt, this is the case of 9 out of 10 some more than others some less. With regard to buggies since I have been here in Benares I do not think I have had more than 5 or 6 at the outside. And some times you are obliged to get a buggy for instance if you dine out any where you must call some time after the dinner or party & then you are obliged to have a buggy. The calling time being from 11 to 2 in the afternoon which is the hottest part of the day & these are the instances in which I have had a buggy. - Now let me turn from this awful tale & ask after those at home. How is old Shekah's leg? & yours also? Is Charles Senior⁷⁰ better from his ship to the Isle of Man? How are the youngsters? I suppose you have returned to your work in Tower Street by this time. All my things are on their road to Bandah & have been so for the last 9 days so that my Journal is gone too. When you send me out those likenesses, please send 4 or 5 doz. of good trouser buttons are [*sc as*] all you get here cut the thread & leave you minus when you are riding. Also send some more of those plain mother-of-pearl studs & a pair of cuff studs. A good knife with a pen blade in it would also be very acceptable as these things you cannot get good out here. A friend of mine lost 6 of those studs for me. With love to all at home

I remain Your affectionate brother Old Nipper

Letter 3

Banda Sept 20th 1848 [endorsed Rec^d 1 November And. 6 do] [Sealed with Clark crest; EGC; by address Paid; via Bombay crossed out & via Marseilles written; some Arabic writing; stamped INDIA]

Dear Gordon

I received your last at the right time & am much obliged for it as you are the only one that has written for the last 3 mails. You ask me how it is that you have not heard from me for the last 2 mails I have done my duty I assure you & have written home on every mail except the one on the 15th August when I was ill. It must be the fault of the Postmasters not mine. By one of those

⁶⁹ howdah

⁷⁰ Charles Senior had in fact already died 9 July 1848.

letters I told you I was posted to the 21st Regt N.I. now at Bandah where it has been but 1 year, & as it is an out Station & very small & hot the idea of having to remain for 2 years longer is any thing but pleasant. The Relief is not out yet but our Colonel is very anxious to see it out as he thinks we shall move. Who do you think this Colonel is? Colonel Cox who tells me that he is my second cousin⁷¹. I am living at his house & I ride his horse every evening. Now about the regiment I have not been long enough in the corps to have any perfect idea of the Men⁷² but certain it is that some are very nice fellow [sic] & one or two more are the contrary. The [sic] are a number of married officers in the corps, only 5 or 6 at present being with the corps. There is nevertheless every chance of promotion, if the officers will but buy out the Captains. I have obtain [sic] one step already by the officer immediately above me exchanging. Your last letter contains a great deal of unpleasant news⁷³. I expect to be the 3rd Ensign very soon because the 1st Ensign is in very bad health having been out here 4 years and not passed drill. He has been home once on Medical Certificate & as gone home again on the same plea. Colonel Cox asked me how you like your present position in comparison to the situation you were in out here. I told him that you would have no objection to coming out here again but that you are very happy in your present position. I was posted on the 23rd of July and was unable to leave Benares before the 5th of Sept on account of sickness & other things. Of course you have heard that there are to be 18 more new regiments raised for the Punjaub & this will give me one step for certain & will also raise our Major high in the list so that he will cause a step for me in a year or so. Mooltan was attack [sic] on the 8th of Sept. & I suppose by this time the place is taken. They have a large number of troops up there now & a very fine siege train I believe.

Colonel Cox desires me to remember him to the Governor & Mother

With kind love to all at home

Your affectionate Brother

Edgar Gibson Clark

Letter 4

Banda July 26th 1849 [Sealed with Clark crest; EGC; by address Paid; via Calcutta & Marseilles ; stamped PO26SP26 1849 ; stamped ASIA; another stamp; some Arabic writing; 2/3 [to pay]; Ans^d 7 Jan^y 50]

My dear Gordon

As you expressed a wish in your last letter that I should only write via Southampton I shall in future be particular to attend to it. The Colonel has gone to the Hills to a place called Nainee Tal⁷⁴, for a change of air, as he felt very unwell down here which is not very wonderfull considering the state of the weather which is any thing but seasonable as we ought to have the rains now and consequently the thermometer low – which is just contrary to what it really is as the weather is very hot indeed and the thermometer in the coolest room of the house is 94^o

⁷¹ Once removed, as his father Hiram was nephew to the Clarks' grandmother Mrs Ann Fladgate née Cox.

