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A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
SIEGE OF DELHI
IN
1857. *Rare*

COMPILED
BY
COLONEL A. G. HANDCOCK,
COLONEL ON THE STAFF, COMMANDING AT DELHI.



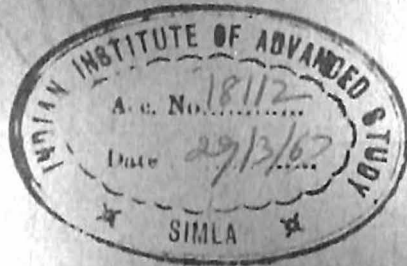
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PREFACE.

AT the suggestion of His Excellency Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief in India, the following account of the mutiny at, and siege and assault of, Delhi in 1857 has been compiled in the hopes that it may assist officers and tourists when visiting Delhi to become acquainted with the events of that memorable year.

It consists chiefly of abbreviated extracts from works already published, and the source from which the information has been derived is invariably given in the margin.

It has been made as short as possible, as visitors have not generally much time for reading, and those who wish to study the history of the Indian Mutiny will find full details in the works quoted.

Should there be any profit from the sale of this pamphlet, it will be given to some fund for the benefit of the Army, probably the "Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association," or Lady Roberts' Fund for "Homes in the Hills and Officers' Hospitals."

DELHI;

A. G. H.

The 15th September 1892. }

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LIST OF AUTHORS REFERRED TO, WITH ABBREVIATED
REFERENCES TO THOSE WHOSE WORKS HAVE
BEEN QUOTED FROM.

A History of the Sepoy War in India.—(Kaye), vols. I, II, and III.—(K. II—495.) Continued by Colonel G. B. Malleson as a "History of the Indian Mutiny," vols. I, II, and III (M. II—25)

The above have been republished in one work in six volumes, with analytical index, called a "History of the Indian Mutiny," by Kaye and Malleson, 6 vols. (K. and M. III—245.) Colonel Malleson has also published a short history of the Indian Mutiny, called "The Indian Mutiny of 1857." 1 vol. [M. (S. H.) 32.]

"History of the Indian Mutiny." By T. R. E. Holmes. 1 vol. (H.—281.)

"The Punjab and Delhi in 1857." By the Revd. Cave-Browne. 2 vols. (C.-B. II—192.)

Blue Book: "King of Delhi's Trial and other Mutiny Papers." 2 vols. (B. B. II—45.)

"Annals of the Indian Rebellion." 1 vol. (Out of print.) Compiled by N. A. Chick. (A. I. B. 22.) Kindly lent by Lord Roberts.

"The New Guide to Delhi." By Captain A. Harcourt. 1 vol. (A. H. 42.)

"Hand-book to Delhi." By K. G. Keene. (H. G. K.—42.)

"Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58." (Sir H. Grant.) 1 vol. Compiled by Captain Henry Knollys from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant. (G.—132.)

"The Indian Mutiny of 1857." By Thornhill. 1 vol. (T.—122.)

"Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58." Edited by George W. Forrest. 1 vol. Kindly lent by Lord Roberts. (S.—24.)

"Narrative of the Campaign in 1857 against the Mutineers of the Bengal Army and other Insurgents assembled at Delhi." By Lieutenant H. W. Norman, Second Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army. (N.—42.)

DATA ENTERED

A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
SIEGE OF DELHI
IN
1857.

In 1857, the year of the Mutiny, the native army in India numbered 232,224 men, whilst to watch it there were only 39,352 British non-commissioned officers and men. The relative strength of European to Native infantry in the three presidencies was as follows:—

Bengal	1 to 24.
Madras	1 „ 16.
Bombay	1 „ 9.

Previous to 1857, when almost the whole of the Bengal native army rose in rebellion, there had been many inconsiderable mutinies in all the three presidencies, accounts of which will be found in the works quoted on the preceding page. (H. 62.)

From 1850 to 1857 all was ostensibly calm, but for years authority had been so concentrated at Army Head Quarters that the sepoy had been taught to regard, not his colonel, but the head of the army, as his commanding officer, and had been encouraged to bring frivolous complaints against his officers at the half-yearly inspections. Lord William Bentinck in 1835 abolished flogging in the Indian army, although the punishment was retained for the British soldier! Petitions, sent direct by all ranks of the native army to the Commander-in-Chief, were of everyday occurrence, and were received and acted on. The army had, as many native officers said, “become without fear,” and was ripe for mutiny. So many of the best of the European officers were taken away for staff employment, that those who remained with the colours lost interest in their duties, and service with a regiment was looked down upon. A colonel commanding had little power to promote, reward, or punish, and when he ventured to pronounce a decision, it was as likely as not that it would be appealed against and reversed. (H. 61.) (G. 9.) (H. 54.) (H. 52.)

(H. 33.)

As to the causes of the Mutiny, some differences of opinion naturally exist, but probably the following embrace the principal :—

The constant extension of territory, thus causing the sepoy to serve further and further away from his home.

The discontinuance of the special allowances given for service beyond Indian limits as newly acquired territory became incorporated in British India.

The centralization of authority at Army Head Quarters resulting in regimental officers having little power to reward or punish.

The annexation of Oudh; from which province a very large portion of the native army was recruited, and the consequent loss of many privileges which the sepoy possessed, especially the right of petition as regards his private affairs.

Sedition stirred up by the discontented Bahadur Shah, King of Delhi, the Nana Sahib, the Rana of Jhansi, and others, especially the Moulvi of Fyzabad, all of whom found a willing tool at hand in the native army, in which discipline had become relaxed and the men's minds unsettled by the introduction of the greased cartridge and the fable regarding bone dust, said to have been mixed in the flour supplied to the troops.

Lastly, the people generally had been prepared for some great event by the mysterious circulation from village to village throughout the country of *chupatties* (the flat cake which forms the staple food of the Indian people).

(H. 88.)

Before the storm actually burst, there were many signs of impending trouble, the chief being incendiarism, the regular symptom of coming mutiny. The 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore had in February refused to receive the new cartridges, and had been disbanded. The following month at Barrackpore Lieutenant Baugh, the adjutant of the 34th Native Infantry, had been cut down by a man named Mangal Pandi, who had proclaimed himself a mutineer, whilst the men of the quarter-guard of the regiment looked on without rendering any aid. This regiment also was disbanded a few weeks afterwards. Early in April the 48th Native Infantry had shown signs of mutiny at Lucknow; while in May, just before the outbreak at Meerut, the 7th Oude Irregular Cavalry at Lucknow had refused to receive the new cartridge, and those who did not run away when the troops to disarm them were brought against them had been made to lay down their arms.

(H. 94.)

As to whether Sunday, the 31st May 1857, was the day fixed for the mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army or not, there is a great conflict of opinion, and the question can never be positively settled; but the balance of probability seems in favour of those who maintain that it was. Fortunately for the British, the native troops at Meerut would not wait, but broke out on the 10th May, and

(H. 545.)

before describing events at Delhi, it is necessary to state what occurred at this station, 36 miles distant, from which the revolted regiments came to Delhi.

At Meerut were quartered—

The 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) (Colonel H. Jones).

1st Battalion, 60th Rifles (Colonel J. Jones).

A troop of Horse Artillery (Major Tombs).

A light Field Battery (Major Scott).

3rd (Native) Light Cavalry (Colonel C. Smith).

11th Native Infantry (Colonel J. Finnis).

20th Native Infantry (Major Taylor).

