The background of the text block features a large, faint, circular seal of the University of Delhi. The seal contains the university's name in English and Hindi, along with a central emblem depicting a book and a lamp.

**Discipline Course-1**  
**Semester- 1**  
**Paper : Colonialism in India**  
**Lesson : The 1857 Rebellion.(I)**  
**Lesson Developer: Dr. Anjoo Sharma**  
**College/Department: Fellow, ILL UDSC,**  
**University of Delhi**

## Table of Contents

### Chapter 15: The Rebellion of 1857

- 15.1: The Mutiny of 1857.
- 15.2: The Nationalist Historians.
  - 15.2.1: The Bengal Army.
  - 15.2.2: Mangal Pandey.
- 15.3: Imperial Historians: War of Religions.
- 15.4: Meerut Cantonment: 10 May, 1857.
- 15.5: The Spread of the Mutiny: Delhi
- 15.6: The Battle of the Ridge .
  - 15.6.1: The Siege of Delhi.
  - 15.6.2: June 10, 1857.
  - 15.6.3: The Host City: Delhi June – July 1857.
  - 15.6.4: Native reinforcements march into Delhi.
  - 15.6.5: Bakht Khan and the Bareilly brigade.
- 15.7: The Capture of Delhi.
  - 15.7.1: Causes for the fall of Delhi .
  - 15.7.2: Comparison of preparedness for the operation.
- 15.8: The Marxist Perspective on the Rebellion of 1857.
- 15.9: Writing of history on the battlefield of Delhi.
- Summary
- Exercises
- Glossary
- References

### Lesson Objective

- The Rebellion of 1857 (1) is an attempt to give to the students of the University of Delhi a sense of history of the city where they study. The chapter brings alive the significance and past grandeur of the historical monuments they go past each day. Weaved around a narrative, aided with audio-visuals in films and images of rare pictures, at a conceptual level the article deals with two opposing theories of the rebellion of 1857-- Nationalist and the Imperialist. The Battle of the Ridge and the Siege and Fall of Delhi are dealt with in detail to give the historical context of the struggle of a rebellious native army that lacked an able Commander who could pull the force through, while keeping it together. As one reads of the

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

diverse people, alongside the sepoys, who partook in a historical rebellion, a sense of the Marxist interpretation of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 comes home to the readers. Quoted views of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels is given towards the end of this research article.

- The Rebellion of 1857 (2) discusses the rebellion elsewhere in India and its brutal suppression, the nature, cause and impact of the rebellion on future history. It also studies contemporary historiography of the uprising of 1857.