⁷² The officers; like Edward Squibb he never says anything about Indian soldiers (Campbell was with British troops).

⁷³ ? The death of Charles Senior on 9 July?

⁷⁴ Naini Tal, a hill station founded by the British in 1841 in the Kumaon foothills of the Himalaya, west of Nepal

Since the Colonels departure I have been living with two of my Brother Officers⁷⁵ by names Wild⁷⁶ and Webster two of the nicest fellows in the Corps and I think it is very likely I shall remain with them till we leave Banda. Wild was at Addiscombe while Campbell was there. The Chief Justice Wild⁷⁷ is the uncle of this young man. I have fund out that the renowned Lola Montez⁷⁸ was the wife of a Captain James of our Corps who is on Staff Employ and has been so for some years. She ran away from him shortly after her marriage. The way James found her was this; he saw her one day at a boarding School and ran away with her she being then between 16 and 17 years of age. I have not heard from Campbell for some time but the last time I did he was very well and all right and I conjecture he is so still from his not having written to me to tell me the contrary. I hope they are all thriving at home especially the Nephews and Neices ⁷⁹[sic]. Where is George Squibb⁸⁰ at present ? at Oxford or London? I want to write to him as he will not write to me. Bye the Bye I want you to execute a commission for me viz to let me know how long Punch has been out, when it was started and how man volumes are completed. If you would do this for me I should feel very much oblige to you. How does Mother bear up with poor Herbert's death⁸¹? I hope well? Give my love to Mother and Governor, Brothers and Sisters and accept the same yourself from

Your affectionate Brother Edgar Gibson Clark Thursday

Letter 5

Camp Phoolpore half way between Benares & Jaunpore with detachment of Gurkhas

13th September 1857 [six sheets, each of four sides. Has been in envelope] [aet 27]

My dear Gordon

They are fearful times we live and who knows what will be the end of all this? Bombay Regiments are now going & I feel convinced that all the Hindoostanees (I mean what are called 'Poorbees'⁸² alias men belonging to Oudh Behar Bhojpore Anah and all provinces on the Bengal side) that may be in the Madras Corps will also mutiny; It is now pretty ell established that it is a Mahomedan rebellion and they have worked upon the minds of the Hindoo Soldiery by the cartridge cry. Now the cartridge cry is this. The Government intended to introduce the Enfield Rifle & established schools of musketry at different stations such as at Umballah Sealkite? Meerut (I think) and Dum Dum. To these schools they sent one officer from most of the Corps round-about and also 4 or 5 Sepoys for the purpose of learning the new exercise. The cartridges for the rifle were of somewhat a different size and being English ones were made to be used

⁷⁵ This suggests Colonel Cox had been putting his young relation up.

⁷⁶ Son of Edward Arthur Wilde, solicitor; one brother became a judge and Lord Penzance, another, a Madras officer, became a general.

⁷⁷ Sir Thomas Wilde, Lord Chief Justice 1846-50, Lord Chancellor 1850-2 (as Lord Truro)

⁷⁸ 1821-61; Irish dancer, actress, and courtesan, mistress of King Ludwig of Bavaria & c

⁷⁹ His elder sisters Catherine Wynne and Agnes Senior had by then respectively two sons and a daughter, and one of each.

⁸⁰ George Meyler Squibb (1827-1905), son of Mrs Catherine Clark's brother George; later clergyman.

⁸¹ Th

ree months before.