The brigade was commanded by Colonel Archdale Wilson, R.A., and Major-General W. Hewitt commanded the division.

Government had shortly before issued an order changing the mode of (C.-B. I.—50.) loading the rifle, and requiring the soldier to break off with his fingers, instead of biting, the end of the cartridge. A parade of the 3rd Light Cavalry was held on the 23rd April for the purpose of explaining the new drill to the men; but out of ninety troopers present only five would touch the cartridges. The Commanding Officer expostulated and explained that the cartridges were not new ones, but exactly the same as they had been using all the season, while the change in the manner of loading was introduced purely out of consideration for their scruples; but they still persisted. The parade was dismissed and the matter reported. The eighty-five men were confined, tried by a court-martial composed entirely of native officers, and sentenced to periods of imprisonment with hard labour varying from six to ten years.

A general parade took place on the morning of the 9th May to witness the men being placed in irons and marched off to the civil [M. (S. H.) 62.] jail two miles from cantonments. The troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry looked sullen, and it was evident that the sepoys of the 11th and 20th Native Infantry sympathized with them. (C.-B. I.—55.)

Next day, Sunday, when the residents and troops were in church, the men of the 3rd Cavalry galloped to the jail and released not only their comrades, but the civil prisoners as well. Simultaneously the sepoys of the 11th and 20th hurried from their lines in tumultuous disorder, and seized their arms; the men of the 20th shot Colonel Finnis, of the 11th, and other officers, whilst some of the 3rd Cavalry went off to the bungalows of the officers, and slaughtered all whom they could find. All that night they—first, the mutinous soldiery; then the gaol-birds, aided by the scum of the population—were absolute masters of the situation, for the English authorities, civil and military, taken by surprise, had apparently lost their heads; and, instead of protecting the officers of the native regiments and their families, marched to the general parade ground and back, and then bivouacked for the remainder of the night, whilst the mutineers made for Delhi, unpursued by the Carabineers and Horse Artillery. [M. (S. H.) 70.]

[M. (S. H.) Nor was any pursuit made the next day, or at all; nor was any attempt made to put the authorities at Delhi on their guard!

(C.-B.I.—56.
71.]
57.)

It is due to the 11th Native Infantry to state that they had gone most reluctantly into the movement and did not fire on their officers, whilst they even protected several ladies and children of the regiment, and escorted them out of danger. It is believed that very few went to Delhi.

[M. (S. H.)
71.]
(C.-B.I.—55.)
(C.-B.I.—57.)

Now, to describe Delhi and the mutiny of the troops at that station.

If the visitor will drive out of the city by the Mori Gate to the west, he will strike the Ridge road, which runs along the crest of the ridge. Turning to the right along this road, he will pass the monument erected by Government to commemorate the capture of Delhi. (The besieging army subscribed one day's pay towards its erection, and the Government completed it at a cost of Rs. 21,400.) Next, along the ridge is King Asoka's pillar; then Hindu Rao's house, now used as a convalescent hospital for the British troops during and after the rains; then the ruins of an ancient observatory; further on a ruined mosque, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the south end of the ridge the Flagstaff tower. From the top of this a good view is obtainable. The visitor should, however, drive down the road to the west to the old cemetery, and, on looking back towards the Flagstaff tower, he will see in front of him the old parade ground, where, chiefly to the north of the road, the British troops were encamped during the siege. The ruined buildings to the east of the parade ground under the ridge are the old bells-of-arms, where the muskets of the native regiments were kept, company by company. The men's barracks were in rear, between the bells-of-arms and the ridge, and the officers' bungalows in rear again. The Najafgarh canal runs along the whole of the west of the position taken up by the British, but some batteries were established to the west of the canal. The ridge itself is about 50 to 60 feet above the general level of the city, and runs nearly due north and south.

Returning to the Flagstaff tower, and looking towards the river Jumna, *i.e.*, to the east, the ruins of Sir Thomas Metcalfe's house may be seen, and to the south-east the City of Delhi and the Palace, now generally known as the Fort. To the west is the Umballa or Karnal road, which, about three miles before reaching Delhi, forks into two: one, the north road, leading past the present encamping-ground through a dip in the ridge (after crossing which it is called the Alipur road), past the old racquet court (ball alley) and Ludlow Castle, (now an hotel) to the Kashmir Gate; the other, the south road, running through Subzee Munde and Kishenganj, to the Kabul and Lahore Gates of the city. The visitor might drive from the Flagstaff tower down the road to the east into the Alipur road, and, as he proceeds towards the city, note Ludlow Castle on his right, the Khudsia Bagh (Garden) on his left, and look at the miniature embra-sures built to mark the position of batteries. There are two of these latter (right and left) in Ludlow Castle grounds indicating the position

of No. II Breaching Battery, and one in the Khudsia Bagh, No. III Breaching Battery; others will be found also on the site of the Samee house battery on the ridge, near the Samee house, and of No. I Battery (right) in the enclosure of the new police barracks, and (left) in the compound behind the house next the Sessions and District court-house.

Entering the city by the Kashmir Gate (where a tablet will be found to commemorate the gallant deed of Home, Salkeld, and others, who blew in the gate at the storming of Delhi), the church is passed on the left; then the Government school; then the telegraph office, just beyond which is the gate of the old magazine, with a tablet above to the memory of Lieutenants Willoughby and Forrest, Conductor Scully, and their brave companions, who so courageously defended and blew up the magazine when the mutiny first broke out. The road then runs under the railway (which, it must be remembered, did not exist in 1857), after passing which the palace, or fort, will be seen to the left.

Entering the fort by the Lahore Gate, the visitor can notice the Diwan-i-Âm, or public hall of audience, which he will pass on his left, on his way to the Diwan-i-Khass, or privy council chamber, from whence may be obtained a good view of the river Jumna and the iron railway bridge. This latter, however, did not exist in 1857, the river at that time being spanned by a bridge made of the ordinary large country boats. There were then, too, no barracks in the fort, which was occupied by Bahadur Shah, titular King of Dehli, and his enormous following.

Leaving the fort by the gate by which he entered, the visitor will see in front of him the Chandni Chauk, the principal street of Delhi, and as he approaches it will observe the mighty Juma Masjid, or Friday mosque, to his left. Driving down the Chandni Chauk, he will pass the Delhi Bank on his right, and will emerge from the city by the Lahore Gate. He should then turn to the right and drive along the road running outside the city wall past the Kabul Gate, the North-West bastion, and the Mori bastion and gate, back to the Kashmir Gate. He will thus gain a very good idea of the portion of the city wall which was attacked by the British troops, and be in a position to understand the events of the mutiny, siege, and assault, which will now be briefly described:

In 1857, the principal occupant of the "Palace," or fort, was Bahadur Shah, King of Delhi, the twentieth successor of the illustrious Akbar. He was King of Delhi in name, and in name only. Three times during the previous century had Delhi been plundered, and on one occasion the Emperor, old Shah Alam, had been blinded, and the city for fifteen years occupied by Mahrattas. In 1803 Lord Lake took Delhi, and rescued the old emperor, who had since been maintained in splendour and comfort in the palace, within which his will was supreme; but his power did not extend beyond. Bahadur Shah succeeded to the titular sovereignty of Delhi in 1837. He had the power of conferring titles and dresses of honour upon his own immediate retainers, but was prohibited from exercising that power on any others. He and the

[M. (S. H.)
72-73.]

heir-apparent alone were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's local courts, but were under the orders of the Supreme Government. He was allowed to maintain as many men in his service as he could pay. His pension was Rs. 1,00,000 per mensem, besides revenue to the amount of Rs. 1,50,000 per annum from crown lands in the (B. B. I.—94.) neighbourhood of Delhi, and ground rents of houses in the city itself.

