



24 THE ENGINEERS EXAMINE THE BREACHES.

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Chapter I.

1857.

Sept. 12-13.

Their continued fire effects breaches in the defences.

Four engineers sent to examine the breaches.

Medley and Lang

joining in the sight of the destruction made by their guns, their mortars, and their howitzers on the walls which had so long bade them defiance.* The fire continued that day, that night, and the day following, the enemy still responding, and with considerable effect. On the afternoon of the 13th, General Wilson, in consultation with Baird Smith, thought that two sufficient breaches had been made. He accordingly directed that they should be examined.

For this dangerous duty four young engineer officers were selected, Medley and Lang for the Káshmir bastion, Greathed and Home for the Water. The two first-named officers made one attempt as soon as it was dusk, but they were discovered and fired at. They determined, therefore, to postpone the examination till 10 o'clock. To facilitate the accomplishment of his task, Medley requested the officers commanding the batteries to fire heavily on the breach till 10 o'clock, then to cease firing. He then arranged that six picked riflemen of the 60th Rifles should accompany himself and his companion, and that an officer and twenty men of the same regiment should follow in support, halting at the edge of

* "At different times between the 7th and 11th," wrote Major Baird Smith in his despatch, "these batteries opened fire with an efficiency and a vigour which excited the unqualified admiration of all who had the good fortune to witness it. Every object contemplated in the attack was accomplished with a success even beyond my expectations; and I trust I may be permitted to say, that while there are many noble passages in the history of the Bengal Artillery, none will be nobler than that which will tell of its work on this occasion."



the jungle while they went on to the breach. Should the officer see that the two engineer officers and party were being cut off, he was to bring his men to their support, sounding his whistle for them to fall back. Should, on the other hand, one of the examining party be wounded, or should the party require support, they were to whistle for him.

The night was a bright starlight, and there was no moon. Just before the two officers and their party started, an 8-inch shell from the enemy buried itself deep in ground close to them, burst, and covered them with earth. A minute later and the gongs sounded 10. The firing suddenly ceased. The explorers were at once on their feet, and, drawing swords, and feeling that their revolvers were ready to hand, began to advance stealthily into the enemy's country.

Safely, and without discovery, the two officers and their six followers reached the edge of the ditch. Not a soul was to be seen. The counter-scarp was sixteen feet deep, and steep. Lang slid down it; Medley then passed down by the ladder, and with two of the men descended after Lang, leaving the other four to cover the retreat. In two minutes more they would have reached the top of the breach. But careful and stealthy as had been their movements, they had not been quite noiseless. Just at that moment they heard several men running from the left towards the breach. They, therefore, reascended, though with some difficulty, and throwing themselves on the grass, waited for events. Prone in the deep

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set out for
the Káshmir
bastion.

They reach
the edge of
the ditch;

descend into
it;

find the
enemy on the
alert;

return to the
edge;



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And the
breach prac-
ticable;

and run back
in safety.

Greathed and
Home report
the breach at
the Water
bastion prac-
ticable.

Baird Smith
advises
Wilson to
deliver the

shade, they could see, without being seen, against the clear sky, not twenty yards distant, a number of dusky forms. They watched them as they loaded their muskets. The moments were exciting, but the excitement did not prevent Medley and his comrade from carefully examining, from the ground where they lay, the longed-for breach. They saw that it was large, that the slope was easy of ascent, and that there were no guns in the flanks. They had had experience that the descent was an easy one. It would be desirable, they felt, to reach the top, but the dusky figures would not move, and any attempt to surprise them would be uncertain, and would involve possibly the loss of some of their party. Besides, they had really gained the knowledge they had come to acquire. Medley, therefore, determined to be satisfied and to fall back. But how to fall back? There was but one way. Medley suddenly gave a preconcerted signal. At once they all started up and ran back. A volley followed them, but ineffectively. Untouched they gained their own batteries in safety.

Greathed and Home had not been less successful in their expedition. They had examined the Water bastion; and although they had found that the musketry parapets had not been so sufficiently destroyed as they would be were the cannonade to be prolonged, they reported the breach practicable.

With these two reports before him, Baird Smith did not hesitate. The dangers of delay, the worn-out state of the men in the batteries, far



outweighed any consideration which the condition of the musketry parapets in the Water bastion might suggest. He at once, then, advised General Wilson to deliver the assault at daybreak the following morning.

In such a matter the General commanding could not but act on the advice thus tendered him. General Wilson immediately issued the necessary orders. To Brigadier-General Nicholson, of the Bengal Army, whose triumphant march through the Panjáb and subsequent victory at Najafgarh had made him the hero of the campaign, was assigned the command of the first column, destined to storm the breach near the Káshmir bastion, and escalate the face of the bastion. This column was composed of three hundred men of H.M.'s 75th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert; of two hundred and fifty men of the 1st Fusiliers* under Major Jacob; and of four hundred and fifty men of the 2nd Panjáb Infantry, under Captain Green; in all, one thousand men. The engineer officers attached to this column were Lieutenants Medley, Lang, and Bingham.

The second column was commanded by Brigadier William Jones, C.B., of H.M.'s 61st Regiment. It was formed of two hundred and fifty men of H.M.'s 8th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed; of two hundred and fifty men of the 2nd Fusiliers,† under Captain Boyd; of three hundred and fifty men of the 4th Sikh

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assault at
once.

Wilson accepts the advice and assigns the commands of the several assaulting columns.

First column,
Nicholson.

Second
column,
Brigadier
William
Jones.

* Now H.M.'s 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers.

† Now H.M.'s 104th Bengal Fusiliers.



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Third
column,
Colonel
Campbell.

Infantry, under Captain Rothery; in all, eight hundred and fifty men. This column was to storm the breach in the Water bastion. The engineer officers attached to it were Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.

The command of the third column was confided to Colonel Campbell, H.M.'s 52nd Foot. It was composed of two hundred men of the 52nd, under Major Vigors; of two hundred and fifty men of the Kamáon Battalion, under Captain Ramsay; of five hundred men of the 1st Panjáb Infantry, under Lieutenant Nicholson; in all, nine hundred and fifty men. The duty assigned to it was to assault by the Káshmir gate after it should have been blown open. The engineer officers attached to it were Lieutenants Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

Fourth
column,
Major Reid.

The fourth column was commanded by Major Reid of the Bengal Army. It consisted of the Sirmúr Battalion,* the Guide Corps, and such of the pickets, European and native, as could be spared from Hindú Rao's house; in all (of these) eight hundred and sixty men. But, in addition, there was a portion of the contingent of the Maharájá of Káshmir, commanded by Captain Richard Lawrence, and consisting of twelve hundred men. The task assigned to this column was to attack the suburb Kishanganj, and to enter the Láhor gate.† The engineer officers attached to

* Now the Prince of Wales's Own Gúrkahs.

† This was the plan laid down by General Wilson. Had Reid attempted to follow it literally, that is, to enter by the Láhor gate, his troops would have been exposed to



this column were Lieutenants Maunsell and Tenant.

The fifth, or reserve, column was commanded by Brigadier Longfield of H.M.'s 8th Regiment. It was composed as follows: two hundred and fifty men, H.M.'s 61st Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon; four hundred and fifty men, 4th Panjáb Infantry, under Captain Wilde; three hundred men, Bilúch Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar; three hundred men of the Rájá of Jhind's auxiliary force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford; in all, one thousand three hundred men. To these were subsequently added two hundred men of the 60th Rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonel John Jones of that regiment, detailed in the first instance to cover the advance. This column, acting as a reserve, was to follow the first column. The engineer officers attached to it were Lieutenants Ward and Thackeray.

The officers appointed to the command of the five assaulting columns were, then, Nicholson, Jones, Campbell, Reid, and Longfield. They were all picked men, fitted alike by nature and

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Fifth column,
Brigadier
Longfield.

The commanders of
the assaulting
columns.

the fire of the left face of the Láhor bastion, of the right face of the Burn bastion, and to the musketry fire from the loop-holed curtain connecting both bastions, which had been untouched by our artillery. Reid wrote to General Wilson to say that his column would be destroyed if he attempted anything of the

sort, and proposed that, after taking Kishanganj and the suburbs, he should leave the Jammú contingent in the fortified serai, and follow the dry bed of the canal, where his troops would be under cover the whole way to the Kábul gate, which, he had arranged with Nicholson, should be opened for him from the inside,



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Nicholson.

Jones.

Campbell.

Reid.

by training for the task devolving upon them. Of Nicholson it is unnecessary to say much. His exploits in the Panjáb, and but a few days before at Najafgarh, had made him the paladin of the army. The commander of the second column, Brigadier William Jones, had served at Chilianwála and at Gújrát; had co-operated in the destruction of the enemy after that crowning victory by pursuing them, at the head of his regiment and a troop of artillery, to the Khaibar pass; and, during the siege of Dehli, had distinguished himself as brigadier of the 3rd Infantry Brigade. Colonel Campbell, commanding the third column, was the colonel of the 52nd. He had commanded his regiment with distinguished gallantry at Siálkôt, where it formed part of Nicholson's force.

Major Reid, of the fourth column, belonged to the Bengal Army. Major Charles Reid had served in Sind under Sir Charles Napier, throughout the Satlaj and Barmese wars, and had ever distinguished himself not less by energy and daring, than by readiness of resource and presence of mind. During the siege, whilst the remainder of the attacking force had occupied the old parade ground, covered by the ridge, Reid alone had held the ridge. All the pickets detached from the main force to various points on the ridge had been under his orders, and his only. The posts thus under his command had included the main picket at Hindú Rao's house, the Observatory, the Sammy House, the Crow's Nest, and the Sabzi-mandi. On the positions so indicated he had,



between the 8th June* and the 14th September, repulsed no less than twenty-six attacks, displaying a daring, a coolness, and a presence of mind not to be surpassed. On the 17th June, with a small force of four companies of the 60th Rifles, his own regiment, the Sirmúr Battalion, and twenty-five sappers, he had stormed the strong position of Kishanganj, destroying the enemy's batteries stationed there, and returning the same evening to his position on the ridge. Brigadier Longfield, commanding the reserve column, was brigadier of the second brigade during the siege. His conspicuous services fully entitled him to the post which was assigned him on this memorable occasion.

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Longfield.