## 15.1 The Mutiny of 1857

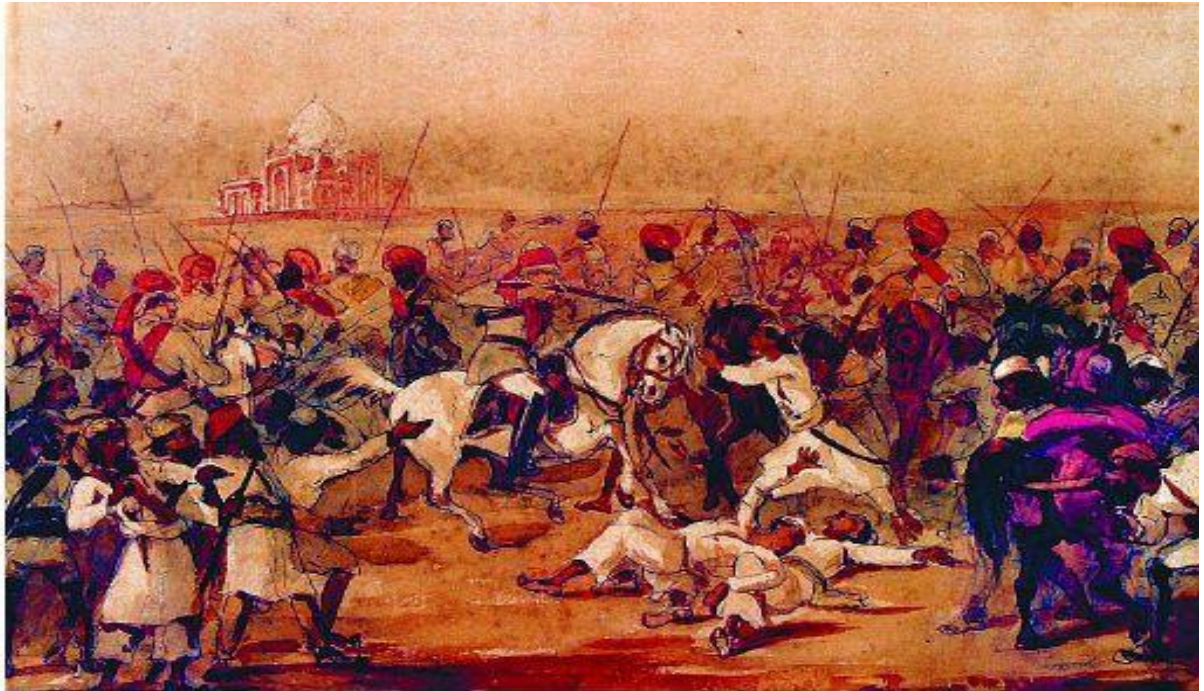


FIGURE:15.1.1

"Capture & Death of the Shahzadas',1857,{Accessed at 7.20 pm on July 10, 2013}

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=19&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-24>

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858.

The copyright of the original painting has expired. It is much over 100 years old.

*"We could subdue the mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was, because it spread through only a part of the army, because people did not actively sympathize with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny, but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire should be at an end, of our preserving our Empire."*

—Sir John Seeley (quoted by Tarling, Nicholas, *"Nations and States in Southeast Asia"*, Cambridge: 1998, Cambridge University Press.)



## 15.2 THE NATIONALIST HISTORIANS

Historians are not in unison about the nature of the uprising of 1857. Some scholars argue that the 'four-month' uprising was a peasants' revolt while others claim that the great upheaval was a sepoy mutiny. There are still others who term it as popular resistance or a patriotic war of independence. Since the publication in 1909, of V.D Sarvarkar's book, "The Indian War of Independence", Nationalists reiterate that the uprising of 1857 was the First War of Independence. Beginning to write in early 20<sup>th</sup> century India, Nationalist historians hail the uprising of 1857 as a unified patriotic struggle that was waged by heroic freedom fighters who led the 'Ghadr'. The resistance displayed by Mangal Pandey on March 29, 1857 at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, is seen by the Nationalists as the most crucial event that culminated in the 'Indian War of Independence.'

### **15.2.1 THE BENGAL ARMY**

The foundation of the British colonial rule in India had, as its bedrock, a mammoth army. The army, under the East India Company, had been expanding since the time that Warren Hastings was the Governor General. As the jurisdiction of the Company expanded with successive annexations, so did the size of its army. 80% of the soldiers who served in the British army were recruited from amongst the natives. Unlike European soldiers, native soldiers were referred to as 'sep'ahis' or 'sepoys'. The sepoys took great pride in military dexterity and had served the British East India Company with utmost loyalty, as evident by both the Battle of Buxur and the Battle of Plassey.

<b>HISTORICAL FACTS</b>
<b>THE BENGAL ARMY IN 1857</b>
<p>"To be a soldier in the Bengal army had become an occupation to which high status was attached."</p> <p>Source: Peter Marshall, "British India and the Great Rebellion" <a href="http://www.bbk.co.uk/history/british/victories/indian_rebellionoi.shtml">http:// www. bbk.co. uk/ history/ british/ victories/ indian_ rebellionoi. shtml</a>. BBC history.</p>

As a forerunner to the mutiny of 1857, in January 1857 rumours were afloat that Indian soldiers were to be soon issued new cartridges for Pattern 1853 Enfield Rifle Musket, which cartridges were wrapped in paper sealed with grease made

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

out of pork and beef fat. At their ends, these cartridges were to be bitten off which implied infirmity to the religion of both the Muslims and the Hindus. In itself the Pattern 1853 Musket was rare item and was part of an original consignment of 10,000 weapons sold to the East Indian Company by the British Government in 1856.