⁸² There are references to this term in publications from 1848 onwards, as if it was well known

with tallow. This latter ingredient you know is an abomination alike to Hindus and Mahomedans as I believe tallow is comprised of Hog's lard and Cow fat –The first symptoms of any disinclination to use this cartridge was exhibited in some slight way at Dum-Dum whereupon the Government sent up Telegraphic messages to all the schools to countermand the use of these cartridges and directed the Manager of the school to buy "ghee" to grease the cartridges with Ghee you know is clarified Butter The grease that the Sepoys complain of was only use to make the cartridges go down the rifle easier so that by not using the English mixture but having the ghee supplied instead all real grievances were put a stop to. But the idea having once got abroad that this mixture was made of forbidden things the Mahomedans and Brahmins were too cunning as to allow such a goo pretext to escape & consequently did their utmost and are still doing so, to keep up the mutiny to ?drive others that have not gone to mutiny and to urge those who are actually fighting to continue to do so. This I believe is the real cause of the mutiny of the Sepoys. Without the Mahomedans though I believe most thoroughly that no mutiny would have taken place but I believe that even ? the Hindoo soldiery ? still the Mahomedan Rebellion would have taken place. The mutiny has taken different phases as it has developed itself Corps are still going and now so late in the day I believe the cartridge cry has something to do with r the matter but [p 2] that some corps mutiny from example and because they are afraid their fellow caste brethren will not operate with them an some because the Brahmins threaten to excommunicate them with hell-fire or in some way or other drive? them into mutiny. This power you know the Brahmins possess over all Hindoos – some Corps I feel morally convinced mutinied merely for the sake of plunder such for instance as the 3rd Oude Irregular Infantry (Miles's Corps) they did it from this motive for they never had the objectionable cartridges served out to them nor did they ever see it and when we were fleeing for our lives that very morning the Recruits were firing away at target-practice so that the cartridge question could not have affected them. With this Corps I believe it is to be chiefly the desire for plunder (for they had the Treasury in their Charge) and aided by the example of all the Regts mutinying around them. It is only that class of men over which the Brahmins have most influence together with the Mussulmans that have caused this disastrous rebellion and mutiny. It are[sic] only those men who are fellow caste men of our Bengal sepoy that have mutinied on the Bombay side. Ever since our occupation of India the Mussulmans have been almost undisguised enemies of the Government but the latter have always imagined that by honest and just treatment towards them that the feeling of hatred would if it did not ultimately turn into love for us would at all events soften down? so much as to make them at least more inclined towards than otherwise. Everywhere the Mussulman it is who has shewn the most cruelty and revengeful feeling and this too in some most remarkably treacherous instances. Here is one Tucker⁸³ a Collector at

⁸³ Robert Tudor Tucker (b 1817) educ. Addiscombe & Haileybury tried to promote Christianity in Fatehpur from his official position as judge, setting up pillars with the Ten Commandments in Hindi and Urdu. His deputy and assassin, Muhammad Hikmat Allah Khan, was captured hiding in disguise in Fatehpur and hanged on July 18 1858. *The great uprising in India 1857-8*, Rosie Llewellyn-Jones 2007 pp 45-6. Christians regarded Tucker as virtually a martyr: "It is impossible not to admire, how far it may be regretted, the heroic devotion of the late Mr. Tucker : nor is it much a matter of wonder that his conduct and his personal prowess actually succeeded in preserving, for a few hours longer, some show of order. Mr. Tucker by his earnest and open profession of religion, and by his unbounded pecuniary liberality had commanded the respect, if not the affection, of a large number of the inhabitants of the city, and when the excited mob returned in triumphant procession from his slaughter, two Hindus of the town stood out before them and reviled them as the murderers of a just and holy man; it is scarcely necessary to add that they immediately shared his fate." Quoted in Edward Blunt, List of inscriptions on Christian Tombs and Tablets of Historical Interest in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Futtehpur between Allahabad & Cawnpore had pushed on a Mussulman and looked after his interests so much as to at last have secured for him the highest appointment the man could get viz a Deputy Collectorship on 400R a month Indeed this man was considered as protégé of Tuckers – This very man incited and lead [*sic*] on the mob that attacked Tuckers house and this very man held up Tucker's head after he had decapitated to the admiring gaze of the infuriated mob- This fiend ? prevented the Nawab of Futtehpur from saving a European lady's life and was the primary secondary and immediate cause of the execution of this poor woman. Such treacherous conduct it is impossible to legislate for -