It was 3 o'clock in the morning. The columns of assault were in the leash. In a few moments they would be slipped. What would be the result? Would the skill and daring of the soldiers of England triumph against superior numbers defending and defended by stone walls; or would rebellion, triumphing over the assailants, turn that triumph to a still greater account by inciting by its means to its aid the Panjáb and the other parts of India still quivering in the balance? That, indeed, was the question. The fate of

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The enormous stake dependent on the result of the assault.

* Major Reid's services in the mutiny commence from *even a priori* date. He marched with his regiment from Dehrá on the 14th May 1857, and by his vigorous action in the disturbed district of Balandshahr, opened communica-

tions with Míráth and Ali-garh, and with the seat of Government in Calcutta, a service of vital importance, for which he received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council.



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The order of
assault.

Dehli was in itself the smallest of the results to be gained by a successful assault. The fate of India was in the balance. The repulse of the British would entail the rising of the Panjáb!

It had been decided that whilst the first and second columns should direct their attack against the breaches near the Káshmir and Water bastions, an explosion party should steal ahead and blow up the Káshmir gate, through which the third column should then effect an entrance into the city. The explosion party consisted of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld of the Engineers; of Sergeants Smith, Carmichael, and Corporal Burgess, *alias* Grierson, of the Sappers and Miners; of Bugler Hawthorne, H.M.'s 52nd Light Infantry; and of eight native sappers. It was covered by two hundred men of the 60th Rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jones of that regiment. The duty devolving on the Sappers and Miners and their officers, was, it is almost needless to state, to blow up the Káshmir gate; that of Bugler Hawthorne was to announce, by means of his bugle, to the storming party, that the explosion had done its work completely.

The first,
second, and
third columns
set out.

Though preparations had been made to advance to the assault a little after 3 in the morning, some slight delay occurred, and the day was dawning ere the columns were in motion. All this time the besiegers' batteries were pouring in a heavy and continuous fire—a fire which the enemy, always on the alert, answered with rockets, shells, and round shot. It was amid the din and tumult caused by this artillery duel that, just



after dawn, the first, second, and third columns started on their tremendous errand. General Nicholson had the general management of the attack. He looked quiet but anxious. General Wilson rode up just as the columns were advancing, evidently full of anxiety.* No wonder, knowing, as he did know, the enormous issues at stake on the result of the day's work before his men.

The columns advanced as far as the ground opposite Ludlow Castle. There they halted. The first column then moved sharply to the left to take up its position in Kúdsia Bágh, there to wait for the signal; the second went further to the left, and formed up behind No. 3 battery; the third remained on the high road, to await there the bugle-sound which was to summon them to the Káshmir gate. The signal for the assault of the first and second columns was to be the sudden advance of the skirmishers of the 60th Rifles.

The columns having taken up their positions, Nicholson gave the signal. The Rifles at once dashed to the front with a cheer, extending along and skirmishing through the low jungle—which at this point extends to within fifty yards of the ditch—and opening at the same time a fire on the enemy on the walls. At the sound of their advance, the engineer officers attached to the first column, previously posted on the edge of the jungle whence the column was to advance towards the breach, waved their swords to show the way

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Their progress to the ground opposite Ludlow Castle.

Nicholson gives the signal to push on.

* Medley.



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The engineers of the first column reach the breach.

The assailants are met by a terrible fire.

but by desperate valour gain the breach.

to the stormers. The fire from our batteries had ceased, whilst that of the enemy, now thoroughly alive to the nature of the contest, continued incessant. Through this fire Medley and Lang and the ladder-men advanced at a quick walk till they reached the edge of the cover. Then, forming their ladder-men into a sort of line, they rushed to the breach, closely followed by the storming party, and in a minute gained the crest of the glacis. They were here in the open exposed to a terrific and unceasing fire from the breach and the open parapet walls, which told with fatal effect. So hot was the fire that for ten minutes it was impossible to let down the ladders. "Man after man was struck down, and the enemy, with yells and curses, kept up a terrific fire, even catching up stones from the breach in their fury, and, dashing them down, dared the assailants to come on."* But, undaunted by these cries and by the fire by which they were accompanied, the British soldiers did push on. They succeeded at length in getting two of the ladders into the ditch, and instantly the officers led their men down them†. Once in the ditch, to mount the escarp and scramble up the breach was the work of an instant. But the enemy did not wait

* Medley, who is my chief authority for all the details of the assault.

† "The storming parties pushed on, two ladders were thrown into the ditch, and a brave officer, Fitzgerald, of H.M.'s 75th Regiment, who

was killed directly afterwards, was the first to mount. As soon as I saw my first ladder down, I slid down into the ditch, mounted up the escarp, and scrambled up the breach, followed by the soldiers."—*Medley.*



for them. The insulting yells and curses ceased as the whilom utterers hurriedly vacated their position. "The breach was won, and the supporting troops pouring in fast, went down the ramp into the main-guard below."*

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Whilst the first column was thus carrying out, with daring and success, the work assigned to it, the second, under Brigadier William Jones, C.B., had not been less occupied. Led by its engineers, Greathed and Hovenden, the column advanced towards the breach in the Water bastion. By some mistake the supporting party of the stormers pressed forward on the right of the party, and, rushing to the counterscarp of the curtain, slid into its ditch, climbed its breach, and won the rampart. The stormers of the 8th,† however, most of them carrying ladders, followed the engineers to the Water bastion. They had to make a slight detour to the right to avoid some water in the ditch, and being in the open, they were exposed to the full fury of the enemy's fire, which, at this point, was incessant and well directed. The two engineer officers fell, severely wounded, and of the thirty-nine ladder-men, twenty-nine were struck down in a few minutes. But here, as at the Káshmir gate, British valour was not to be daunted. The ladders were at length placed and the breach was carried by the survivors, twenty-five in number, headed by Captain Baynes, next to whom in seniority was Sergeant Walker.

The second column.

The bulk of it turn off to the right and gain the rampart.

The stormers of the 8th King's

gain the breach of the Water gate.

Meanwhile the remainder of the column, which

* Medley. tenants Pogson and Metge,
† Captain Baynes, Lieu- and seventy-five rank and file.



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Brigadier
Jones presses
forward to
the Kábul
gate.

had entered by the curtain breach, had done wonders. Their entrance into a vital point of the defences, where an attack had not been expected, for the moment paralysed the enemy. Brigadier Jones, who, in command of the column, had displayed great gallantry, took advantage of the disorder into which they had been thrown by clearing the ramparts as far as the Kábul gate, on the top of which he planted the column flag,* carried by a private of the 61st, Andrew Laughnan.

Before recording the proceedings of the third column, I propose to follow the explosion party, on whose action the movements of that column were to depend.

The explosion
party.

Splendid
audacity of
Home.

The composition of this party has already been given. Posted in front of the third column, it advanced straight on the Káshmir gate, in the face of a very hot fire. Undeterred by this fire, Lieutenant Home and four men, each carrying a bag of twenty-five pounds of powder, pushed on through a barrier gate, which was found open, across the ditch, to the foot of the great double gate. So great was the audacity of this proceeding, that it completely paralysed the enemy. Firing only a few straggling shots, they closed the wicket with every appearance of alarm, and Home, after laying his bags, had time to jump into the ditch unhurt. Salkeld was not so for-

* This flag was presented by Sir William Jones to Her Majesty the Queen on the 1st January 1877, the day of the

proclamation of Her Majesty's title of Empress of India.



fortunate. Before he could reach the gate the enemy had recovered from their panic, and, divining his object, had resolved to do their utmost to thwart it. From either side of the top of the gateway, and from the open wicket close by, they poured upon him and his party a deadly fire. Salkeld, nevertheless, laid his bags, but was almost immediately after shot through the arm and leg, and fell back disabled on the bridge. He handed the portfire to Sergeant Burgess, bidding him light the fusee. Burgess, trying to obey, was shot dead. Sergeant Carmichael then seized the portfire, lighted the fusee, but immediately fell, mortally wounded. The other sergeant, Smith, thinking that Carmichael had failed, rushed forward to seize the portfire, but noticing the fusee burning, threw himself into the ditch. The next moment the massive gate was shattered with a tremendous explosion. Home at once ordered Hawthorne to sound the bugle-call.* Fearing that in the noise of the assault the sound might not be heard, he had it repeated three times. The 52nd, anxiously awaiting the signal, did not hear it; but their colonel, the

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Salkeld lays
his bags, but
is wounded.

Burgess and
Carmichael
are killed.

Wonderful
escape of
Smith.

Home orders
the advance
to be
sounded.

* A more daring and gallant achievement than that of the officers and non-commissioned officers mentioned in the text has never been recorded. Their subsequent fate cannot but inspire interest. Burgess and Carmichael were killed on the spot; Salkeld, Home, Smith, and Hawthorne were recom-

mended by General Wilson for the Victoria Cross. But Salkeld succumbed in a few days to the severe wounds he had received; Home met his death shortly afterwards at Malagarh; Smith and Hawthorne survived, to receive the honours that they had so nobly earned.



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Campbell
does not hear
the sound,
but orders
the advance
on hearing
the explosion.

Campbell
pushes on to
within sight
of the Jamma
Masjid.

gallant Campbell, who also commanded the column, in front of which he had posted himself, noticing the explosion, and expecting the call, asked, not hearing it himself, whether it had reached the ears of any of those about him. Though no one had heard it, Campbell felt that at so critical a moment action was better than standing still. He at once ordered the advance. The column responded eagerly. The 52nd gallantly led the way, and in less than a minute after the bugle had sounded, they dashed on over the bridge, and entered the city just as the other columns had won the breaches.*

Colonel Campbell, on gaining the main-guard inside the gate, at once re-formed his column, and pushed on with the intention of occupying the Kót-wáli, and, if possible, the Jamma Masjid. He cleared the Water bastion, within which some of the enemy were still lurking, the church, and the enclosure known as the "Delhi Gazette compound," and forced his way through the Káshmir Gate bazaar. A gun which commanded the line of advance was carried by a rush of a party of the 52nd, under Lieutenant Bradshaw, who, however, paid with his life on the spot the penalty of his daring. Still pressing forward, Campbell reached the gate opening on the Chándni Chók. Forcing this, he advanced without much opposition, except from a musketry fire from a few houses. A sudden turn of the road

* Lieutenant Home's *Re-Statement*; Medley; Bayley's
Annals; Bugler Hawthorne's *Assault of Dehli*.



brought him within sight of the Jamma Masjid, its arches and gates bricked up, incapable of being forced without powder-bags or guns, rendered safe against assault from mere infantry. Unwilling to forego the chance of storming this formidable position, Campbell remained in front of it for half an hour, under a fire of musketry from the houses, in the expectation of the successful advance of the other columns. But as time went on, and there were no visible signs of the approach of the one or the other, Campbell deemed it advisable to retire on the Bégam's Bâgh, a large enclosure. He held this place for an hour and a half, exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, grape, and canister. Here I must leave him whilst I trace the progress of the fourth column.