FIGURE: 15.2.1

THE PATTERN 1853 ENFIELD RIFLE

The copyright of the above photograph has expired. It is much over 100 years old .

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D3&pos=1&total=335&page=3&acc=1992-11-63-1>

Most unlike the then prevalent percussion muskets, the bore of this Enfield rifle had grooves that entailed the cartridge to be greased for easy loading.

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)



FIGURE:15.2.2

The copyright of the above photograph has expired. It is much over 100 years old.

<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D3&pos=16&total=335&page=3&acc=1972-03-37-1>

During that period, cartridges for most firearms that needed to be muzzle-loaded would be in shape of a paper tube that had a ball and gun powder. Gun powder could be poured down the barrel after biting off the tip of the cartridge, where after the balance of the cartridge and the ball was forced down the barrel using the ramrod. The grooved bore, in this case, needed lubricant for easy passage of the cartridge.

### **15.2.2 MANGAL PANDEY**

Mangal Pandey, born on 19<sup>th</sup> July 1827 - a native of Village Nagwa of Ballia District in Uttar Pradesh, joined the Bengal army of the East India Company in 1845. He was serving in the 34<sup>th</sup> Bengal Native Infantry regiment in the year 1857. It was not as though Bengal alone contributed men into the Bengal Native Infantry regiments and into the Bengal Light Cavalry. There were many sepoys from Northern India, particularly from Awadh or Oudh as the British called the state, and Bihar. During the annexation of Awadh, both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> Bengal Native Infantry were posted at Lucknow. A significant number of native sepoys belonged to the princely state of Awadh, This annexation was despite the violation of an existing treaty. Now that the State of Awadh no longer existed, its inhabitants, including the sepoys, had lost the privilege and right to petition the British resident at Awadh for justice, because the State had ceased to exist.

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

In February 1857, the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry had refused to test the new cartridges. The Sepoys of Mangal Pandey's regiment, in open defiance, refused to load the rifles with the new cartridges. On the parade ground at Barrackpore, the entire regiment was on the verge of being disarmed. While early British historians on the subject would refer to him as a traitor, back home in India Mangal Pandey has been portrayed in many cinematic productions as a hero of the sepoy mutiny of 1857. Click on the film below to view the defiance of the native troops of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry regiment of the Bengal Army on the morning of 29th March 1857, from the ranks of which stepped out Mangal Pandey.



Mangal Pandey, as you saw in the film above, was surrounded by British troops and he and his comrades partook in the melee that followed. As you may have noticed in the film, Mangal Pandey shot his superior—a British Sergeant Major James Hewson. The shot missed the Sergeant Major as he took the shield of the bell of arms. Pandey then wounded the Adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Henry Baugh. When both Hewson and Baugh attempted a sword fight, the quarter guard was directed to assist in the arrest of the sepoy. Not one sepoy complied. Pandey drew out his own sword and in the melee that followed the two English officers were wounded. Sepoy Sheikh Paltoo, the only loyal native sepoy on the parade ground, did his utter best to refrain Mangal Pandey. It was Sheikh Paltoo's intervention that aided the officers to escape. Soon, Major General J.B



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Hearsay, the commanding officer of Barrackpore cantonment, rode down to the parade ground only to find more than 400 men of the Brigade being addressed by Mangal Pandey. When armed British officers, accompanying the General, marched towards a defiant Pandey, he aimed his gun at his own chest and using his own toe Mangal Pandey released the trigger of the musket. The wound from the bullet penetrated into his chest. The 'jemadar' was ordered to put out the fire, which burnt his regimental uniform. Pandey survived. The British tried Mangal Pandey on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1857. He was hanged on the 8th of April 1857.