[p3] The Mussulman I have said have always had a hatred to us and it is only too true for they have epithets of contempt known only to themselves that they amongst themselves when talking of us always make use of One of these I have become acquainted with during the rebellion and though I have asked men of all Services and men who have been a great deal amongst natives men who have read the native classics a great deal and men who are first rate linguists yet not one of them had ever heard the word as an epithet of contempt used towards Englishmen The word itself I do not quite know the meaning of and not having a Persian⁸⁴ Dictionary now cannot find out its exact meaning but this in the other circumstances show well the feeling of Mussulmans in general towards White folk. A very well informed native and a very good man told a friend of mine that the Mussulman of the higher classes wherever they were assembled at each other's houses always ? amongst themselves hold most seditious discourses against our Government. Poor Wheeler at Cawnpore was palpably another victim to treachery- The arch fiend "Nana Sahib" who caused the massacre of the garrison of that place was a man who all the European officers at Cawnpore knew well and when he rode or drove on the ? of a evening all greeted him with some kind expression or other so much was this man looked upon as a staunch friend that poor Wheeler only made a very slight entrenchment and laid in provisions for a few days only believing that the mutinous Sepoys would be the only enemies he would have to deal with and he was right as it turns out had the Nana remained faithful for sur it is proved that after mutinying and plundering the Treasury the Sepoys were making their way towards Delhi when the Nana stopped? them promising them his aid and also handsome rewards did they but fight with him against Wheeler. So much was this man trusted by us (and very naturally so) that before the Sepoys broke out into actual mutiny but when an uneasiness was felt by the officers of the respective Corps about their men The Collector of the place actually got the Nana to guard the Treasury and up to the last moment he made a show of doing so. The poor garrison of Cawnpore had for some days only 4 buckets of grain soaked in water placed in different parts of the building so that every one could get at them to eat. The building they were in was knocked about so much by the enemies guns that no one could remain in it and all had to sit in the sun without any shelter whatsoever & only the grain to eat – many of both sexes were killed by sunstroke in consequence. "Grain" you may remember is a kind of pea which when soaked in water is given to horses and given unsoaked to all cattle You will see detailed accounts of the Cawnpore massacre in all the papers and it would exceed the limits of a letter were I to write what I have heard and as my information is only derived from the newspaper I should only be repeating what you will see in full- No blame can be attached to any of the Authorities in trusting the Nana for when the Cawnpore mutiny broke out the rebellion

See also Marginal Muslims: maulawis, munsifs, munshis and others, Avril Powell (SOAS), paper at conference at Edinburgh University.

⁸⁴ sc Urdu

had not much reached its height indeed it had only commenced and consequently the Authorities there had not the opportunities that we have now of judging person's true character and forming an opinion on professions of loyalty and attachment to our Government Had poor Wheeler had the slightest suspicion [p 4] of what the Nana's real feelings were towards us he must have saved himself and his family as well as the lives of the dear Ladies and children he was obliged to fight for afterwards & which hampered him so much in his movements. The Nana had upwards of 50000£ in the Government funds but of this sum 50000£ he withdrew 2 years ago but he left some 50000£ in the funds which of course have been [confiscated] by the Government At Delhi our Force is too small to invest the place but I believe they are working up to the walls of the City by means of "Zig-zags" alias entrenchments. At that place I suppose there must be fully 40000 of the enemy and yet they are such "curs" that whenever they assault our camp they are well thrashed but our force is too small to drive them into the city the enemy being outside the city wall as well as in possession of the city itself. We have not sufficient troops to send them reinforcements and the only troops that can be sent are the Sikh levies that Sir John Lawrence is raising in the Punjaub but which of course will not be ready to fight before they have had some two or three months drill- That we can hold our position in front of Delhi & that we can kick? the infernal enemy whenever he comes within shot is quite certain but I am afraid no assault or any movement of any great and important a nature can be made before reinforcements reach our brave force-