Much depended on the success of its attack. Commanded by Major Reid, it was designed to move from Hindú Rao's house, on the right, against the suburbs of Kishanganj and Paháripúr, with a view of driving the enemy thence and effecting an entrance at the Kábul gate after it should be taken by General Nicholson. The successful advance of the first, second, and third columns depended, then, very much on the result of this flank attack.

Major Reid's column,* composed of detachments of eight different regiments, eight hundred and sixty men in all, with a reserve of one thousand two hundred infantry of the Jammú contingent,

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For want of
support re-
tires on the
Bégam Bâgh.

Attack of the
fourth
column.

His column
deficient in
guns.

* *Vide* Appendix A.



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The Jammú troops, sent by Reid to make a diversion, become engaged with the enemy.

Reid advances.

formed up at 4.30 A.M. on the Grand Trunk Road, opposite the Sabzi Mandi picket. Before 5 A.M. all was in readiness, but the four horse artillery guns which were ordered to accompany the column had not arrived. Presently the guns came up, but the officer reported that there were only sufficient gunners to man one gun. Reid had no intention of taking one gun into action contrary to the rules of the service, so he directed the officer to obtain the full complement of gunners as soon as possible. It was now broad daylight, and he was anxiously listening for the explosion (the blowing in of the Káshmír gate), which was to have been his signal to advance, when he heard musketry fire on his right, and soon discovered that the party of the Jammú troops, four hundred infantry and four guns, which he had ordered to proceed direct from the camp at 3.45 A.M., for the purpose of making a diversion by occupying the Ídgar, had become engaged with the enemy. No time under these circumstances was to be lost, so he at once pushed on with the column without the horse artillery guns, and more than half an hour before the attack of the other columns.

The detachment of the 60th Rifles, under Captain Muter, was thrown out in skirmishing order to the right of the road, while a feeling party of the Guides was sent a short distance ahead of the column. When within sixty yards of the canal bridge, Reid discovered that the enemy had manned their breast-works across the road, as also one running parallel to the road, and that



both of them had been considerably strengthened during the night. The head of the column approached the first line of breast-works, within fifty yards, when the enemy opened with a tremendous volley. The 60th Rifles meanwhile closed to the left, and with the Sirmúr Gúrkahs, made a dash, and instantly drove the enemy from his first line of defence. They at once retreated on their second line. Meanwhile a steady fire was kept up by the enemy from the loop-holed wall of Kishanganj, eighteen feet high, which completely commanded the position now gained by the head of Reid's column, and many of his men fell. Reid, who was standing on the parapet of the canal bridge, now observed that the enemy had been reinforced from the city. They came in thousands down the dry bed of the canal over which Reid was standing, and a large body appeared on the road, hesitating apparently whether they should drive our men from the breast-work already gained, or attack the detachment of the Jammú troops on the right, which had never approached the Ídgar—a result of their starting from the camp nearly an hour after the time laid down. Guns at this time, whilst the enemy stood in a mass on the road, would have been invaluable, and would have proved of the greatest service to Reid, but, though the guns had been sent, no gunners, through some unaccountable mistake, were available to man them.

Reid was just about to feign an attack in front of the Kishanganj heavy batteries, whilst he should direct a real one in their flank and rear, when he fell over the parapet of the bridge with a musket-

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Embarrassment felt by Reid from the want of artillery.

Reid is struck down



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On reviving
he makes
over com-
mand to
Richard
Lawrence.

Fatal effect
of the fall of
Reid.

shot wound in the head, his engineer officer, Lieutenant Maunsell, who was standing near him, being also hit in the head. Up to this time, Reid states in his dispatch, "all was going on admirably, the troops were steady, and well in hand, and I made sure of success." How long he lay on the ground insensible is not known—all thought he was dead—but when he came to his senses he found himself on the back of one of his Gúrkahs. He then saw the party of the Jammú contingent on his right hard pressed. He sent for Captain Lawrence, who was his second in command, and, presently meeting him, directed him to take command and to support the right. The reserve, under Captain Lawrence, consisting of one thousand two hundred infantry of the Jammú contingent, was in rear of the column. The detached party of four hundred infantry destined for the Idgar, became perfectly disorganised after Reid's fall. They rushed into the main column, and caused the greatest confusion, making it difficult to distinguish friend from foe.

The fall of Major Reid was an irreparable blow to the success of the fourth column. He knew every inch of the ground thoroughly: he knew the officers, he knew the men; and every officer and every man felt in his leading the most absolute confidence. The first effect of his fall showed itself in the confusion which was thereby caused in the command. Next in seniority to Reid was Captain Richard Lawrence, brother of the Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb. Captain Lawrence was in command of the body of the Káshmir

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contingent, one thousand two hundred strong, which formed the reserve to that part of the fourth column which was attacking Kishanganj. Major Reid had been stunned by his wound; but, as I have already stated, on recovering his senses, he called out for Captain Lawrence, and personally made over the command to him. But before this had happened, many of the officers who had been conducting the attack under Major Reid, feeling the absence of a commander, and seeing that the attack had failed, had resolved to fall back. Falling back, they came upon Captain Lawrence, to whom they reported themselves, and who approved their conduct. Meanwhile Captain Muter of the 60th Rifles, who was with the attacking column, seeing Major Reid fall, and apparently regarding Captain Lawrence in the light only of a political officer attached to the Káshmir force, assumed the command of the portion of the column with which he was serving. This caused considerable confusion; Captain Lawrence and Captain Muter each regarding himself as commandant of the column, and each giving his own orders. As reinforcements of artillery which had been applied for failed to arrive, and as the enemy, pressing forward on the right flank of the column, seemed to threaten his rear, Lawrence retired leisurely on the batteries behind Hindú Rao's house. The attack on the Ídgar, conducted by a portion of the Káshmir troops under Captain Dwyer, was still more unfortunate. The Káshmirians, greatly outnumbered, were not only repulsed, but lost four guns.

Captain
Muter as-
sumes the
command of
a portion of
the column,

the attack of
which is re-
pulsed.



44 RESULT OF REPULSE OF THE FOURTH COLUMN.

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Disastrous
effect on the
other columns
of the repulse
of the fourth
column.

The repulse of the fourth column greatly aggravated the difficulties of the assault. I left the first and second columns, to which I must now return, victorious inside the breach. Nicholson at once collected the great body of his column on the square of the main-guard, then turning to the right, pushed forward along the foot of the walls towards the Láhor gate. The second column, under Brigadier Jones, had previously cleared the ramparts, and passing the Móri bastion, had planted their flag, in the manner already indicated, on the summit of the Kábul gate. Nicholson advanced beyond this in the hope of feeling the support of the fourth column. But we have seen that the attack of this column had failed, and it was this failure which now rendered the position of the advanced assailants difficult and dangerous in the extreme.

not possible

In pushing along the foot of the walls towards the Láhor gate our troops had been assailed by musketry fire from the houses in the place, and by grape and round shot from the Sélingarh and the palace. This, however, had not impeded the advance. But when the column had reached the eastern extremity of the town and ascertained that, by the failure of the fourth column, the defences there were still in the hands of the enemy, they saw that their entire position was altered, and that they had before them another struggle at least as serious as that which they had but just then overcome.

Position of
the Láhor
gate.

The Láhor gate of the city was the gate which led to the Chándni Chók or principal street of the



city. This gate was commanded by a bastion about two-thirds of the way between it and the Kábul gate. But to reach this bastion not only had narrow streets, the houses in which were strongly manned, to be forced, but the left of the attacking party would be exposed to a very heavy fire from the enemy now concentrating there. It was a prospect such as to make the boldest leader pause. Nicholson was a man of great daring, but there were men with him at the time, not less brave, who pointed out to him that under the circumstances in which he found himself it would be wise to be content with establishing himself in the houses which dominated the position, and await intelligence before advancing further. Seymour Blane of the 52nd, who acted as his brigade-major, strongly pressed this advice upon him. Major Jacob of the 1st Fusiliers, a most able and gallant officer, and who commanded the regiment on the occasion, supported this view. But Nicholson was impatient to press on. He believed that delays were dangerous, that the fullest advantage should be taken, at the moment, of the successful storm. More than two hours had already elapsed since his men had stood triumphant on the breach. A firm footing in the city had been gained. But this was not in itself sufficient. The repulse of the fourth column had renewed the hopes of the enemy. To destroy these it was necessary, in the opinion of Nicholson, to penetrate into the city.

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The enemy concentrate in the narrow streets leading to it.

Nicholson is anxious to force them, despite of remonstrances to the contrary.

In front of the column was a lane, tolerably

Description of the posi-



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tion occupied
by the
enemy.

straight, about ten feet wide, but narrowed in places by projecting buttresses or towers with parapets. Where these buildings existed the roadway was narrowed to about three feet.* The city side of the lane was bounded by houses with flat roofs and parapets. Not only were all these buildings strongly occupied by the enemy, but the lane was further defended by two brass guns; one about a hundred and sixty yards from its opening, pointed in the direction of the advance; the other, about a hundred yards in its rear, commanding it. Behind both was a bullet-proof screen, whilst projecting as it were from the wall was the bastion commanding the Láhore gate, armed with heavy pieces, and capable of holding a thousand men.

The assault.

It was this formidable position that Nicholson decided to attack whilst yet the enemy might still be under the influence of their defeat at three out of the four points attacked. On receiving the order, his men dashed gallantly up the lane, took the first gun with a rush, and then pushed on to the second. But within ten yards of this they were assailed by a fire of grape and musketry, and volleys of stones and round shot, thrown by hand, so severe that they recoiled under the terrible and ceaseless shower. There was no shelter for them, and they were forced to retire. It would be difficult to paint in colours too bright the exertions of their officers. Con-

Gallantry of
the assail-
ants,

* "The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers in the Delhi Campaign," an article contri- buted to *Blackwood's Magazine* for January 1858.