The above film (2005, Bollywood) in a rather dramatized style presented each cut as historical facts and fortified, to some extent, the theory of the Nationalist historians that 1857 was a War of Independence and that Mangal Pandey was the icon of this war. The film generated widespread controversy from scholars of history, who objected to the elasticity displayed in narration of historical facts.

Scottish historian, William Dalrymple has supported arguments of Rudrangshu Mukherjee put forth in his short monograph on Mangal Pandey in 2005 wherein Mukherjee stated {New Delhi, 2005:63} that "Mangal Pandey was almost irrelevant to the outbreak which took place two months later at Meerut in May 1857" Dalrymple argues that "If Mangal Pandey was the sepoy inspiration they certainly did not articulate it, nor did they rush towards Barrackpore or Calcutta. Instead it was, unequivocally, the capture of Delhi which was the great transforming masterstroke for the Uprising" {Dalrymple William:20}. Though a contemporary historian of repute and author of the remarkable book, "The last Mughal", here the logic of both Dalrymple and Mukherjee is flawed. The British called the mutineers 'Pandies' - symbolic of being comrades of Pandey. The nickname was not misplaced and the obvious needed no articulation. In fact, the sepoys could not have voiced it for Mangal Pandey was tried and hanged for insubordination and sedition. Articulation of allegiance to him would have invited similar punishment. Worse still, the conspiracy hatched for the coming summer would come home to the British if it were not pretended that Mangal Pandey was under intoxication of 'bhang' and his decision was an individual one. That the sepoys were exercising caution is loud and clear by early writings of British historians. General Hewitt commanding the division {i.e three brigades, each consisting of three regiments} at Meerut had ordered a native Court of Enquiry. The enquiry, after examining a cross section of both Hindu and Muslim sepoys, failed to give a satisfactory explanation for the disaffection towards the British officers in the 34<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiment of the Bengal army. However, it is a

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

matter of record that " .....every man felt in their innermost heart more than he could explain in intelligible words, and the shadow of a great fear was upon him, more terrible for its indistinctness." 85 men from the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment of Bengal Native infantry were arrested and awaiting further orders, upon the proceedings. " the Eighty five were dismissed from duty and ordered to abide in their lines. ....What meetings, and conspiracies and oath takings there may have been in the Sepahis quarters during that long week of waiting can be easily dimly conjectured.....What would be the issue of reference to head Quarters? The more general belief was that orders would come for dismissal of the recusant troopers: but even that it was thought would be a harsh measure that might drive the others, by force of sympathy to rebellion". {Kaye & Malleon:34-35} Most British officers believed that all was well with no indication of their regiments being driven by fear or resentment.

The cause and effect of Mangal Pandey's execution was not immediate, no doubt. Yet, the choice of the station and the timing of the mutiny totally belies the contention of both historians –Dalrymple that, 'why did the sepoys not rush to Barrackpore or Calcutta,' and Mukherjee, that, 'Mangal Pandey was irrelevant to the outbreak of the mutiny which took place two months after his revolt at Barrackpore.' That Mangal Pandey was the inspiration of the mutiny that occurred on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1857, at Meerut, and the same was a well planned conspiracy can be substantiated on two counts.

Firstly, Meerut cantonment stationed a large body of European Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery troops. No other military cantonment would be more hopeless than that of Meerut to conduct an experiment of rebellion. Meerut cantonment was the headquarters of one of the finest artilleries in the world. The 'pandies' could nurse no hope of escaping from swift retribution by European troops. Thus it was not despair, as imagined by British historians, that drove the native troops into any 'spontaneous' action. The Muslim sepoys subscribed to the idea of the glory of the Mughal period and endorsed the dream of reviving the Mughal Sultanate. Unity of purpose was crucial for the mutiny to succeed. For the non-Muslim sepoys, the message that Delhi had been captured by the native troops was a message worthy of being a national booster and a green signal for rebels across India. Besides, Delhi also had a huge accumulation of weapon maintained by the British. This 'magazine' was a target of the mutineers. It had to be for captured, even plundered if need be. Thus a mutiny close to Delhi was imperative.