The feelings of the king and his family had for some time been considerably excited against the Indian Government regarding the succession to the throne. His favourite wife had tried to secure it for her son, Jiwan Bakht; but Fakr-ud-din, the eldest surviving son, had been the acknowledged heir-apparent. The latter, however, died in 1856, when Lord Canning decided to recognise the next eldest, who agreed to renounce the title of king. Bahadur Shah, his courtiers, his sons, his favourite wife, and his dependants knew, therefore, that on the old king's death the house of Taimur would be humbled to the dust. It cannot then be wondered at that they were ready to strike a blow for the restitution of the family honors, and to court death rather than submit to such disgrace.

[M. (S. H.)
72-76.]

Attached to the citadel, and representing British interests at the palace, were Mr. Fraser and the commandant of the Palace Guards, Captain Douglas. In cantonments on the ridge were quartered the 38th, 54th, and 74th Native Infantry and a battery of native artillery, the whole being under the command of Brigadier Graves. There were no British regiments at Delhi.

On the morning of the 11th May, the day after the outbreak at Meerut, a brigade parade was held to read to the troops the proceedings of the court-martial on Ishri Pandi, the mutinous native officer of Barrackpore, and signs of sympathy with him were detected. There was, however, no overt act, and the parade was dismissed as usual. It subsequently transpired that the evening before some sepoy from Meerut had arrived in the lines, and had communicated to the regiments at Delhi the intentions of the native brigade at that station.

[M. (S. H.)
78.]
[M. (S. H.)
78.]

Meanwhile the sepoy of the revolted Meerut regiments, headed by the troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, had during the night hastened to Delhi, which they sighted at sunrise. Crossing the Jumna by the bridge-of-boats, having cut down the toll-keeper and slain a solitary Englishman whom they met, they hastened to the palace of the king and clamoured for admittance, declaring that they had killed the English at Meerut and had come to fight for the true faith.

(B. B. I.—98.)

Captain Douglas wanted to go down and speak to them, but was dissuaded by the king, and contented himself with entering the verandah and ordering them to depart. The men, however, scornfully defied him, and the sepoy of the guard furnished by the 38th Native Infantry admitted them. Once inside the fort, they made short work of every Englishman they found.

They cut down Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the chaplain, his daughter, and Miss Clifford, a young lady staying with them. Mr. Hutchinson, the collector, also fell a victim to their barbarity. The king's followers joined in the slaughter. Outside the palace the carnage was greater. The Delhi Bank was attacked, and Mr. Beresford, the manager, and his family, after a gallant defence, were all slain. The *Delhi Gazette* Press and its inmates met the same fate. Every house, in fact, occupied by Europeans or Eurasians was attacked, and every Christian upon whom hands could be laid was killed. There was no mercy, and there was no quarter. [H. (S. H.) 77-78.]

Meanwhile in cantonments matters were not going much better. The officers who had returned to their quarters after the brigade parade were startled by hearing that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, and that the advance guard of them, the 3rd Cavalry, had galloped across the bridge into Delhi. They believed, however, that it was only an isolated mutiny, and expected that, whilst their own brigade would show them a bold front, the Carabineers and 60th Rifles would assail the mutineers from the rear. With a light heart, then, the officers of the 54th Native Infantry and of the battery of Artillery accompanied their men towards the city. On their arrival at the gates, however, the men of the 38th Native Infantry at the main guard near the Kashmir Gate set the example of revolt, and refused to fire on the mutineers, while some of the 54th fired in the air, and some on their own officers. The 74th Native Infantry was then led down from cantonments, and halted at the main guard, when a terrible explosion occurred. [M. (S. H.) 78-79.]

In the heart of the city, where the post-office now stands, was the great magazine full of munitions of war. In that morning were Lieutenant George Willoughby, who was in charge; Lieutenants Forrest and Raynor of the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments; Conductors Buckley, Shaw, Scully, and Crow; and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Having been informed about 8 o'clock by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the Magistrate of Delhi, that the mutineers had been admitted to the palace, Willoughby at once realised the situation and prepared to render the magazine as defensible as possible. The gates were closed and barricaded, guns were placed at salient points and double charged with grape, whilst a central position was established, the artillery from which could bear upon any point which might be forced. Arms were served out to the subordinate workers (who were all natives) in the hopes that they would be faithful, but they refused to obey any orders. Then, knowing that it was quite impossible to resist for long a serious assault, and resolved that the valuable contents of the magazine should not, if they could help it, fall into the hands of the Queen's enemies, these gallant Englishmen caused a train to be laid communicating with the powder magazine, and awaited the attack.

This was not long delayed. The king, or some one on his behalf, having sent down scaling ladders, these were erected against the wall; whereupon the whole of the native establishment climbed over and deserted to the assailants, who consisted chiefly of the sepoy of the

11th and 20th Native Infantry from Meerut. A long and gallant defence was made, and Forrest and Buckley were disabled; then, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, Willoughby gave the order to fire the train. None expected to survive, and Scully and four of his comrades were never seen again. Willoughby and Forrest, however, reached the Kashmir Gate, whilst Raynor and Buckley also escaped with their lives. Hundreds of the attackers were killed. This explosion occurred about four o'clock in the afternoon, and indicated to the rebels that for the moment mutiny had triumphed.

Simultaneously with the destruction of the magazine, the sepoy of the 38th Native Infantry at the main guard fired a volley into the group of officers near them, and killed several. The remainder, taking with them some ladies and women who had assembled at the guard-house, effected their escape through an embrasure in the bastion which skirts the adjoining courtyard, whence, dropping into the ditch, and ascending the opposite scarp, they gained the glacis, and made their way through the jungle, some to cantonments, and others towards Metcalfe's house.

(M. (S. H.)
79-82.)

In the meantime the troops in cantonments had refused to act against the mutineers, and had become very excited; but they were few in numbers, consisting of only two guns of DeTeissier's battery, the 38th Native Infantry, and some of the 74th Native Infantry. All the officers, ladies, and families had collected at the Flagstaff tower, in front of which the guns had been placed. The bearing of the sepoy was changing, and it was clear that in any attack they would join their brethren against their European masters. The heat was intense, and the place crowded with ladies, children, and servants. All thoughts were turned towards Meerut, but no succour came. To hold out was hopeless; flight alone was possible; so, when the explosion at the magazine had taken place, it was decided to retire as best they could. The retreat became general. Captain DeTeissier, drew off his two guns, and men, women, and children sallied forth, alike those who had been at the Flagstaff tower all day, and those who had but just arrived from the main guard. For three or four miles the guns and tumbrils were kept together, but during the night they dropped behind and joined the mutineers. Fortunately the sepoy of the 38th Native Infantry, though defiant and insolent, did not oppose the retreat; in fact, they urged Brigadier Graves and his brigademajor, who had remained behind, to follow the others. Before leaving, an effort was made to blow up the magazine to the north of the old cantonment; but the guard would not permit this, and all the powder fell into the hands of the mutineers.

(C.-B. 73-74.)