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spicuous amongst these was Lieutenant Butler of the 1st Fusiliers. This officer penetrated up to the bullet-proof screen already mentioned. How he escaped with his life was a marvel. At the screen two bayonets were thrust at him which pinned him between them as if he were between the prongs of a fork. There he stood, unable to advance or to retire, until, firing his revolver down the loop-holes, he forced the men who were thrusting at him to withdraw their weapons.*

The assailants were, I have said, forced to retire. Only, however, for a few moments. Reformed, they again advanced. Again they captured the first gun, which was spiked by Captain Greville, 1st Fusiliers; again they dashed at the second. As they rushed on, their leader, Major Jacob of the 1st Fusiliers, a cool, daring, and accomplished officer, was mortally wounded. Lying there on the ground, knowing his hour had come, the gallant Jacob called to his men to press onward. But the fire was tremendous. Wemyss, Greville, Caulfield, Speke, Woodcock, Butler, all officers belonging or attached to the 1st Fusiliers, were in turn struck down. The men, greatly discouraged, were falling back a second time, when Nicholson rushed to the front. His voice never rang more nobly, his presence was never more inspiring, than when, waving his sword, he summoned the men to follow where their general led. But the broken order could

who are
driven back,

again.

Jacob is
struck down,
and with him
many officers
of the 1st
Fusiliers.Nicholson
then rushes
to the front.

* "The 1st Bengal Fusiliers in the Delhi Campaign."

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by a bullet.He still urges
the men on.But the men
are ultimately forced
to retire.Nicholson is
succeeded in
command by
Jones.Action of the
cavalry.

not be restored in a moment, and before a sufficient number of men could respond to the call, John Nicholson was struck down by a bullet which pierced his body.

The wound was mortal, and Nicholson knew it to be so. But neither the agony of the pain, nor the certain approach of death, could quench the ardour of that gallant spirit. He still called upon the men to go on. He insisted on lying there till the lane should be carried. But he was asking dying, as he had asked living, that which was all but impossible. Without artillery, the enemy's position was too strong to be carried. Soldiers not accustomed to be baffled, the same men who that morning had carried the walls by escalade, had recoiled twice before it. In that lane alone eight officers and fifty men had fallen. There was nothing for it but to retire. The fallen hero was then carefully removed to his tent, and the men fell back on to the Kábul gate. Nicholson still lived, and the lungs being uninjured by the ball, the doctors had some hope of his life. He alone had the certain conviction that the triumph for which he had prepared would escape his grasp.

By the fall of Nicholson the command of the first and second columns, now established at or near the Kábul gate, devolved on Brigadier Jones, C.B.

Whilst the infantry were thus contending with alternate success and mishap to establish themselves in the imperial city, the cavalry were not less actively employed outside the walls. It had



never been absolutely certain that all the four columns would succeed in their attack, whilst it was tolerably clear that the failure of any one of them would entail a counter assault from the victorious enemy. It was necessary likewise that the flanks of the assaulting columns should be efficiently covered. With wise prevision, then, General Wilson had directed Brigadier Hope Grant to move with the greater part of his cavalry and a troop and a half of Horse Artillery at the time of the assault to the vicinity of No. 1 battery, to check any attempt to take our storming columns in flank by sortie from the Lāhor and Ājmir gates, and to hold himself in readiness to act as circumstances might require.

Hope Grant, taking with him two hundred men of the 9th Lancers, four hundred of the Sikh horsemen, and a troop and a half of Horse Artillery, under Major Tombs, moved to the point indicated. Handling his men skilfully, he effectually covered the assaulting columns. Moving onwards as the columns advanced, he took up a position under the walls of the city, covering the batteries. Here he remained, ready for further action, till the moment when the movement of the enemy on his right showed him that the fourth column had been repulsed. In fact the enemy following up that column had thrown themselves into the houses and gardens near Kishanganj, and now opened a heavy musketry fire on the cavalry. Hope Grant at once ordered the Horse Artillery to the front. Tombs galloped up, unlimbered, opened fire, and compelled the enemy to fall back.

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Hope Grant
and Tombs.

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Their presence produces a material effect on the enemy's movements.

The gallantry displayed the greater because of the compulsory inaction.

The reserve column.

But as they did so, the guns on the Burn bastion opened out on the cavalry. At a distance of five hundred yards, drawn up for action, though compelled to remain inactive, their presence on the spot constituted a material aid to the infantry then endeavouring to make good their position within the city. For two hours they stood to receive. General Wilson, alive to their danger, promptly despatched Captain Bouchier's battery to aid them. But the round shot from the Burn bastion continued to empty saddle after saddle, or to dismount officer after officer. Nine officers of the Lancers had their horses shot under them. Conspicuous on either side of this gallant regiment were the scarlet-clad horse of Dighton Probyn, and the Panjabis of John Watson in their slate-coloured garments. Gallantly they stood, conscious that thus exposing their lives without the power of retaliating they were serving the common cause. At the end of about two hours the cavalry were further reinforced by about two hundred of the Guides and Gúrkahs. Then shortly afterwards came the intelligence that the infantry had established their positions within the town. Then, and then only, did Hope Grant withdraw leisurely to Ludlow Castle, satisfied that he had not only prevented the enemy from following up their victory over the fourth column, but had occupied their attention with a very considerable result on the main operations.

We have now to consider the operations of the reserve column.

The commander of this column, Brigadier Long-



field, having previously detached the wing of the Bilúch battalion, three hundred strong, to the right of No. 2 battery, followed No. 3 column through the Káshmir gate, and cleared the College gardens. One portion of the column, consisting of the 4th Panjáb Rifles and some of the 61st Regiment, occupied these gardens; whilst another, composed of the Jhind Auxiliary Force and some of the 60th Rifles, held the Water bastion, the Káshmir gate, Colonel Skinner's house, and the house of Ahmad Áli Khán, a large, commanding building.

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The position of four out of the five columns of the attacking force as the evening set in may thus briefly be described. The entire space inside the city from the Water bastion to the Kábul gate was held by the first, second, and fifth columns. The fourth column, repulsed in its attack on Kishanganj, was holding the batteries behind Hindú Rao's house. We have still to account for the third column. I left that column, gallantly led by Colonel Campbell, holding a large enclosure parallel with the Chándni Chók, called the Bégam Bágh, anxiously expecting assistance from the other columns, and exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, grape, and canister.

Results of
the day's
work.

The failure of the first column in its attempt to master the lane leading to the Chándni Chók, and the repulse of the fourth column, account for the unsupported position in which Colonel Campbell was left. In advance of, and without communication with, the other columns; in the vicinity of a position strongly occupied by the

Reason for
the want of
support ac-
cording to the
third column.



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enemy; liable to be cut off from the main body; the position was eminently dangerous. But Colonel Campbell knew himself, and he knew the men he commanded. They were eager to dare, anxious to press on. But the Jamma Masjid had been made impregnable to an attack from infantry, and the Brigadier had neither artillery to beat down, nor powder-bags to blow up, the obstacles in the way of his men. Under these circumstances, taking a soldierly view of the situation, he had occupied the Bégam Bágh, resolved to hold it till he could communicate with head-quarters. Whilst occupying this position he was rejoined by the Kamáon Battalion, belonging to his column, but which had in the advance diverged to the right, and had occupied the Kót-wáli. An hour and a half elapsed, however, before he was able to communicate with head-quarters. Then, for the first time, he learned that the first and second columns had not been able to advance beyond the Kábul gate, and that he could not be supported.

Campbell, towards evening, falls back on the church.

A glance at the plan of Delhí will make it evident, even to non-military readers, that with the main body unable to penetrate beyond the Kábul gate, it would be injudicious for the third column to attempt to hold the Bégam Bágh during the night. Colonel Campbell, then, leisurely fell back on the church, the nearest point at which he touched the reserve column. Placing the 52nd in the church, he occupied Skinner's house with the Kamáon Battalion, and posted the 1st Panjáb Infantry in the houses at the end of the two streets



that lead from the interior of the city into the open space around the church.* At the head of these streets guns had previously been posted.

A review of the work of the 14th September 1857, will show that though the British loss had been heavy, though all had not been accomplished which it had been hoped to accomplish, yet not only had great obstacles been overcome, but a solid base had been obtained whence to continue and complete the work. In less than six hours the army had lost sixty-six officers, and eleven hundred and four men in killed and wounded. Four out of five of the assaulting columns were within the walls, but the position which they held was extensive, and owing to the failure of the fourth column, their right flank was threatened. The enemy were still strong in numbers, strong in guns, strong in position. They, too, had had success as well as reverses, and they had not yet abandoned all hope of ultimate victory.

The first care of the assailants was to secure as best they could the posts that had so dearly gained. That night the engineers who were still fit for duty—they were but few, for out of seventeen ten had been struck down during the assault—were sent to fortify the advanced positions. Here they threw up barricades, and loop-holed and fortified the houses commanding the approaches. To maintain the flank communications between the heads of the several columns,

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Notwithstanding heavy losses a solid base for further operations had been gained.

The positions gained are secured during the night.

* Major Norman's *Narrative* in the Blue Book, No. 6, 1858.



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Review of the
losses of the
day.

in the shape of strong pickets, throwing out vedettes, were established.*

Such was the result of the assault of the 14th September. At the cost of a very heavy loss of life a firm lodgment had been gained. The five assaulting columns numbered, exclusive of the Káshmir Contingent, five thousand one hundred and sixty men. Of these, one thousand one hundred and four men and sixty-six officers, or about two men in every nine, had been killed or wounded. Amongst the brave men who were killed or died of their wounds, were Nicholson, of whom I shall write further on; Jacob of the 1st Fusiliers; Speke, 65th Regiment Native Infantry; Salkeld, Engineers; Roper, 34th Foot; Tandy, Engineers; Fitzgerald, 75th Foot; Bradshaw, 52nd Light Infantry; Webb, 8th Foot; Rempay, 4th Panjáb Infantry; Pogson, 8th Regiment; MacBarnett, Davidson, and Murray, doing duty respectively with the 1st Fusiliers, the 2nd Panjáb Infantry, and the Guides. - The number of wounded officers amounted to fifty-two, of whom eight were Engineers. All these officers were but a type of the unreformed British army. They were men in whom their soldiers had confidence, whose physical energies had not been neutralised by a premature absorption of the powers of the brain, who had learned their duties in the practical life of camps, who were ever to the fore in manly exercises in cantonment, ever as eager as able to lead their men

* Medley.



on the battle-field. Honour to their memory! However limited their acquirements might have been regarded by examiners, they at least knew how to lead their men to victory!