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Secondly, we come to the question of the timing—why two months after the revolt by Mangal Pandey. By May the European troops at Meerut would be in the hills, a fact known to the sepoys. British historians record the same thus, " It was a season when our English ladies, some with their husbands... were escaping from the hot winds of the Northern provinces and disporting themselves in all flush of renovated health and strength and new born elasticity, under the cheering influence of the mountain breezes of the Himalayas" {Kaye & Malleeson:108} Who knew better than the sepoys that it would be a daunting task to move the European troops to Meerut during that season. It was a fact known to and admitted by Lord Canning himself, "... It would be madness to move a European force at this season with any deficiency of carriage" {Kaye & Malleeson:125} The 'deficiency of carriage' being referred to by Lord Canning was a decision taken in 1854, based on economic prudence, to give up transport establishments maintained by the army of the East India Company. Ordinarily the army was not impeded by this decision taken three years earlier, but it could not have been foreseen that the European troops would have to engage in an operation against their own native regiments. The 'pandies' had judged that the British would take considerable time to put their act together by which time the sepoys would have taken over Delhi. The seasonal military difficulties to be faced by the British were best measured by their own men.

Not only is the reasoning put forward by both the above illustrious historians flawed, but Mukherjee, in some respects, has contradicted his own stand on the issue of solidarity of the sepoys with Mangal Pandey. In an earlier article entitled, "The Sepoy Mutinies Revisited": 117, Rudrangshu Mukherjee admitted that ;

*" .....before Mangal Pandey decided to act, there had been midnight meetings in Barrackpore which had been attended by sepoys from different regiments... During his trial, Mangal Pandey steadfastly refused, in a remarkable show of solidarity, to name the sepoys who were implicated. He had only one answer: that he acted on his own. His reiteration of his own responsibility for his actions can be read as an attempt to shield the reality, which was the exact opposite of an individual acting on his own. The collective aspect was again made evident when the sepoys of the 34<sup>th</sup> Mangal Pandey's regiment, trampled their caps on the ground when they were disarmed, a gesture of protest carried out collectively, which would in a month's time transform itself to more violent and concrete forms."*



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

When Nationalist historians eulogize Mangal Pandey as a “martyr” it is not without evidence. Only because there is potential to abduct the heroism of Mangal Pandey, and misuse the memory of his martyrdom by political opinion which seeks political mileage from rhetoric against a centralized State, is disservice to a national hero and not reason enough to deny his status as the Indian Martyr who fired the first bullet of the rebellion of 1857.

### 15.3. IMPERIAL HISTORIANS : WAR OF RELIGIONS

British historian and Professor of American and British Imperial history at Harvard University, Niall Ferguson and many British contemporaries of Ferguson hold the opinion that the uprising of 1857 in India was a full blown war. They argue that it was a war of religion. As an economic historian under the influence of Thomas Hobbes, Ferguson subscribes to the theory of the role of Britain to modernize the world, more specially India. These historians emphasize the claim of the Evangelists that the cause of the uprising in 1857 was the fact that Christianization of India had been progressing too slow. Niall Ferguson claims that the Evangelists were appalled by the traditional practice of ‘Sati’ and ‘Female Infanticide’, prevalent in parts of India. In a rather simplistic dismissal of other theories, Ferguson preferred to demonstrate that law to ban the practice of ‘Sati’ and allow remarriage of widows were the immediate causes for open hostility and mutiny of the sepoys of the army maintained by the British East India Company. To see Ferguson articulate this, click on the image below to see a brief film of historian Niall Ferguson’s narrative of the mutiny in 1857.





## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Historical consciousness, for centuries, unduly held steadfast to the both oriental and colonialist construction of events and analysis thereof. This includes, also, the over emphasis on religious issues as the major cause of the mutiny. Ferguson's work publicly applauded the British Empire and the joys of imperialism. In recent years Imperial historians have suddenly found their subject in the eye of a storm of frenzied debate. Did the British promote religious tolerance, or did they rather sow the seeds of religious conflict with cynical policies of sectarian divide and rule—thus laying the foundation for the politico-religious divisions we see around us, what Samuel Huntington would have us believe are today's clashes of civilization?