It was now nearly sunset. All had dispersed in carriages and buggies, on horseback and on foot. Their sufferings were terrible. Crouching in by-ways, wading rivers, carrying their children as best they could, enduring the maltreatment of villagers—hungry, thirsty, and weary—many perished by the way, whilst some succeeded in escaping to Meerut, some to Karnal, others to Umballa. The

(C.-B. 86-87.)

behaviour of the women was such as to make the men proud of their companions. As one instance out of many, the following account of the escape of Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Peile is quoted from the "Annals of the Indian Rebellion" :— [M. (S. H.) 83.]

"A party, consisting of Dr. Wood, his wife, Mrs. Peile, and three or four officers and ladies, escaped towards Karnal from Delhi; the ladies in a buggy, and the doctor, who was severely wounded, in a palanquin.

"After they had proceeded a short distance, some villagers stopped and threatened them, and they were obliged to return and hide in a garden, the owner of which promised them shelter.

"However, a band of villagers discovered them, beat and robbed them, broke their conveyances, and took away their horses. The party then started afresh, walking, for Karnal, begging food from the villagers, and greatly impeded by the care of Dr. Wood, who was quite disabled by his wound. At some villages they were kindly treated; at others, insulted and refused shelter from the sun. On the sixth day a friendly Rani gave them a temporary refuge, but soon withdrew her protection on finding that her people were displeased. Thus driven forth, the fugitives were joined by two other officers, and marched on, suffering great hardships from thirst, and walking barefooted over sand and thorns. At Gowsowlee the natives gave them food, and mounted them on mules, which carried them until they met an escort sent out by the Maharajah of Patiala to protect them. Later on the party were able to travel by ordinary bullock train to Umballa, and thence, though with great difficulty, by dogcart to Kalka, at the foot of the Simla Hills. It was eleven days before Dr. Wood had his wound dressed by a medical man. During all this time the fugitives suffered terribly, being compelled to drink water out of muddy tanks, robbed of their valuables and even clothing, and brutally insulted by almost all the natives they came across." (A. I. R.)

Meanwhile, immediately around the imperial city, rebellion was triumphant. Some fifty Christians, Europeans and Eurasians, who lived in Daryaganj, the English quarter of the city (now occupied by the native regiment, its officers, and staff officers), had taken refuge in one of the strongest houses of the quarter and barricaded themselves. Their asylum, however, was speedily stormed and the defenders dragged to the palace, where they were lodged in an underground apartment without windows, and with only one door. Five days later they were taken out, led to a courtyard, and massacred. After that—16th May—not a single Christian remained in Delhi. [M. (S.H.) 84.]

THE MARCH TO DELHI.

General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, was at Simla when the news of the revolt at Meerut and Delhi reached him; Lord Canning, the Governor-General, was in Calcutta; Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, was at Rawal Pindi; and Mr. Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, was at Lahore.

All recognised at once that the safety of India depended on the retaking of Delhi; but space does not permit of any description in detail of the measures adopted for the despatch of a force for this purpose. Suffice it to say, that General Anson set out on the 25th May from Umballa with the following troops:—

9th Lancers (Colonel Hope Grant), 450 sabres.
 75th Foot (Colonel Herbert), 800 strong.
 1st Bengal European Regiment (Major Jacob), 800 strong.
 2nd Bengal European Regiment (Colonel Showers), 550 strong.
 Two troops of Horse Artillery (Majors Turner and Money).
 60th Native Infantry (Colonel Seaton).
 One squadron, 4th Native Cavalry (Colonel Clayton).

(C.-B. $\frac{1}{211-12}$)

Orders had been sent for the Meerut Brigade to join at Baghpat, one march from Delhi; this would increase the force by two squadrons of the Carabineers, a wing of the 60th Rifles, Scott's Light Field Battery, Tombs' troop of Horse Artillery, and some Sappers; also two 18-pounder guns manned by Europeans and some irregular native horse. General Anson, however, died of cholera at Karnal on the 26th, and was succeeded by General Barnard, who moved forward the following day and reached Alipur, 12 miles from Delhi, on the 6th June, not having waited for the siege train, which was following from Ludhiana.

[M. (S. H.)
119-20.]

In the meantime the Meerut Brigade, under Brigadier-General Wilson, set out from Meerut on the 27th for Baghpat, and in three days reached the town of Ghazi-ud-din Nagar, about a mile from the left bank of the river Hindan, where it met, fought, and defeated a considerable body of the mutinied sepoys. The intense heat, however, prevented the following up of the victory, and the next day the sepoys returned to the battle ground, and again attacked General Wilson's force. A fierce artillery combat lasted for two hours, after which General Wilson ordered a general advance, which the sepoys did not await, but retreated to Delhi. Next day the Sirmoor Battalion of Gurkhas, under Major Charles Reid, arrived in camp from Aligarh, and 100 more of the 60th Rifles came from Meerut. The brigade then halted for orders, which arrived on the 4th, and on the 6th it marched to Baghpat. The following day, the 7th, it effected the desired junction with the Umballa force, under General Barnard, at Alipur, the siege train being close behind.

[M. (S. H.)
23-24.]

[M. (S. H.)
3]
(C.-B. 316.)

On the 8th, General Barnard advanced in the early morning from Alipur to attack the rebels at Badli-ki-Sarai, 6 miles to the north of Delhi, where they had taken up a strong position amongst groups of old houses and walled gardens. Day was just dawning when Barnard came in sight of the position and opened fire. The fact that the enemy's artillery was of heavier calibre than that which Barnard had sent to the front was soon disclosed, so he ordered the 75th Foot and 2nd Europeans to charge the rebels' guns. The onslaught was splendid, but the rebels did not flinch. Whilst this struggle for the guns was going on, Brigadier-General Graves' brigade attacked the enemy's left, and Hope Grant, with the cavalry and horse artillery, appeared on their rear, upon which the rebels fell back. Constantly charged by the cavalry, and fired on by the artillery, they retired,

[M. (S. H.)
125.]

baffled and humiliated, within the walls of the city. Barnard at once pushed on against the enemy occupying the ridge overlooking Delhi; sending Graves' brigade, with Money's troop of horse artillery, by the left road from Azadpur, and Showers' brigade, with the cavalry (C.-B. $\frac{1}{323}$) and the rest of the artillery, by the right road; whilst the Sirmoor Battalion made a frontal attack. The enemy were driven from the ridge by Graves' and Showers' brigades, which met at Hindu Rao's house, after which General Barnard encamped his force in the old cantonments and occupied the position he had won. General Graves, who had been the last to turn his back on the Flagstaff tower on the evening of the 11th May, was amongst the first to enter it again on the 8th June, re-captured by his column. Barnard and his men had done good work on that eventful day. He had driven the enemy within the walls with a loss to them of about 350 men, 26 guns, and some serviceable ammunition. He had gained and occupied the finest possible base of operations against the city—a position open in rear to the re-inforcements which he hoped to receive, whilst commanding the plain right up to the walls. All this had not, however, been accomplished without loss. The killed and wounded amounted to 137, amongst the former being Colonel Chester, Adjutant-General of the army.

The rebels, moreover, did not seem disposed to allow an undisputed possession of the ridge; for by 2 o'clock they opened a heavy cannonade on the position, and attacked the right flank, where some guns were brought out to play upon the camp. The attack was repulsed and one of the guns captured. By evening the camp was quiet, with the exception of the cannonade, which continued all night. The points taken up along the ridge were the Flagstaff tower on the left, held by a strong infantry picquet; Hindu Rao's house on the right, strongly held by the Sirmoor Gurkhas and two companies of the 60th Rifles; another infantry picquet at a large mosque, about midway between; while on the right flank a mound commanding the Subzee Mundeel suburb was held by a strong picquet with guns and cavalry. (C.-B. $\frac{1}{326-27}$) The canal, which ran along the rear, was watched by cavalry picquets.