The determination not only to hold the ground already won, but to continue further operations, was not arrived at by General Wilson without considerable hesitation. The success achieved, important as it was, had not corresponded—I will not say to his anticipations, for he had never been very confident—but to his hopes. The repulse of the first and fourth columns, the mortal wound of Nicholson, the tremendous loss in killed and wounded, the conviction he personally acquired that evening that the city had yet to be taken,—all these considerations combined to work on a nature never very sanguine or self-reliant, and now enfeebled by anxiety and ill-health. The General's first thought had been to withdraw the assaulting columns to the positions they had so long held on the ridge.

From this fatal determination General Wilson was saved by the splendid obstinacy of Baird Smith, aided by the soldierly-like instincts of Neville Chamberlain. What sort of a man Baird Smith was, I have recorded in a previous page. Neville Chamberlain had been cast in a mould not less noble. A soldier almost from the hour of his birth, Neville Chamberlain united to the most complete forgetfulness of self, a courage, a resolution, a coolness equal to all occasions. The only fault that the most critical could find with his action was that he was too eager to press forward. If

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General Wilson is inclined to withdraw from the position he had gained.

But is deterred by the remonstrances of Baird Smith and Neville Chamberlain.

Neville Chamberlain.



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a fault, it was a noble fault—a fault which the critics carefully avoided. But, warring against Asiatics, to go forward is never a fault, and I have been assured, not by one but by many, that Chamberlain's personal daring had contributed greatly to inspire with confidence the soldiers he commanded.

Chamberlain was Adjutant-General of the Army. He had been a consistent counsellor of bold and daring measures, and he had more than once, after repulsing a sally of the enemy, led the counter-attack which had driven him headlong within the city. In one of these daring pursuits he had been severely wounded, and it was this severe wound which had prevented him from taking an active part in the actual assault. But from the summit of Hindú Rao's house he had witnessed all the events of that memorable day. The repulse of the fourth column, and the demonstration made by the enemy to pursue that column, seemed for a moment indeed to imperil his position, and he had summoned the native guard to the roof to defend the threatened magazine. This danger was averted by the action, already recorded, of Hope Grant and the cavalry. But this episode in no degree diverted the attention of the Adjutant-General from the other events. He noticed the first successes of the other columns; then the check—the apparently insurmountable check—evidently a bar to further progress on that day. To Chamberlain its significance was clear and unmistakeable. There was but one course to pursue. To hold, at any



cost, the positions taken, to fortify them, and to make them the base of a fresh attack at the earliest moment. Unable to move himself, he sent to the General a record of his convictions, accompanied by an earnest request that he would hold the ground for the night.

Would the written request of the Adjutant-General, not actually on the spot, have alone sufficed to turn the General from the course which a personal inspection had at once suggested to him? It is doubtful. The General undoubtedly believed that the safety of the army would be compromised by the retention of the positions they had gained. Fortunately, Baird Smith was at his elbow. Appealed to by General Wilson as to whether he thought it possible for the army to retain the ground they had won, his answer was short and decisive, "*We must do so.*" That was all. But the uncompromising tone, the resolute manner, the authority of the speaker, combined to make it a decision against which there was no appeal. General Wilson accepted it.*

The following day, the 15th, was devoted to the securing of the positions gained, to the esta-

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Baird Smith's
resolute
answer to
Wilson.

Sept. 15.

* Many other officers gave the General the same advice. Amongst others, prominently, his Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, Captain Edwin Johnson, who shared his tent. This officer not only constantly urged General Wilson to see the matter through to its bitter end, but sustained him in his hours of

depression, and by his tact, judgment, and practical ability, contributed to bring his mind into a state willing to accept the advice of Chamberlain and Baird Smith. All the foremost officers of the army, Nicholson, Jones, Reid, and others, had been all along in favour of decisive action.



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Sept. 15.

Proceedings
on the 15th.

blishing and making use of mortar batteries to shell the city, the palace, and the Sélimgarh, to the restoring of order, and to the arranging of means for putting a stop to indiscriminate plundering. That our troops were permitted to carry out this programme with but slight disturbance from the enemy, shows how truly Baird Smith and Chamberlain had judged the position. It is not too much to affirm that a retrograde movement on the 15th would, for the time, have lost India. As it was, whilst a mortar battery, established by our engineers in the College gardens, effected considerable damage in the enemy's defences, and our men, under the cover of that fire, were able to occupy and fortify some houses in front of the position taken the previous evening, the enemy's fire from Sélimgarh and the magazine was comparatively ineffective. Already the depression of failure, which our retirement would have changed into the joy of triumph, was beginning to weight their efforts very heavily.

Temptations
placed in the
way of the
Europeans.

I have said that measures were taken on the 15th to restore order and to put a stop to indiscriminate plundering. The fact is, that the part of Delhi which our troops had occupied was the part which abounded in stores containing intoxicating liquors. What a temptation this would be to men faint from work of the severest character, and subjected for months to deprivations on the ridge, may easily be conceived. The indulgence in half an hour's unchecked impulse might paralyse the force. The danger was imminent, for the advanced guards fell victims to the snare.



But it was met promptly and with energy. The General ordered that the whole of the liquor should be destroyed, and the order was, to a very great extent, carried out.

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The morning of the 16th dawned hopefully. During the night and in the early morning the enemy evacuated the suburb of Kishanganj, whence they had, on the 14th, repulsed the fourth column. Our men at once occupied the position, and captured five heavy guns which had been left there by the enemy. They were immensely impressed with the great strength of the place. The fire from our batteries, also, having effected a breach in the magazine, a party, consisting of H.M.'s 61st Regiment, a part of the 4th Panjáb Rifles, and the wing of the Bilúch Battalion, was detached, personally directed by the General, to storm it. The position was carried with but slight loss to the stormers—three men only being wounded—another proof of the growing depression of the enemy. The capture was of the highest importance, the magazine containing one hundred and seventy-one guns and howitzers, most of them of the largest calibre, besides ammunition of every kind.

Sept. 16.

Kishanganj is
evacuated by
the rebels,

and the ma-
gazine is
stormed.

On the afternoon of the same day, the enemy made an attempt to recapture the magazine, as well as the workshops adjoining it. They advanced under cover of the fire of some guns in front of the palace gate, carried the workshops, but were driven back from the magazine, and ultimately from the workshops also. On this occasion, Lieutenant Renny of the Artillery dis-

Gallantry of
Renny.



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Sept. 16.

Continued
despondency
of Wilson.

played great coolness and contempt of death. For, mounting on the roof of the magazine, he pelted the enemy with shells which were handed to him with their fuses burning!

It would be natural to imagine that the fact that the army could not only hold its own, but make an impression upon the enemy so formidable as that implied by the abandonment of Kishanganj, and the feeble defence of the magazine, would have inspired the General with a confident hope as to the ultimate issue. But he was still desponding, and with Nicholson dying and Chamberlain unable to take an active part in his operations, it needed all the exertions of the engineers, than whom it would have been impossible to have collected a more daring and energetic set of men,* to carry out the necessary forward movement.

* Pre-eminent amongst these were Alexander Taylor, of whom Baird Smith thus wrote: "He was, throughout, my most able and trusted subordinate;" George Chesney, at a later period author of the *Battle of Dorking*; Fred Maunsell and Henry Brownlow, both shot down in the assault; Julius Medley, who to ability and daring added a genius for organization of no common order.

The tone of General Wilson's mind, at this particular period, may be gathered from his correspondence. "We took possession," he wrote at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, "of the magazine this morning with the loss of

only three men wounded. This advances us a little, but it is dreadfully slow work. Our force is too weak for street fighting, when we have to gain our way inch by inch; and of the force we have, unfortunately there is a large portion, besides the Jummoo troops, in whom I place no confidence. . . . I find myself getting weaker and weaker every day, mind and body quite worn out. The least exertion knocks me down. I walk with difficulty, and fully expect in a day or two to be laid altogether on my bed. . . . We have a long and hard struggle still before us; I hope I may be able to see it out."



RESISTANCE SLACKENS THE 17TH AND 18TH. 61

On the 17th and 18th the advance was pushed still further. The brain-task fell to the engineers, it having been decided to avoid the line of the streets and to sap through the houses. In this way the bank, Major Abbott's house, and the house of Khán Muhammad Khán were taken, and our posts brough close up to the palace and the Chándni Chók. During these days, too, the positions on the right and left, indicated by the Kábul gate and the magazine, were brought into direct communication by a line of posts.

Nor were the artillery silent. Whilst the steady progress of sapping was going on, the heavy mortars and guns in the magazine, and the recovered and re-armed batteries of the enceinte bastions and gates, were at work, pouring a continuous flight of shells into the city and palace. Of the enemy's resistance it may be said that, though continuous, it was not characterised by the determination which had marked their conduct on the 14th. They had read their doom, and though they still fought, their hearts were elevated neither by the hope of victory nor by the energy of despair. Many had abandoned the city. The courage of those who remained was still undaunted, but hopelessness of success had weakened their powers. Owing partly to this, and in a great measure to the skill of the attack, the British losses on those days were small.

The position of the attacking force on the evening of the 18th has thus been described: "The line of the canal may be said to have been our front; on its bank some light mortars were

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Sept. 17-18.

The advance pushed on on the 17th and 18th by the engineers

and by the artillery.

The resistance slackens.

Sept. 18.



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1857.
Sept. 18.

Greathed's
attack on the
Láhor gate
fails.

posted, to clear the neighbourhood of the Láhor gate; while light guns were posted at the main junction of the streets, and sand-bag batteries erected to prevent the possibility of a surprise."* The establishment of communications between the extreme right and left has been already mentioned. In the rear everything was our own.

Still all was not *couleur de rose*. On the morning of that day an attack on the Láhor gate had been directed, and failed. Greathed, who directed that attack at the head of a column composed of detachments from the 8th, the 75th, and a Sikh Regiment, and supported by fifty men of the 1st Fusiliers, had to advance up a narrow lane leading into the Chándni Chók through a gate at the end of it. This gate had been closed, and behind it dwelt the unknown. Greathed had led his men up the narrow lane, but as he approached the end leading into the Chándni Chók the gate was suddenly thrown open and displayed to his astonished gaze a 24-pounder turned on the assailants. This gun opened suddenly with grape on the column, whilst simultaneously from the houses on either flank poured a smart and continuous fire of musketry. No wonder that the men recoiled. They were enormously outnumbered, and occupied a cramped position, which gave no play for manœuvring. Greathed drew them back, and, bringing a 6-pounder to the front, ordered a charge under cover of the smoke. But all was in vain. For a moment indeed the hostile gun

* *Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys*, Bouchier,



appeared to be in the possession of our men ; * but the odds were too great, the position too confined ; the enemy being thoroughly on the alert, surprise had become impossible. No one saw more clearly than Greathed that the attack on the Chók had failed. He therefore gave the order to retire. The retreat was effected in good order and without loss, the enemy not venturing to enter the lane.