At Lucknow the garrison holds its own bravely and though not consisting of about [above] 600 fighting men (even if so many) yet the enemy though they amount to 14 or 15 thousand can make no impression on the fortification They attempted an assault the other day with some fanatical Mussulmans at their head but they got such a jolly repulse? That the brave fanatics have taken their oath that nothing will induce them ever to try it on again not if the garrison remains there two years even!! Lucknow has now been besieged upwards of 2 ½ months and if there was an unlimited supply of provisions might hold out for ever. General Outram is now at Cawnpore with heavy and other guns and a force of about 2500 Europeans and is hastening towards Lucknow . He has to cross the Ganges and the enemy have strongly entrenched the opposite side and intend opposing our passage of the river I pity the enemy if the Europeans once land for they will spare none. The garrison of Lucknow from the latest accounts have sufficient provision to fight upon but the same accounts also say that proper food for Ladies and children is scarce. What old fellow can I expect? I may not expect a miracle! And yet without the most marked and most merciful interposition of Providence how can I expect to see my dear dear Wife and child again. Put yourself in my position in imagination and when we think that if not already in heaven my wife must be daily harass[ed] with anxiety trials and hardships & that in all probability she is seeing her first and only child become thinner and thinner every day and may be rapidly sinking to his grave & when one thinks of this what must his feelings be. If you can imagine them you have some slight idea of my feelings now. My poor child of whom my dear Wife is so fond on whose account I have had many sleepless nights on whose account my dear Wife from continual care and anxiety has nearly made herself very ill [p 5] may perhaps now at this present moment be no more in ? may only be dragging [*sic*] on a painful existence to ? - hereafter when the place has been relieved and all others are saved I am glad almost that I am not with my wife and Child for I think I should be driven mad by such a sight but still I feel that it would be better to be there and die myself with them rather than to live hereafter not only without them but with the knowledge of what they have undergone - For my poor child I always had gloomy forebodings but of my wife I should have none were it not that I know she expected her confinement the latter end of last month or beginning of this & how can I with any reason expect that when she is in this state with the great anxiety on her mind about her poor child and with the roaring of guns the rattling of musketry & the howling nay yelling of thousands of infernal drums almost daily taking place that she will survive every thing. No! I cannot expect it!!

But still dear Gordon I sometimes fancy I hear a sort of still small voice saying hope! hope! to the last and trust in Providence! God grant that my fancy may not err or that the fancy may not be a suggestion of the "Evil-one" - Daily expectation and daily anxiety is now what alone occupy my thoughts. I myself am helpless but I know a brave and good General is doing his best to reach the place where my heart's treasure is and that he expects to be there by the 20 or 24 of this month. Only a few days!! Yet I dread the result of these few days & at the same time cannot help having some hope.

Enough of this now. The European soldiers are fearfully enraged at the mutiny and they vowed a dreadful fearful and full revenge and I sincerely trust they will take it to[o]. At least I believe? for my own feelings that were I with a European Corps I would rather urge them to revenge than do otherwise. I pity our poor soldiers for the season of the year is awful for them with a burning sun over them and wet ground to stand on Sun-strokes, cholera, fever and all kinds of sickness mows them down but of course their pluck & spirit changes not they are ever ready to go on and ever? too anxious and impatient to be led against the infernal treacherous & cowardly enemy –