That South Asian culture with its genesis in antiquity, backward and retrograde, caught in the trappings of superstition and steeped in rituals, is how Imperial British historians perceived of India till late. The dire need of an enlightening hand of British governance to modernize India betrayed a political agenda. This agenda was visible even to the politically naïve. Sarvarkar rightly repudiated the theory of the Imperial historians that the war was, primarily, one of religion. After the proclamation of the Governor General withdrawing the cartridges, the rebellion escalated. Its continuation, unabated, in other parts of India was evidence enough that the uprising crossed religious boundaries. The causes of the 1857 uprising, including the court martial of Mangal Pandey, are more complex than is presumed by both the positions.

The precise day in May is what the sepoys could not forecast. General Anson, Commander in Chief, had ordered from Ambala that the general Court Martial would assemble and the trial of the 85 would be held at Meerut. The 85 were found guilty. By the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1857, Mangal Pandey's comrades, who were under arrest, were awarded ten years of imprisonment and hard labour. General Hewitt confirmed the sentence thus, " Even now they attempt to justify so gross an outrage upon discipline by alleging that they had doubts of the cartridges..." {Kaye & Malleison:36}. The anger was seething within and the timing was ripe for the sepoys to execute the conspiracy. This conviction of the native rebels and the complicity of the convicted with the mutineers, who were to subsequently free their own from prison, was evident in what General Hewitt said further, "...**There has been no acknowledgement of error-no expression of regret-no pleading for mercy.** .." {Kaye & Malleison:36} 11 men who, the British insisted were young with only five year of service, were spared, the majority of the 85 'pandies' were sentenced at the day break of 9<sup>th</sup> May 1857.

## 15.4. MEERUT CANTONMENT: 10 MAY, 1857

There were no signs of the rebellion at Meerut. Not a whisper. The British offices had no clue of what was brewing in the Sepoys' lines. The 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles was preparing for a Church parade. Rumours had gained currency that native army was soon going to be deprived of their possession of magazines.

The prison house, that held the condemned mutineers, was not manned by a single European soldier. An Indian soldier of the 20<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiment stood guard on duty outside the prison. While the European soldiers of the 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles regiment were gearing for the Church parade at around 5 pm, the native troops mounted the horses armed with pistols. They met no opposition from the solitary guard at the prison gate, as expected. They swiftly worked on the masonry. The masonry around the gratings of the cell was first loosened and all iron bars were wrenched out. A native ironsmith, who accompanied the sepoy, struck out the chains and the men were set free, only to join the mutineers. The sepoy of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiments then joined hands and broke into an open rebellion. Lt. Colonel Finnis, commandant of the 11<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiment, rode down on his horse to the sepoy lines along with other officers, in the hope of dissuading the rebellious sepoy. He remonstrated his men when a sepoy of the 20<sup>th</sup> regiment discharged his musket gun that wounded the horse carrying Lt. Colonel Finnis. Another musket was discharged into his body. Colonel Finnis fell down from his horse as a volley was pumped into him. The body of Lt. Colonel Finnis was riddled with bullets. Mistrust between the officers and the native forces was cemented.

### HISTORICAL FACTS

The first British officer killed in the Mutiny of 1857 rests at Meerut.

The grave of Colonel Finnis, a British officer commanding the 11<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry Regiment and killed by the sepoy of 20<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry Regiment, is at Meerut cantonment. A plaque thereupon reads as below:

"To the memory of John Finnis Colonel 11th Regt N.I. who fell while endeavouring to quell the mutiny in the 20th Regt. N.I. May 10th 1857 aged 53 years."