The repulse of Greathed's column had filled the mind of General Wilson with despair. " We are still," he wrote, that same day, " in the same position in which we were yesterday. An attempt was made this morning to take the Láhor gate, but failed from the refusal of the European soldiers to follow their officers. One rush, and it would have been done easily ; but they would not make it. The fact is, our men have a great dislike to street fighting ; they do not see their enemy, and find their comrades falling from shots of the enemy who are on the tops of houses and behind cover, and get a panic, and will not advance. This is very sad and, to me, very disheartening. We can, I think, hold our present position, but I cannot see my way out at all. I have now only three thousand one hundred men (infantry) in the city, with no chance or possibility of any reinforcements. If I were to attempt to push on into the city, they would be lost in such innumerable streets and masses of houses,

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Its lowering
effect on
General
Wilson.

* *Blackwood's Magazine*, the article is known to the January 1858. The writer of author,



CSL

64 TAYLOR PUSHES ON WITH THE PICKAXE.

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and would be annihilated or driven back." The reader will remark that, desponding as are these words, they mark a step in advance of those uttered on the evening of the 14th. Then, General Wilson was inclined to retire to the ridge to save his army. On the 18th, though he still doubted of ultimate success, he felt he could hold his own.

Sept. 19.

The Burn
bastion.

On the 19th action of a different character was taken. A glance at the plan will show the position, previously described, attained on the evening of the 18th. Immediately in front of our right was the Burn bastion, no longer supported by the presence of a strong hostile force in Kishanganj and Tāliwāri. Now the Burn bastion commanded the Lāhor gate, and with it the Chāndni Chók; and, though from our advanced post in the Bank that important street could be occupied, it would be difficult to maintain it and to push on operations against the palace and the Jamma Masjid until the remaining strongholds on the enemy's left should be occupied.

Alexander
Taylor is
authorised to
work through
to the Burn
bastion.

To the clear minds of the Chief Engineer and of his principal coadjutor, Captain Alexander Taylor, the requirements of the position were apparent. With the concurrence, then, of the former, Captain Taylor obtained from the General an order to the Brigadier commanding at the Kābul gate to place at his disposal, for operations on the following morning, a body of men to work through the intermediate houses, and thus to gain the Burn bastion. Whilst this gradual and necessarily somewhat slow process was being



JONES OCCUPIES THE BURN BASTION; 65

adopted, a column of about five hundred men, taken from the 8th and 75th and the Sikh regiment, proceeded, under Brigadier William Jones, to attack the Lahor gate.

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The sapping party, directed by Captain Taylor, gradually made their way through the detached houses situated between the Kábul gate and the Burn bastion, annoyed only by a constant musketry fire maintained by the enemy upon such of their number as were forced to show themselves. Making their way, as it were, step by step, they succeeded, as night fell, in occupying a house which completely overlooked the Burn bastion. From this place they were able to pour a commanding fire upon the occupants of the latter, and they did this with so much effect that the enemy, convinced of the impossibility of holding it, evacuated it during the night. Brigadier Jones then pushed forward his men, and found it deserted. But his men were in a very unruly condition. Much brandy had fallen into their hands, and it was difficult to keep them steady.*

The news brought to the General that night (19th) by Captain Taylor of the capture of the Burn bastion, could not fail to revive his spirits.

* The men were in a very unruly state . . . Much brandy, beer, and other intoxicating liquors were left so exposed by the enemy, that it would seem they had almost been left about purposely; and though the officers endeavoured to persuade their men that the liquor was

poisoned they did not succeed. . . . One old soldier, a thirsty soul, taking up a bottle of brandy, and looking at it, said: "Oh no, Sir, the capsule is all right—Exshaw and Co.—no poison that."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1858.

Its capture
by Brigadier
Jones.

*This mistake
is occupied the
bastion in the night
as
He had not time
to note the capture
of the bastion
in*

The immense
gain of the
capture.



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It was an immense gain; for the possession of that bastion was the certain key to the capture of the Láhor gate. So impressed was General Wilson with the importance of the conquest that he sent some officers of his staff to spend the night in the bastion, and to take measures for its retention. The precaution, wise though it was, was not needed. The enemy by this time were thoroughly cowed, and, far from thinking of recovering the place, were hurrying out of the city as fast as their legs could carry them.

Sept. 20.

Jones carries
the Láhor
gate,

The capture of the Burn bastion was the beginning of the end. Early the following morning (the 20th) Brigadier Jones's column, pursuing the advantage of the previous evening, carried the Láhor gate with a rush; the Garstin bastion fell also to their prowess. The Brigadier then received instructions to divide his force, and whilst detaching one portion up the Chádn Chók to occupy the Jamma Masjid, to proceed with the remainder towards the Ájmir gate. The opportune arrival of Major Brind and his artillery caused the Brigadier to confide to him the command of the first portion. Brind, having under his orders, in addition to his own men, the 8th Regiment and the 1st Fusiliers, marched at once to the Jamma Masjid, and carried it without difficulty. He had no sooner occupied it than he perceived that the one thing wanting to assure the complete capture of the city was to assault the palace, promptly and without delay. He, therefore, on the spot, wrote a pencil note to the General reporting his success, and urging

and Brind
the Jamma
Masjid:

he then in-
vites Wilson
to attack the
palace.



him to an immediate attack on the royal residence.

Meanwhile Jones had penetrated to the Ájmir gate. Almost simultaneously the main body of the cavalry, going round by the Ídgar, found the camp of the mutineers outside Dehlí evacuated, and secured the clothing, ammunition, and plunder left by the rebels in the precipitation of their flight.

General Wilson responded to Brind's note by ordering the advance of the column at the magazine to attack the palace. The decreasing fire from the battlements of the residence, famous in history, famous in romance, of the descendants of Bábar, had made it abundantly clear that the last representative of the family which had for so long ruled in Hindustan had, with his family and attendants, sought refuge in flight. When the British troops (the 60th Rifles), pressing forward, reached the walls, a few fanatics alone remained behind, not to line them, for their numbers were too few, but, careless of life, to show to the very last their hatred of the foe they had so long defied. Powder-bags were promptly brought up, the gates were blown in, and our troops entered, and hoisted the British flag. The Sélingarh fort had been occupied even a little earlier. Its capture was effected in a manner which demands a separate notice.

Some short time before the assault on the palace gate, Lieutenant Aikman, with a small party of Wilde's Sikhs, had been directed to feel his way to the left. Aikman, the most daring and intrepid of men, knew the ground thoroughly; and having

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Completion of
the occupation
of the
gate.

Wilson sends
a force
against the
palace,

which is cap-
tured.

Aikman cap-
tures the
Sélingarh.



Scale, 4 Inches to a Mile.





In the afternoon of the same day General Wilson, having given directions for the establishment of posts at the various gateways and bastions, took up his quarters in the imperial palace.

The appearance of Dehli after the capture of the palace, the Sélingarh, and the Jamma Masjid had placed it in the hands of the British, has thus been graphically described by a gallant officer who took part in the assault and in the subsequent operations.*

“The demon of destruction,” writes Colonel Bouchier, “seemed to have enjoyed a perfect revel. The houses in the neighbourhood of the Mori and Káshmir bastions were a mass of ruins, the walls near the breaches were cracked in every direction, while the church was completely riddled by shot and shell. . . . In the Water bastion the destruction was still more striking. Huge siege-guns, with their carriages, lay about seemingly like playthings in a child’s nursery. The palace had evidently been hastily abandoned. The tents of Captain de Teissier’s battery, stationed at Dehli when the mutiny broke out, were left standing, and contained plunder of all sorts. The apartments inhabited by the royal family combined a most incongruous array of tawdry splendour with the most abject poverty and filth. The apartments over the palace gate, formerly inhabited by Captain Douglas, who commanded the palace guards, and Mr. Jennings the clergy-

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Appearance
of Dehli after
the capture.

* *Eight Months’ Campaign* Colonel George Bouchier,
against the Bengal Sepoys, by C.B., R.A.



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man, were denuded of every trace of the unfortunate party which had inhabited its walls, and with whom, not many months before, I had spent a happy week. It was with a sad and heavy heart that I paced its now empty rooms, which could tell such terrible tales of the scenes there enacted."

Dehli was now virtually our own. But though the strong places had been occupied by our troops thousands of the mutineers were still in the vicinity, armed, and ready to take advantage of any slackness of discipline. The very relief of guards and batteries was still a matter of danger and difficulty, nor did the event of the following day, which deprived the rebels of their nominal leader, lessen in any material degree the magnitude of the risk.

The King of
Dehli.

Sept. 14.

The King of Dehli, his family, and his personal adherents had shown themselves as easily depressed by adversity as they had been cruel and remorseless when Fortune had seemed, in the early days of the revolt, to smile upon them. The result of the events of the 14th September had produced upon the mind of the King effects precisely similar to those which had, for the moment, mastered the cooler judgment of the British commander. We have seen that General Wilson, surveying his position on the evening of the 14th, declared that a prompt retreat to his original position could alone save the army. Baird Smith and Neville Chamberlain forced him, so to speak, to remain. On the other side, the King and his advisers, deeply impressed by the



successful storm of the assailants, and not considering that success outweighed, or even balanced, by the repulse of the first and fourth columns, rapidly arrived at the conclusion that, unless the British should retire, the game was up. There was no Baird Smith at the right hand of the King to point out to him how many chances yet remained in his favour if he would but profitably employ the small hours of the night; no Neville Chamberlain to urge him, above all things, to dare. When the morning of the 15th dawned, and the British were seen to have retained their positions, to be making preparations for a further advance, the hearts of the King and his advisers fell, and they began even then to discount the future.

Still, as long as the Sélimgarh, the palace, the Jamma Masjid, and the Láhor gate were held, no active measures for retreat were taken. But when, on the night of the 19th, the Burn bastion, virtually commanding the Láhor gate and the Chándni Chók, was captured, the thought that had been uppermost in every heart found expression. That thought was flight.