You know most probably that I am with the Gurkha Force Jung Bahadur⁸⁵ has sent to our aid and I am stationed at Jaunpore so please address to me Gurkha Force Jaunpore. I have not sent you that India paper promised you for the good reason that since my wanderings commenced I have only received one copy of it the others having missed me but will send it you in future. McMullen is keeping a diary for you & from a letter he wrote to Miles⁸⁶ I saw he inquired particularly after me as he wanted to let you know that I was safe. Was not this kind and thoughtful of him? I have not received any home letters since May last so that I am quite ignorant of all home affairs and home news. Campbell I see has arrived⁸⁷ and I look forward to meeting him at Benares and this after 13 years & more the two Bros who were school fellows will meet once more!!!

[p 6] Campbell & I will have much to talk about and much to reflect upon. What he will do I am sure I don't know for he cannot join his Regt. Because it is before Delhi and the road to that place is only open via Bombay and the Punjaub I trust he will be allowed to duty with the Gurkha Force and then we will be together but this is too much good luck I think to be realised – Miles is also with the Gurkha Force & at Jaunpore and at present I am under his command as we are both on detached duty. I like him very much indeed and he is a right good fellow and is universally liked by all the officers with this Force & I think deservedly so for he is not only a gentleman but he has such a nice gentlemanlike manner about him that all like and are charmed with – Who as it he was engaged to? I do not [like] to ask him for I know it was a lad now in the country & who not only behaved ill to him but who is now married out here. He now sports a beard & is much thinner I expect than when you saw him last – I am very fond of the good fellow & am always chaffing him. I don't know if all my letters have reached home lately. If so I am afraid you must be rather tired of some repetitions I have made but then I thought it better to repeat and write twice for fear the letter might not reach. Edminstone⁸⁸ still keeps my true friend and is willing to assist me. He has certainly behaved very kindly towards me and I only wish I could repay in some way even a small portion of his great kindness to me –

Now let me inquire of my "home" How are they all. Are my very dear Father and Mother quite well? Is Katey⁸⁹ and the rest of them jolly? And how are you and your happy wife?⁹⁰ Let me hear

⁸⁵ Prime minister and real ruler of Nepal.

⁸⁶ Captain, Bengal NI, in charge of the Gurkhas in the attack on Lucknow in March 1858

⁸⁷ Lt Campbell Clark had gone on home leave in 1856 – his first in the 11 years he had been out in India.

⁸⁸ Probably George Frederick Edmonstone (1813-64), in the Bengal civil service and later lieutenant-governor of the N W provinces.

⁸⁹ The eldest Clark sister, Catherine Amelia Wynne (1816-98)

⁹⁰ Gordon had married Anna Maria Welch (1823-91) in 1852

all about them and if you can't manage a long letter begin one and let Matthew⁹¹ finish it! I wish Stanley⁹² would send me a line I cannot begin a correspondence with him for I scarcely know him the last time I saw him being when he was taken to M^r Kickover's (or some such name) school at Highgate⁹³ whereas it is very easy for him to commence on a common subject like home and I can then keep up the letter writing –

I have forbore[n] giving any opinion on the acts of Government for it is scarcely fair to judge them yet–a-while for they certainly are in a regular fix just now but if trifles shew what the future policy of government is to be like straws shew the way of the wind all I can say is that Englishmen better leave this country altogether for every one feels that after the rebellion is put down the old System will be in vogue as regards the Government of the country. The army of course will be different – Now good bye old fellow and God bless you all. Give my love to all and accept the same for yourself and wife and believe me to be

Your affectionate brother Edgar

⁹¹ The youngest Clark brother but one, Matthew Edward Clark (1834-1913), now 22 and working with Gordon in their father's business

⁹² The youngest Clark brother, Stanley Yeatman Clark (1839-1915) was 7 or 8 when Edgar went to India. He subsequently went to Harrow school, the only brother who attended a major public school.

⁹³ Probably Chomely school, Highgate, where Matthew had been.