On the morning of the 9th June the Guides, a corps composed of cavalry and infantry under Colonel Henry Daly, arrived in camp. This regiment had marched in 24 days from the Punjab, a distance of 580 miles. They mustered three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry, and within three hours of arrival were engaged with the enemy, for the cannonade had been going on all night, and in the afternoon the mutineers moved out of the Lahore Gate in force, and made a determined advance on the right flank. In assisting to repel the attack, the Guides pushed on in pursuit through the Subzee Mundeel and Kishanganj right up to the walls of the city. In this affair Daly, Hawes, and Quintin Battye of the Guides were wounded, the latter mortally so. (C.-B. I.— 329.) The brave boy died with a Latin quotation on his tongue—"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

Before describing the subsequent operations, it will be as well to look at the relative situations of the combatants, and, in order to understand this clearly, the visitor is recommended to consult an excellent plan of the British position drawn in the Quarter Master General's

Office when Lord Roberts, the present Commander-in-Chief, was Quarter Master General, and now placed in the Memorial Monument and Delhi Institute. It shows distinctly the various points occupied by the British, and gives the sites of batteries and picquets, with their armaments, lines of fire, and garrisons.

[M. (S. H.)
278.] The City of Delhi lies on a plain on the right bank of the river Jumna ; it is surrounded on three sides by a lofty stone wall, $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, while the fourth, about a mile and a quarter in length, runs parallel to, and is covered by, the river. At the north-east angle is the fort of Selimgarh, adjoining which to the south is the main fort, or the king's palace, having very high walls of red sandstone, nearly a mile and a half in circumference. The gates of the city, in addition to those already described, were on the west and south the Farash Khana, Ajmir, Turkoman, and Delhi Gates; and on the east, facing the river, the Khyrati and Rajghat Gates. The walls had been strengthened by English engineers and provided with perfect flanking defences. Round them ran a dry ditch some 25 feet in breadth and somewhat less than 20 in depth, the counterscarp being an earthen slope of easy descent, much worn. A sort of glacis also existed. The city was garrisoned by about 40,000 sepoy, armed and disciplined by the British. Its walls were armed with 114 pieces of heavy artillery, capable of being supplied with ammunition from the magazine, the largest in the upper provinces. In addition, the rebels had about sixty pieces of field artillery with well drilled gunners.

[M. (S. H.)
279.] To take this strongly defended city, the English general had about 3,000 British soldiers, a battalion of Gurkhas, the Corps of Guides, some remnants of sepoy (whose fidelity was not assured), and twenty field guns. The position he had taken up on the ridge was rather more than two miles in length, its left resting upon the Jumna, some three or four miles above Delhi, while its right extremity approached the Kabul Gate at a distance of about a thousand yards. The rear was open, and a good supply of water was obtainable from the Najafgarh canal. A branch of the Karnal road led through the old cantonment to the gates of the city on the north, whilst the main road ran through Subzee Mundee to the Kabul Gate. The camp was pitched to the north of the left and centre of the ridge, and parallel to it, being concealed from the view of the enemy by the houses of the officers of the Delhi brigade and the trees. The weakest part of the position, and that nearest the city, was the right, where the enemy obtained much shelter from the houses and walled gardens in the suburb of Subzee Mundee and the villages of Kishenganj and Paharipur. The Flagstaff tower, an old mosque, Hindu Rao's house, and the old Observatoary were all occupied. To the east, but somewhat south, of the Flagstaff tower was Metcalfe's house near the Jumna, with substantial outbuildings and a mound in rear. Between that house and the city was an old summer palace of the Moghal sovereigns, called Khudsia Bagh, with lofty gateways and spacious courtyards (now in ruins); whilst on the road, which leads from the north end of the ridge

[M. (S. H.)
280.]

to the Kashmir Gate, was Ludlow Castle, and near the river, between the Khudsia Bagh and the Water gate, was another large house close to the city walls.

General Barnard considered, when he surveyed the city and the country between it and the camp on the 9th June, that he had done rightly in not following the rebels within the walls two days previously; but he knew what was expected of him, and that Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence were of opinion that short work might be made of Delhi. An assault was therefore ordered for the 12th, but abandoned at the last moment. It was fortunate that it was, for after events proved that, even had the gates been carried, the force was not nearly strong enough to hold the city. [M. (S. H.) 270 & 28.]

On the 14th June General Reed arrived in camp to assume command; but, owing to ill-health, he did not supersede Barnard, and that officer continued to direct operations till his death. [M. (S. H.) 282.]

The question of a *coup de main* was discussed for several days, but on the 18th it was decided to wait for reinforcements.

In the interval there was a great deal of fighting. On the 12th the rebels attacked the British camp in front and rear, but were driven back and pursued through the grounds of Metcalfe's house to the walls of the city; a picquet being posted at the house, and communications established with it from the Flagstaff tower. The same day attacks made upon Hindu Rao's house and the Subzee Munde were repulsed. A regiment of irregular cavalry, however, went over to the enemy. [M. (S. H.) 283.]

On the 13th another attack was repulsed, and on the 17th the besiegers took the initiative, their advance being led most gallantly by Reid, of the Gurkhas, from Hindu Rao's house, and by Tombs, of the Horse Artillery, from the camp. A battery, which the enemy were erecting, was destroyed, and the rebels driven back into the city. The fire from their heavy guns was, however, so heavy that the success was not completely followed up.

On the 18th, the day on which the decision not to attempt a *coup de main* was arrived at, the rebels were re-inforced by the mutinied sepoy brigade from Nasirabad. On its arrival they came out in force, and attacked the British camp in rear. The loss was heavy on both sides, and night fell upon a drawn battle, the rebels maintaining their position till early morning.

On the 23rd June, the anniversary of Plassey, and the day foretold as that which would witness the downfall of British rule, the rebels made a supreme effort to verify the prophecy. Fortunately the English had received that day a reinforcement of about 850 men and four horse artillery guns: The right bore the brunt of the attack and maintained their position; but it was only as night fell, and after most desperate fighting, that the rebels retired.

On the 24th Neville Chamberlain arrived from Lahore to assume the post of Adjutant-General, and reinforcements, raising the effective strength of the British force to 6,600 men, were received from the Punjab. The rebels too had their share of good fortune, for on the [M. (S. H.) 283.]

1st and 2nd July the Bareilly Brigade, consisting of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, a horse battery, and two post guns, marched in. It was commanded by a subadar of artillery, Bakht Khan by name, who was almost at once nominated Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces in the city.

Meanwhile the arrival of reinforcements within the camp had revived the question of assault. Plans were arranged, and the 3rd July was decided upon for the attempt; but information that the rebels contemplated a serious attack that very day caused its postponement.

[M. (S. H.)
285.] Early on the morning of the 3rd Colonel Baird-Smith arrived from Roorkee to take his place as senior officer of Engineers.

On the 4th General Barnard was seized with cholera, which carried him off on the 5th, and General Reed succeeded to the command. Baird-Smith had suggested to Barnard the advisability of an assault; but before the proposal could be considered, Barnard was dead, and Reed meditated so long that the opportunity passed away.