The commander-in-chief of the rebel army, the Bakht Khán, whom we have seen exercising so strong an influence at Baréli,* evacuated the city that night, taking with him all the fighting men upon whom he could depend. Ways of egress, that by the bridge of boats, and those by the Khairáti and Dehlí gates were still open to

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The persistence of the British depresses the adherents of the King.

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Their success completes the despondency.

Bakht Khán urges the King to accompany the army in its flight.

* Vol. i., page 303, note.



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The King
vacillates.

them; and of these they availed themselves. Bakht Khán exerted all his eloquence to induce the King to accompany him. He represented to him that all was not lost, that though the English had gained their stronghold the open country was before them, and that, under the shadow of his name and presence, it would be still possible to continue the war, always with a chance of success.

Had Bahádur Khán possessed a spark of the persistent nature or the vigorous energy of his ancestors, of Bábar, of Humáyun, or of Ákbar, that appeal had not been made in vain. But he was an old man—one of that class of old men who have exhausted youth in their teens, and who become, with increasing years, more and more nerveless and irresolute. It is probable that throughout the mutiny the King had been a mere puppet in the hands of others. Whilst the siege lasted the chiefs of the army had sustained their power over him by promises of ultimate victory. But with impending defeat their influence vanished; and the old King, acted upon by events, was in the humour to fall under any spell which might seem to promise him immunity for his misdeeds.

The secret
thoughts of
Mirza Iláhi
Bakhsh.

Such a spell was at hand. Of all the nobles about him the wildest was Mirza Iláhi Bakhsh, whose daughter was the widow of the eldest son of the King. It is probable that in the early days of the mutiny the counsels of Iláhi Bakhsh had been strongly in favour of vigorous action. But he had a keen eye for probabilities. The



events of the 14th and 15th September had read to him no doubtful lesson. He foresaw the triumph of the English—a triumph fraught with ruin to himself and his family unless he could turn to account the few days that must still intervene.

He did turn them to account. Having made all his plans, he listened, without speaking, to the eloquent pleadings made to the King by the commander-in-chief, Bakht Khán. When all was over, and when Bakht had departed with a promise from the King that he would meet him the following day at the tomb of Humáyun, Iláhi Bakhsh persuaded the Moghol sovereign to accompany him to his house for the night. Having brought him there, he moulded him to his purpose. He pointed out to him the hardships which would follow his accompanying the army, assured him of its certain defeat, and then, showing the other side of the shield, indicated that a prompt severance of his cause from the cause of the Sepoys would induce the victorious English to believe that, up to that moment, he had acted under compulsion, and that he had seized the first opportunity to sever himself from traitors.

These arguments, urged with great force upon one whose brain power, never very strong, was waning, had their effect. When, next day, the King of Dehlí, his zenana, his sons, and his nobles, met the rebel commander-in-chief at the tomb of Humáyun, he and they declined to accompany them. Rather than undergo the fatigues, the

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He moulds
the King to
his purpose.

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The King
refuses to
accompany
the army.



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The rebel
army leaves
Dehli.

The intrigues
of Mirza Iláhi
Bakhsh.

Their nature
communi-
cated to Cap-
tain Hodson.

perils, the uncertainties attendant on the prolongation of a contest which they had encouraged, they deliberately preferred to trust to the tender mercies of the conqueror. What those tender mercies were likely to be did not seem to trouble much the degenerate Moghols. They promised, at all events, a quick decision—a decision preferable to the agony of suspense.

Bakht Khán and the rebel army, then, went their way, leaving behind the royal family and a numerous crowd of emasculated followers, the scum of the palace, men born never to rise above the calling of a flatterer or a scullion. So far had the plans of Mirza Iláhi Bakhsh succeeded. The next step was more difficult. It involved the betrayal of his master.

Difficult, it was not insurmountable. Chief of the native agents maintained by the English to obtain correct information regarding the movements of the enemy during the siege, was Múnshí Rajab Áli, a man possessing wonderful tact, cleverness, assurance, courage—all the qualities which go to make up a spy of the highest order. He possessed to the full the confidence of the English administrators, and he was true to his employers. With this man Iláhi Bakhsh opened communications. Rajab Áli requested him simply to detain the royal family for twenty-four hours after the departure of the rebel army, at the tomb of Humáyun, and to leave the rest to him.

Rajab Áli communicated the information he had received to Hodson of Hodson's Horse; Hodson at once rode down to the General's head-



quarters, communicated the news, and requested permission to take with him a party of his men to bring in the King. With some reluctance—for he knew Hodson's nature—General Wilson accorded the permission, but solely on the condition that the King should be exposed to neither injury nor insult. Hodson, taking fifty of his troopers with him, galloped down towards the tomb.

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Who was Hodson? Some men are born in advance of their age, others too late for it. Of the latter class was Hodson. Daring, courting danger, reckless and unscrupulous, he was a *condottiere* of the hills, a free-lance of the Middle Ages. He joyed in the life of camps, and revelled in the clang of arms. His music was the call of the trumpet, the battle-field his ball-room. He would have been at home in the camp of Wallenstein, in the sack of Magdeburg. In him human suffering awoke no feeling, the shedding of blood caused him no pang, the taking of life brought him no remorse. The *certaminis gaudia* did not entirely satisfy his longings. Those joys were but preludes to the inevitable consequences—the slaughter of the fugitives, the spoils of the vanquished.

Hodson rode off, full of excitement, towards the tomb of Humáyun. As he approached that time-honoured structure he slackened his pace, and making way cautiously to some ruined buildings near the gateway, posted his men under their shade. Having taken every precaution, he then sent to announce to the King his arrival, and to invite him to surrender.

Hodson rides
to capture
the King.



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The scene
within the
tomb of
Humáyún.

Within the tomb despair was combating with resignation. The favourite wife of the last of the Moghols, anxious above all for the safety of her son, a lad not old enough to be implicated in the revolt, and yet not too young to escape massacre, was imploring the old man to yield on the condition of a promise of life; the mind of the old man, agitated by a dim recollection of the position he had inherited and forfeited, by despair of the present, by doubts of the future, was still wavering. Why had not he acted as Ákbar would have acted, and accompanied the troops to die, if he must die, as a king? What to him were the few years of dishonour which the haughty conqueror might vouchsafe to him? Better life in the free plains of India, hunted though he might be, than life in durance for him, a king! But then rushed in the fatal conviction that it was too late. He had decided when he dismissed Bakht Khán! The Frank and his myrmidons were at his door!

The King
surrenders on
condition
that his life
be spared.

Yet still the difficulty with him was to act on that decision. His mind was in the chaotic condition when everything was possible but action. For two hours, then, he hesitated, clutching at every vague idea only to reject it; his wife, his traitorous adviser, his surroundings, all urging upon him one and the same counsel. At last a consent was wrung from him to send a message to Hodson that he would surrender provided he should receive from that officer an assurance that his life should be spared.

Hodson re-
ceives the

On receiving this message, Hodson gave the

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captive

promise. Then, issuing from his cover, he took post in the open space in front of the gate of the tomb, standing there alone to receive the royal prisoner. Preceded by the Queen and her son in palanquins, the King issued from the portico, carried in a similar conveyance. Hodson spurred his horse to the side of the palanquin and demanded of the King his arms. The King asked if his captor were Hodson Bahádur. Receiving an affirmative reply, the King asked for a promise from the Englishman's own lips of his life and of the lives of his wife and her son. The promise given, the arms were surrendered and the cortége moved towards the city. The progress was slow, and for a great part of the journey the palanquins were followed by a considerable number of the King's retinue—men never dangerous and now thoroughly cowed. These gradually dropped off as the Láhor gate was approached. By that gate Hodson entered, and traversing the Chándni Chók, made over his captives to Mr. Saunders, the principal civil officer in the city. He then went to report his successful achievement to the General, carrying with him the arms of the last sovereign of the imperial house of Bábar.

and makes
him over to
the civil
authorities.

So far Hodson had acted as a chivalrous officer of the nineteenth century. But the spirit of the *condottiere* now came into play. The same active agents who had informed him of the whereabouts of the King, now came to tell him that two of the King's sons and a grandson, men who were reported to have taken part in the massacre of May,

Hodson learns
that the
King's sons
and a grand-
son could be
captured.



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He starts
with a hun-
dred troopers
to capture
them.

Refuses to
promise to
spare their
lives.

had not accompanied the rebel army but were concealed in the tomb of Humáyun or in its vicinity. The information excited all the savage instincts of Hodson. These men could not stipulate for mercy. He might himself "rid the earth of those ruffians." He rejoiced in the opportunity.* The following morning, then, having obtained permission from the General to hunt down the princes, he started, accompanied by his second in command, Lieutenant McDowell, one hundred troopers, and his two spy-informers, Múnshí Rajab Áli and Mirza Iláhi Bakhsh, and rode for Humáyun's tomb. The three princes, Mirza Kházar Sultán, Mirza Moghol, and Mirza Abú Bakht, were in the tomb attended by a considerable number of the scum of the people—the same who, the previous day, had seen, without resistance their king carried off, and who were not more prepared to resist now. It is true that the more daring among them, seeing the approach of Hodson, implored the princes to resist, offering to defend them to the last. Better for the princes, ten thousand times better for Hodson's reputation, if the offer had been accepted. At least, then, the Englishman would have been able to aver that he killed his enemies in fair fight. But with the example of their father before them, the princes hoped to gain the promise of their lives by

* "In twenty-four hours I disposed of the principal members of the House of Timour the Tartar. I am not cruel, but I confess that I did rejoice in the opportunity of ridding the earth of these ruffians."—Letter from Hodson, 23rd September 1857.



negotiation. For two hours they implored that promise. Hodson steadily refused it. Their spirits weakened by the useless effort, the three princes then surrendered to the mercy and generosity of the conqueror.

They came out from their retreat in a covered cart. Similar carts conveyed the arms of which Hodson, in the meanwhile, had deprived the crowd. Hodson placed troopers on either side of the cart which bore the princes, and directed it towards the Lâhor gate. The people, the same miserable population who had previously followed the King, followed this cortége also. Between them and the cart containing the princes were a hundred of Hodson's far-famed horsemen. There was no real danger to be apprehended from them. They were too cowed to act. Hodson would have rejoiced had they displayed the smallest intention to resist. He wanted blood. His senses were blinded by his brutal instincts. Five-sixths of the journey from the place of capture to Dehlî had been completed without the display of the smallest hostility on the part of the crowd. Despairing, then, of any other mode of gratifying his longings, he made the pressure of the mob upon his horsemen a pretext for riding up to the cart, stopping it, and ordering the princes to dismount, and strip to their under garments. Then, addressing the troopers, he told them in a loud voice, so as to be heard by the multitude, that the prisoners were butchers who had murdered our women and our children, and that it was the will of the Government that they should die.