Source: :<http://glostern.tripod.com/IM6.htm>

One native cavalry, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry, stationed at Meerut made common

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

cause with the combined strength of the above two infantry regiments. When the guard of the 60<sup>th</sup> Rifle had taken the condemned 85 to civil jail, some of the 85 had thrown their boots at the Commanding Officer of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cavalry, Colonel Smyth. Many of the convicted were veterans who had served in the Bengal army for 30-40 years. Moved by their sorrow, Lieutenant Gough of 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry had visited the jail to meet the imprisoned sepoys. Most British officers did view the punishment as harsh. That evening, on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1857, a native junior commissioned officer informed Lieutenant Gough about an impending mutiny the following day. Gough swung into action and immediately informed his Commanding Officer, Colonel Smyth, who admonished the young lieutenant. He next went to the Brigade Commander, Brigadier Archdale Wilson, who too dismissed the hearsay.

After the mutiny surfaced on the evening of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1857, as warned by the JCO, the Commanding Officer of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry, Lt. Colonel Smyth, was not seen by the troopers of his regiment till daybreak of the following day. Just as the captain of a ship is the last to leave the quarter guard when his ship sinks, so too the commanding officer ought to be in the midst of a revolt to salvage his regiment to the best of his capacity. While Lt. Colonel Smyth made himself scarce all evening and night, the police became comrades in crime and European soldiers, though no more than some hundreds, were killed without remorse.



FIGURE 15.4.1

FIGURE: One of the most visited location in Meerut. Site of the old Augarnath Mandir (Kali Paltan). It is here that the sepoys who fired the first shot of their revolt had conspired and planned their operations. The old mandir (temple) of 1857 has been replaced by a modern counterpart, as seen above.

Source: [http://cbmeerut.org.in/heritage\\_sites.html](http://cbmeerut.org.in/heritage_sites.html)

Accessed on August 20, 2013 at 7.15 pm



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

The night of 10<sup>th</sup> May 1857 was a night of horror. The official bungalows of English officers and the regimental mess-house, along with surrounding public buildings, were up in flames. Unofficial residences of Christian community were targeted. There were heavy columns of smoke all night in the cantonment. No white officers, men, women or child were being spared. Some native servants, in debt of kindness, saved their white masters. One such survivor was Sir Hervey Greathed, the Commissioner of Meerut and his wife, who had been forewarned. Both rescued the terrified women and children. Mrs. Greathed lived to recount the shrieks of Mrs. Chambers, wife of the adjutant of the 11<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiment, who was massacred by locals in her house. However, her neighbour, Mrs. Craigie- wife of Captain Craigie, was saved from the assailants by troopers of Craigie's regiment.{Kaye & Malleson; 53} There are similar stories told of the compassion & chivalry of the native sepoys, like that of two sepoys who escorted European women and children to safety and a Muslim who sheltered two Christian families at the cost of his life being in peril.{Kaye& Malleson:56) All Europeans fled like fugitives, as though they were homeless wanderers, seeking asylum wherever they could.

By the morning, as per the estimate of British historians, two thousand mutinous sepoys left for Delhi. The civilian populace had retreated into the city, as also the Gujjars, who retreated into their villages. Left behind was a trail of mangled corpses, smoke from burnt stables and buildings. The army of the East India Company had been taken by surprise on one of its best home turf, the cantonment of Meerut. There was no semblance of any unity of action to crush the mutiny. The first revolt went unchecked, without being countered.