On the 6th July the rebels made another grand attack in force, but were driven back, after a loss of 233 men killed and wounded on the British side. In repelling this attack, James Hills, of the Artillery (now Sir James Hills-Johnes), behaved with great gallantry, and was badly wounded. Indeed, had it not been for the gallant conduct of his commanding officer, Major Tombs, who rushed in and shot a man who was about to cut him down, he would have been killed. For this both Tombs and Hills afterwards received the Victoria Cross.

(N. 445.)

Five days later the rebels attacked Hindu Rao's house, but, after a hard fought encounter they were driven back by a column under Brigadier Showers, which moved into the Subzee Mundeel about 3 P.M., and forced them to withdraw their field artillery and to retire into the city. On this occasion, notwithstanding that they suffered heavily from the grape fired from the city, our men pursued the enemy to within 600 yards of the walls. Our loss this day was 15 men killed and 16 officers and 177 men wounded, amongst the latter being Neville Chamberlain and Lieutenant Frederick Roberts (Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, now Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief in India). The enemy were lying thick in many places, and their loss was estimated at a thousand. An old temple called by the European soldiers the "Samee House," some way down the slope of the ridge towards the city, and within 900 yards of the Mori bastion, which had been for some time held by us, was the scene of hard fighting. During the week the British lost 25 officers and 400 men killed and wounded.

(N. 449-50.)

On the 17th General Reed, whose health had completely broken down, made over the command to Archdale Wilson. Next day the rebels attacked on the Subzee Mundeel side, but were repulsed by Colonel Jones of the 60th Rifles. To prevent future attempts in that quarter, the Engineers cleared away the houses and walls and connected the advanced posts with the main picquets on the ridge, after which there were no more attacks on the Subzee Mundeel.

On the 23rd the enemy made one more effort in anticipation of the arrival of Brigadier-General John Nicholson. This was directed against Ludlow Castle, but was repulsed, although the British suffered very severely.

The 1st August was the great Mahomedan festival of the Bukra Eed. It was the custom for a gorgeous procession to come forth on that day from the city and proceed to the Idgah, where the Moghal Emperor used to sacrifice a camel. This year it was determined that a far greater sacrifice should be offered up. The unbelievers were to be exterminated. A royal salute announced the day. The rebels poured forth from the city gates, which were closed behind them. The intrepid fanatics, shouting the old Moslem battle cry, threw themselves upon our works. The attack was made about sunset on the right of our position. A deadly fire from our men checked their advance. Again and again they rallied and tried to rush the breastworks, but the steady volleys stopped their charge. The firing from the batteries continued the whole night, and the air rang with the wild cries of the fanatics and the rolling of musketry. It was past noon the next day before the enemy retired baffled. Our loss was one officer and nine men killed and 36 wounded. The enemy's loss was heavy, 127 bodies being counted in front of a single breastwork to the right of the Samee house.

(S. 66.)
(N. 454.)

On the 7th August Nicholson arrived in advance of his troops, and on the same day the enemy's powder manufactory was accidentally blown up.

(S. 67.)

On the 12th Showers expelled the rebels from Ludlow Castle, which they had managed to occupy.

On the 14th Nicholson's column arrived, and on the 25th he marched with a strong force to attack the rebels, who had moved from Delhi in great strength to intercept the siege train coming from Karnal. The march, through marshy ground, lasted twelve hours, and it was towards sunset ere the weary soldiers espied the rebel force, composed of the Neemuch Brigade, occupying two villages and a caravansarai, which were protected by guns and partly surrounded by deep water. The position was carried, and the rebels, who had made for the bridge crossing the Najafgarh canal, were pursued and caught, 800 being killed and 13 guns captured. The next day Nicholson's brigade returned to camp.

[M. (S. H.)
289.]

On the 4th September the siege guns arrived, and a few days later some more reinforcements, which increased General Wilson's troops to 8,748 men, of whom 3,317 were British.

Wilson then decided to assault the city, being urged to do so by Baird-Smith, who, assisted by his second-in-command, Alexander Taylor, drew up the plan of attack, to explain which the following short description of the defences, given by Baird-Smith himself, is quoted:—

[M. (S. H.)
291.]

"The eastern face rests on the Jumna, and when the assault was made the river washed the base of the walls, so access on that front

was impracticable. The defences on the north, west, and south consist of a succession of bastioned fronts, the connections being very long and the outworks limited to one crown work at the Ajmir Gate, and martello towers, mounting a single gun, at such points as require additional flanking fire to that given by the bastions themselves. The bastions are small, generally mounting three guns in each face, two in each flank, and one in the embrasure at the salient, and have masonry parapets 12 feet in thickness, with a relief of 16 feet above the plane of sight. The curtain consists of a simple masonry wall or rampart, 16 feet in height, 11 feet thick at top, and 14 or 15 feet at bottom. The main wall carries a parapet, loop-holed for musketry, 8 feet in height and thickness. The whole of the front line is covered by a berm, varying in width from 16 to 30 feet, with an escarp wall 8 feet high. Exterior to this is a dry ditch about 25 feet in width and from 16 to 20 in depth. The counterscarp is simply an earthen slope, easy to descend. The glacis is a very short one, extending only 50 or 60 yards from the counterscarp."

(H. 48.)

(G. 2.)

It was necessary that the attack should be directed against the northern face—that is, the Mori, Kashmir, and Water bastions, and the curtain walls connecting them. The plan was to crush the fire of the Mori bastion; that silenced, to advance on the British left, which was covered by the river, and would be secure. The night of the 7th was fixed for the commencement of the batteries. That day Wilson issued a stirring order to the troops, telling them that the hour was at hand when, as he trusted, they would be rewarded for their past exertions by the capture of the city. That evening the Engineers began their work.

For No. 1 Battery a site had been selected below the ridge, in the open plain within 700 yards of the Mori bastion. The right section (to mark which a miniature embrasure is erected in the north-west corner of the new police barrack enclosure), commanded by Major Brind, was intended to silence the Mori bastion; the left one (see miniature embrasure behind the Judge's bungalow), under Major Kaye, was to keep down the fire from the Kashmir bastion until the order for delivering the assault should be given. The enemy made a sortie against the right section from the Lahore Gate the next day, but were beaten back. On the 10th the left section caught fire, but this was extinguished by Lieutenant Lockhart, who, assisted by some of the Sirmoor Gurkhas, gallantly mounted the top of the parapet under a heavy fire, and poured sand on the blazing battery. The first section opened fire gun by gun as each platform was completed, and soon rendered the Mori bastion harmless.

[M. (S. H.)
292-93.]

[M. (S. H.)
293.]

Meanwhile No. 2 Battery, in two sections also, had been traced in front of Ludlow Castle (see miniature embrasures there), both directed against the Kashmir bastion, and intended to silence its fire, to knock away the parapet to the right and left that gave cover to its defenders, and to open a breach for the stormers. This battery was unmasked on the 11th.

The third battery required in its construction a large amount of skill and daring. It was traced under the directions of Major Medley, of the Engineers, within 160 yards of the Water bastion. It was finished and armed by the night of the 11th. It was intended to breach the curtain adjoining the Water bastion (see miniature embrasure in Khudsia Bagh).

A fourth battery, commanded by the gallant Tombs, contained six heavy mortars, and was traced in the Khudsia Bagh. It was also completed on the 11th, and was intended to shell the Kashmir Gate and bastion, the Church, Skinner's house (now Bank of Bengal), and the Water bastion.