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They surrender to his mercy and generosity.

He shoots them when within a mile of Dehlî.



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Comments on
Hodson's act.

Then, taking a carbine from the hands of a trooper, he shot dead his three unresisting captives !

A more brutal or a more unnecessary outrage was never committed. It was a blunder as well as a crime. It is true that the gossip of the camp had accused the princes of the imperial house of having instigated the massacre of our countrymen and countrywomen in the month of May, but not a single item of evidence had been adduced to substantiate the charge. It is quite possible that a fair trial might have cleared them ; or, had it convicted them, the British public would have enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that they deserved the fate which would then have befallen them. The princes surrendered, prisoners of war. It is idle to say that unless they had been shot they would have been rescued. No attempt was made by the crowd to wag a finger on their behalf. Its undisciplined and unarmed component parts had lost the only fair chance of resistance when they assented to the surrender of the princes. They made no sign when Hodson ordered his intended victims to descend from the cart and to strip. It is possible, indeed, that a man deficient in nerve might have been so far daunted by the sight of the number of men following his troopers as to lose his presence of mind, and, in sheer desperation, end the matter by murdering his captives. But Hodson had nerves of iron. He had all his wits about him. He had regretted that his instructions forbade him to kill the King. His savage instincts re-



quired to be satisfied, and he satisfied them by this cowardly murder.

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It is to be regretted on every ground that he gave way to the promptings of his nature. On the grounds of justice, because it was a base and unnecessary act; on the grounds of public interest, because the trials of the princes would probably have elicited much curious information regarding the revolt; on the grounds of his own reputation, for though whilst men's blood was still hot the deed might have been overlooked, their better feelings would have asserted themselves in the end, and Hodson would have been a marked man for ever. In the history of the mutiny there is no more painful episode than that connected with his name on this occasion.

It is now time to return to the city. I left it on the evening of the 20th, its strong places fully occupied by our troops. On the following morning began the work of securing the city. To Major James Brind—known in the camp, for his gallantry, for his untiring energy, for the earnest and persistent manner in which he had pounded the enemy, as Brind of the batteries—was allotted the task, in conjunction with the Chief Engineer, of ensuring the safety of the gateways and posts.

A more high-minded, a more gallant, or a more merciful officer than Major James Brind never lived. Every soldier knew, and every soldier loved him. He brought to his task all the characteristics which had gained for him respect and affection. But that task was no light one. The



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Brind clears
the city of
murderers
and incen-
diaries.

scum of the rebel army still lurked in the place, hiding in mosques or burying themselves in underground receptacles. As Major Brind went about it he was again and again startled by reports of cold-blooded murder of our soldiers, of their being enticed by a promise of drink into the dark corners of the city and there basely murdered. He found that numerous gangs of men were hanging about, prepared to interfere with the reliefs of the batteries and posts, and that it was even possible they might attempt to surprise the garrison. The time was critical. It was necessary to show the rebels that we were prepared for them. Major Brind, therefore, determined to make an example of the first gang of murderers who might be caught. Just at the moment a murder of an atrocious character was reported to him. Collecting a few artillerymen, Brind hastened to the spot, stormed the mosques and houses where the murderers and their associates were assembled, ordered the perpetrators to be executed, and made over the remainder to the authorities. This act of vigour, combined with acts of the same nature carried out by other commanding officers, had a wonderful effect. The remainder of the rowdy element quitted the city, and from that day forth there was neither murder nor disturbance. Major Brind was then able to continue, in comparative freedom from alarm, his task of making the gate-ways and other military posts as secure as possible from attack. Colonel Burn, an officer not attached to the force, but who, being on leave at the time, had joined it, was,



on the 21st, nominated military governor of the city.

One sad event remains yet to be chronicled—the death of the heroic man who, sweeping across the Panjáb, had come down to reinforce the besieging army, to inflict a deadly blow on the enemy at Najafgarh, and to command the storming party on the 14th. After lingering for eight days, John Nicholson died. As fortunate as Wolfe, he lived long enough to see the full success of the attack he had led with so much daring. At the age of thirty-seven he had achieved the highest rank alike as an administrator and as a soldier. There never lived a man who more thoroughly exemplified the truth of the maxim that great talents are capable of universal application. Whatever the work to which he had applied himself, he had succeeded. His mastery over men was wonderful. His penetrating glance never failed in effect. It was impossible to converse with him without admitting the spell. With all that, and though he must have been conscious of his power, he was essentially humble-minded. “You must not compare me with Herbert Edwardes,” he said to the writer in 1851. In appearance, especially in the eye and the contour of the face, he bore a striking resemblance to Lord Beaconsfield, as Lord Beaconsfield was when, as Mr. Disraeli, he first became leader of the opposition. The resemblance had been remarked by many when he visited England in 1850. What he might have become it is difficult to guess. It is difficult because it would be hard to put a limit to his career. Look-

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John Nicholson dies.



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ing at the point whence he started, at the reputation he had acquired at the age of thirty-seven—the reputation of being the most successful administrator, the greatest soldier, the most perfect master of men—in India, it is impossible to believe that he would have fallen short of the most famous illustrations of Anglo-Indian history, for to all the military talents of Clive he united a scrupulous conscience, and to the administrative capacity of Warren Hastings he joined a love of equal justice for the rights of all.

Remarks on
the siege.

The stronghold had fallen, “the first great blow struck at the rebel’s cause.”* The total loss of the army, from the 30th May to the final capture on the 20th September, had amounted to nine hundred and ninety-two killed, two thousand seven hundred and ninety-five wounded, and thirty missing, out of a force never numbering ten thousand effective men. But in addition to these, many died from disease and exposure.

“In the history of sieges,” wrote at the time an officer, in words the truth of which the lapse of twenty years has confirmed,† “that of Dehlí will ever take a prominent place. Its strength, its resources, and the prestige attached to it in the native mind, combined to render formidable that citadel of Hindustan. Reasonably might the ‘Northern Bee’ or the ‘Invalide Russe’ question our ability to suppress this rebellion if they drew their conclusions from the numerical

* Medley.

† *The Red Pamphlet*.



strength of the little band that first sat down before Dehli. But the spirit that animated that handful of soldiers was not simply the emulative bravery of the military proletarian. The cries of helpless women and children, ruthlessly butchered, had gone home to the heart of every individual soldier and made this cause his own. There was not an Englishman in those ranks, from first to last, who would have consented to turn his back on Dehli without having assisted in meting out to those bloody rebels the retributive justice awarded them by his own conscience, his country, and his God. It was this spirit that buoyed them up through all the hardships of the siege, that enabled them for four long months of dreary rain and deadly heat, to face disease, privation, and death, without a murmur."

It was indeed an occasion to bring out the rare qualities of the British soldier, to show how, under the untoward circumstances of climate, of wet, of privation, he can be staunch, resolute and patient whilst waiting for his opportunity, daring when that opportunity comes. With him, too, can claim equal laurels the splendid Gúrkah regiment of Charles Reid, the magnificent frontier warriors of the Guide Corps, the cavalry regiments of Probyn, Watson, and Hodson, the levies from the various parts of the Panjáb. These men were worthy to vie with the British soldier. Their names, unfortunately, do not survive for the advantage of posterity; but their commanders live to speak for them. They, in their turn, will leave the scene of this world. But when the tale

Book X.
Chapter I.

1857.
Sept. 22.

The British
soldier.

His native
comrades.



BOOK X.
Chapter I.

1857.
Sept. 22.

The heroes of
the siege.

is told to our children's children, the names of Nicholson, of Chamberlain, of Charles Reid, of Baird Smith, of Hope Grant, of John Jones, of Edwin Johnson, of Alec Taylor, of Tait, of James Brind, of Seaton, of Daly, of Tombs, of Jacob, of Probyn, of Watson, of Medley, of James Hills, of Quintin Battye, of Speke, of Greville, of Aikman, of Salkeld, of Home, and of many others—for the list is too long—will be inquired after with sympathy, and will inspire an interest not inferior to that with which the present generation regard the achievements of their forefathers in Spain and in Flanders.



BOOK X.

CHAPTER II.

DEEPLY sensible of the fact that a victory not followed up is a victory thrown away, General Wilson prepared, as soon as he felt his hold upon Dehli secure, to detach a force in the direction of Balandshahr and Aligarh to intercept, and, if possible, cut off the rebels.

Wilson follows up the capture of Dehli

Had Nicholson lived, it had been the General's intention to bestow upon him the command of this force. On his death it was thought that it would be offered to the commandant of the cavalry brigade, Brigadier Hope Grant. The presence of this gallant and able officer was, however, still thought necessary at Dehli. The officer selected was Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Greathed, commanding the 8th Foot.

by sending a force towards A'gra.

The force consisted of two thousand seven hundred and ninety men, composed as follows :—



		Europeans.	Natives.
Box X. Chapter II.	Captain Remington's Troop of		
1857.	Horse Artillery, five guns .	60	—
Sept. 21.	Captain Blunt's Troop of Horse		
	Artillery, five guns . . .	60	—
	Major Bouchier's Battery, six		
	guns	60	60
	Sappers	—	200
	H.M.'s 9th Lancers	300	—
	Detachments, 1st, 4th, and 5th		
	Panjáb Cavalry, and Hod-		
	son's Horse	—	400
	H.M.'s 8th and 75th Regiments	450	—
	1st and 4th Regiments Panjáb		
	Infantry	—	1,200
		<hr/> 930	<hr/> 1,860

Glad sensa-
tions of
officers and
men on leav-
ing Dehli.

"Never," wrote a distinguished member of the force,* "never did boys escape from the clutches of a schoolmaster with greater glee than we experienced on the 21st September, when we received our orders to proceed on the following morning to the plain in front of the Ajmír gate, where a column was to be formed under the command of Colonel Greathed, H.M.'s 8th Foot, destined to scour the Gangetic Doab." With the exhilarating feelings sufficiently indicated in the above extract, the force I have detailed marched on the morning of the 24th by way of the Hindan in the direction of Balandshahr.

Sept. 24.

* *Eight Months' Campaign* by Colonel George Bouchier, against the Bengal Sepoy Army C.B. during the Mutiny of 1857,