The enemy at last recognized that the attack would be against their right, so they adopted measures which, if carried out sooner, would have added enormously to the difficulty of the beseigers' task, if, indeed, they had not rendered it altogether impossible. They set to work to mount heavy guns along the curtain between the bastions on the northern face, and in convenient nooks light guns. They also in one night made an advanced trench, parallel to the left attack and 120 yards from the walls, covering their front; this trench they lined with infantry.

A tremendous fire from both sides continued from the opening of each new battery till the afternoon of the 13th, when Wilson and Baird-Smith came to the conclusion that two sufficient breaches had been made. Directions were accordingly given for their examination—a dangerous duty, which was performed by Medley and Lang for the Kashmir bastion, and by Greathed and Home for the Water bastion. The breaches were reported practicable, and Baird-Smith recommended an assault on the coming morning. Wilson agreed, and issued the necessary orders.

The 1st Column, under Brigadier-General Nicholson, was to storm the right breach near the Kashmir bastion, and also to [M. (S. H.)
295-96.]
escalade the face of the bastion. The Engineers attached to this column were Medley, Lang, and Bingham.

At the same time Brigadier Jones, Commanding the 2nd Column, was to storm the left breach in the Water bastion, and had [M. (S. H.)
296-97.]
attached to him Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton as Engineers.

Similarly Colonel Campbell, 52nd Light Infantry, commanded the 3rd Column, which was to assault by the Kashmir Gate after it should have been blown open by the Engineer party under Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

The 4th Column, under Major Reid, Sirmoor Rifle Battalion, was to attack the suburb of Kishenganj and enter by the Lahore Gate; its Engineers were Maunsell and Tenant.

The 5th, or Reserve Column, under Brigadier Longfield, 8th Foot, was to support the 1st Column. Its Engineers were Ward and Thackeray.

References
on plan of the
British posi-
tion at the
siege of Delhi
and
[M. (S. H.)
296-97.]

In this account space will not allow of more than a summary being given of the tremendous conflict that followed.

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 14th September the columns of assault were drawn up, and after a slight delay, as day was dawning, they moved quietly to the positions assigned them to await the signal to advance.

The places appointed for the columns to rendezvous were as follows:—

The 1st (Nicholson) in the Khudsia Bagh to the north and west of the old ruined gateway in the centre of the garden.

The 2nd (Jones) on the left of the 1st and nearer the river.

The 3rd (Campbell) on the right of Nicholson's, on the road leading from Ludlow Castle to the Kashmir Gate.

(S. 78 &
Plan.)

The 5th (Longfield), or Reserve Column, in rear of Nicholson's to the left (east) of the road.

(N. 466.)

The heads of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Columns were kept concealed until the moment for the advance should arrive.

There were only some 6,500 men all told, of whom but 1,200 were British soldiers, to take this strong city defended by 30,000 desperate and disciplined rebels. A mere handful indeed, but terrible in their strength, their discipline, and the passions awakened in their hearts. The news of the foul massacre at Cawnpore had reached the force, and the toil and hardship they had undergone, combined with the memory of their slaughtered women and children, had made the men savage, and determined to wreak vengeance on the guilty city.

(S. 78.)

At dawn an incessant play of artillery was opened on the walls in order to drive the enemy from the breaches and protect the columns as they formed.

Nicholson, after one glance to see that the 1st and 2nd Columns were in position, gave the order to advance just after daybreak. The 1st Column moved steadily forward until it reached the edge of the jungle; then the Engineers and storming party rushed to the breach near the Kashmir bastion, and, under a very heavy fire, lowered the ladders, down which the officers led their men, and, mounting the escarp and scrambling up the breach, were soon in the work. The rebels could not stand a hand-to-hand encounter, but fell back on the second line. The breach at this point was won.

Simultaneously the 2nd Column carried the breach in the Water bastion under a tremendous fire, which caused much loss, and then cleared the ramparts of the enemy as far as the Kabul Gate.

Meanwhile the explosion party under Home and Salkeld, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, Corporal Burgess, Bugler Hawthorne, and eight native sappers, covered by 100 men of the 60th Rifles, had sped on their way to the front to attach kegs of powder to, and blow in, the Kashmir Gate.

They advanced straight forward in the face of a very heavy fire; and, each member of the party carrying a bag containing 25 pounds of powder, crossed the ditch by a barrier gate, which they found open, and reached the foot of the great double gate. The bags were attached under a heavy fire, the train was ignited, and the gates blown in with a tremendous explosion. In this gallant exploit Salkeld was wounded, and died a few days later. Home escaped at the time, but was killed shortly afterwards at the assault of Malagarh. Burgess and Carmichael were killed, as was also a native sapper, and two other natives were wounded. Smith and Hawthorne survived and received the Victoria Cross.

Hearing the explosion, Campbell, Commanding the 3rd Column, ordered it to advance. It dashed forward, crossed the bridge, and entered the city just as the 1st and 2nd Columns had won the breaches. Campbell at once pressed on to the main guard, cleared the Water bastion, forced his way through the bazaar and Begum Bagh to the lower end of the Chandni Chauk, and finally reached the Juma Masjid, which, however, he could not force, as its gates were bricked up, and he had no powder-bags or guns. As no reinforcements reached him however, he was after a time obliged to fall back on the Begum Bagh (Queen's Garden).

The progress of the 4th Column was greatly interfered with by the non-arrival of the four horse artillery guns which had been ordered to accompany it. Reid, however, immediately after hearing the explosion at the Kashmir Gate, discovered that 500 of the Jammu troops, despatched two hours earlier for the purpose of effecting a diversion by occupying Idgah, an old fort a little to the west of the Lahore Gate, had become engaged, and as no time was to be lost, he pushed on without any guns at all. The assault failed, Reid was wounded, and the column was withdrawn to the batteries behind Hindu Rao's house. The Jammu troops also were unsuccessful in their attack on the Idgah, and lost four guns. The repulse of the 4th Column added greatly to the difficulties of the other three.

Nicholson, having gained the breach in the Kashmir bastion, massed his column, the 1st, on the square of the main guard, and, turning to the right, pushed on along the foot of the walls inside the city, towards the Lahore Gate, under a galling fire. Beyond the Kabul Gate, which, as already stated, had been occupied by the 2nd Column, he hoped to be supported by the 4th Column; but, as the attack of this column had failed, his advance without its aid was rendered difficult and dangerous. Nicholson, however, was determined to push on to the Lahore Gate. To do this, his column had to pass under the fire of the Burn bastion, and through a long lane, every building in which was manned by sharpshooters, while the further end was commanded by two brass guns. The men captured the first of these and dashed at the second, but had to fall back; whereupon Nicholson, called upon them to follow him and advance again. Before a sufficient number of men could respond, a bullet pierced the body of their

[M. (S. H.
301-3.]

illustrious leader.* The wound was mortal, and Nicholson knew it, but he still called upon his men to go on. He was, however, asking that which had now become impossible. He had no guns, and already 8 officers and 50 men had fallen in the attempt. There was nothing for it but to retire on the Kabul Gate; this was done, and Jones assumed the command of the two columns.

[M. (S. H.)
303.]

Campbell, with the 3rd Column, had fallen back on the Begum Bagh; but hearing that the 4th Column had failed, and the 1st and 2nd had been unable to advance beyond the Kabul Gate, he further retired to the Church, and disposed his men for the night in it and the houses in the vicinity.

Scott's field battery, which had entered the city by the Kashmir Gate, had rendered splendid service to the several columns, but at a large expenditure of life.

On hearing of the failure of the 4th Column, General Wilson had ordered Colonel Hope Grant to move down with the cavalry to cover the Subzee Mundee defences and Hindu Rao's house, which were laid open to attack by its retirement. Tombs' and Bouchiers' batteries moved in support of the cavalry (which had previously lost 6 officers and 42 men), but on hearing that the stormers had established their position for the night, the whole fell back on Ludlow Castle.

The reserve, 5th Column, followed the 3rd Column through the Kashmir Gate, and established itself in the College gardens, Water bastion, and Skinner's house.

[M. (S. H.)
303-5.] Thus ended the first day's operations, the result of which was that the entire space inside the city, from the Water bastion to the Kabul Gate, was held by the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Columns, while the 4th held the batteries behind Hindu Rao's house. This success, however, had been dearly bought, the assailants having lost in killed and wounded 66 officers and 1,104 men. The rebels, moreover, were still strong in numbers, and had no need to abandon hope of ultimate victory.

[M. (S.H.)
305.] To the British general the result of the day's work was discouraging, for his columns had been stopped and driven back, and his troops only held a short line of rampart instead of the whole city. He even thought of withdrawing to the ridge, but on the advice of Baird-Smith, Chamberlain and Nicholson (who was lying mortally

[M. (S.H.)
305-6.] wounded in his tent), he decided to hold what had been taken. This decision was a wise one, for the stationary position of the British cowed the rebels, whereas a retreat to the ridge would inevitable have roused them to energetic action.

The 15th was employed by the troops within the walls in securing the positions gained and preparing the means to shell the city, and in stopping drinking and plundering.

* A marble tablet let into the city wall marks the spot, and records Nicholson's name and the date of his being wounded, &c.

On the 16th the enemy evacuated Kishenganj, and the British [M. (S. H.)
305-6.] stormed and took the magazine, full of guns and ammunition. In the afternoon the rebels made a desperate, but vain, attempt to recover it.

On the 17th and 18th the Delhi Bank and other houses were occupied, and the besieger's posts were brought close to the Chandni Chauk and the Palace. On the latter day too an unsuccessful attempt was made to extend the right by an attack on the Lahore Gate.

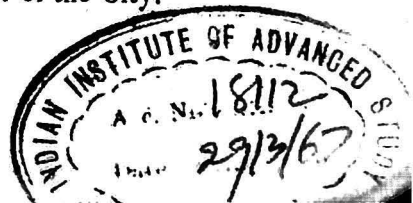
On the 19th the Burn bastion was taken, preparatory to an attack on the Lahore Gate; while on the 20th, Sunday, the Lahore Gate of the palace, which had been evacuated and was undefended, was blown in, and British troops entered the famous fort-palace of Shah Jehan. That same day the Juma Masjid was captured by Brind, as also the Lahore Gate of the city by Brigadier Jones. The Selimgarh detached work had been previously seized by the brilliant forethought of a young Lieutenant named Aikman. The same afternoon Wilson took up his quarters in the Imperial palace.

Delhi was now virtually won, although much remained to be done both in the vicinity and in the city itself; while so large had been the [M. (S. H.)
306-8.] casualties, that Wilson had little over 3,000 men left fit for service.

On the 19th the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army, the old artillery subadar, Bakht Khan, represented to the king that his only safety lay in flight, and begged him to accompany the sepoy army and renew the war in the open country. The king, however, rejected the latter part of this advice, and, allowing the army to depart without him, took refuge at the tomb of Humayun, 3½ miles south of the city, where he prepared to submit to the conqueror. On the 20th Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, obtained permission to bring in the old man on the condition that his life should be spared. He performed his task with tact and discretion, and that night the king slept a prisoner in the Begum's palace.

The following day Hodson learned that two of the king's sons and a grandson lay concealed in the vicinity of Humayun's tomb, and was allowed to go and bring them in also. This time there was no stipulation for their lives. Hodson rode out with a hundred of his troopers, found the fugitives, persuaded them to surrender, disarmed their numerous following, placed the arms on carts, the princes [M. (S. H.)
308-10.] on a native ekka (small pony cart), and led the long cavalcade in the direction of the Lahore Gate. They had safely accomplished most of the journey, when the crowd began to press closely on the troopers; whereupon Hodson halted the cart, made the princes descend, stripped them, and shot them with his own hand.

In the meantime Brind was commissioned to clear the city of the murderers and incendiaries who still lurked within it. This he did completely, and the restoration of regular rule was announced [M. (S. H.)
310.] by the appointment of an officer to be Governor of the City.



All this time John Nicholson was dying slowly on the ridge. He had lingered on in great agony for eight days, and had lived long enough to witness the complete success of the plans, to the originating and accomplishing of which he had so much contributed. He died on the 23rd, with the reputation of being the most successful administrator, the greatest soldier, and the most perfect master of men in India. He was buried in the Kashmir Gate cemetery, where his grave will be found a little to the right of the entrance.

[M. (S. H.)
310.]

Amongst the officers who contributed especially to the taking of Delhi may be named the following as the most distinguished: Baird-Smith, Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, Charles Reid, James Brind, Hope Grant, Tombs, Alexander Taylor, Showers, Daly, Coke, Henry Norman, Salkeld, and Home; but there are many others, for the list is a long one.

The casualties before Delhi were 3,168 killed and wounded, or 37.9 per cent. of the troops engaged, whereas in the Crimea the percentage was only 17.48.

(S. 1887
Table furnished by
Lord
Roberts).

[M. (S. H.)
312.]

Arrangements were at once made for opening out the country between Delhi, Agra, and Cawnpore by the despatch of troops.

(K. and M. V.
—212.)

The news of the fall of Delhi greatly cheered the force under Havelock, then advancing to the relief of the garrison of the Lucknow Residency; that city, however, was not finally taken till the following March.

In the Punjab Sir John Lawrence had foreseen from the first that the safety not only of that province, but of all India, depended on the capture of Delhi. When that occurred, it convinced even the most disaffected that the star of England was still in the ascendant.

[M. (S. H.)
403.]

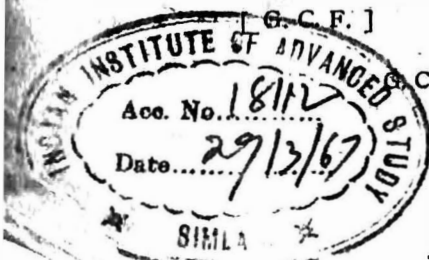
The taking of Lucknow, the reconquest of Rohilkhand, and Sir Hugh Rose's splendid campaign in Central India followed in rapid succession to prove that the power which had won India was resolved to retain it.

(C. B. II.—
231.)

In the following January the old King of Delhi was brought to trial in the privy council chamber (Diwan-i-Khass), and, after a patient investigation lasting forty days, was found guilty of having made war against the British; with abetting rebellion, with proclaiming himself as reigning sovereign of India, and with causing, or being accessory to, the deaths of many Europeans. He was sentenced to be transported for life. Ultimately he was sent to Pegu, where he ended his days in peace. Thus passed away Mohamad Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghals, and with him all the honors, dignities, and privileges enjoyed by the House of Delhi have ceased for ever.

15th September 1892.

A. G. H.



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