### 15.5. THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY : DELHI

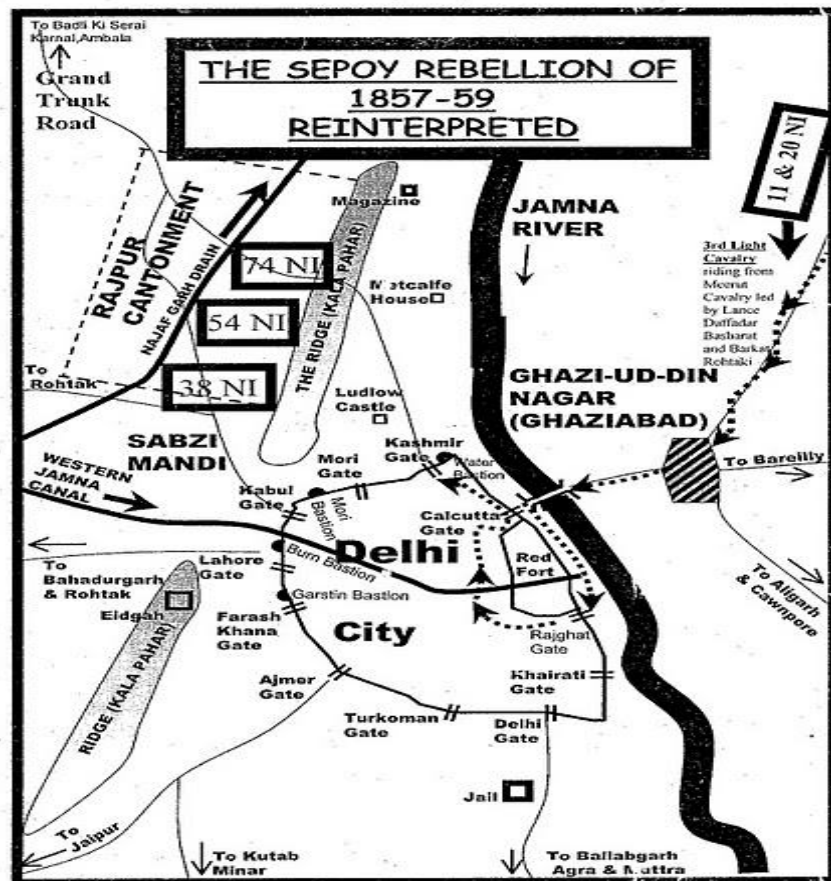
The horse riders of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry were leading the 11<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Bengal Native Infantry into Delhi. The British officers made neither any efforts to follow them to Delhi, the most likely place that would to be the next target of the mutineers, nor was any message sent to Delhi. One plausible reason could be that, on their way to the Emperor of Delhi, the sepoys lost no time to sever the telegraph lines.

At Delhi, the British East India Company army maintained three Bengal Infantry regiments, comprising of natives, one of them being the 38<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiment. The men of these regiments were stationed in barracks at a distance of



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

a couple of miles north- west of the city. When the stationed infantry regiment began its ritual parade early in the morning of 11<sup>th</sup> May 1857, a General Order was read out by the British officers mentioning, the execution of Mangal Pandey and, the disarming of men of Native Infantry . British historians have recorded that the sepoys were consumed by passion, reckless of the future, and to the English this appeared to be suicidal insanity. The native sepoys, who had so far remained aloof from the mutiny, were enraged and turned to attack their officers. This triggered desertion by the troops, some of whom climbed over the walls of a ordinance corps to scale the same and take over the stored arsenal, inclusive of firearms and ammunition. The Delhi Magazine, containing a large reservoir of weapons and firearms and guarded by nine British personnel, including Lieutenant George Willoughby, was the target of plunder by the sepoys. It was located close to the Palace. This was the biggest magazine in India. A fierce battle took place all day long till 3 o' clock in the afternoon.



MAP – A See the route taken by the sepoys of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Cavalry, 11<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> Bengal N I regiment from Meerut to Delhi in the map above

The sepoys brought ladders from the Palace. Upon realizing that the Delhi Magazine would be seized by the natives, at 3.30 pm the gallant Lieutenant Willoughby of the ordinance corps blew up the Magazine and was later

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for his martyrdom. The map above shows how the mutineer sepoys from Meerut were let in from the 'Rajghat Gate'.

Before the Magazine was blown up, Commissioner Simon Frazer and the Commandant of the Palace guards Captain Douglas, were travelling in a buggy at Lahori Gate in wonder why the shopkeepers in the bazaars were setting down their shutters in haste. While the mutineers headed for the two English officials, Frazer deserted the buggy and fled while Captain Douglas took shelter in a ditch, where he was attacked and wounded. He was carried to the Palace. Simon Frazer was met by the Collector Mr Hutchinson, who had been wounded in the affray that had commenced earlier. Captain Douglas was carried to his residential quarters in the Palace, where he was hiding Jennings, the Chaplain of the British Church, along with Jennings daughter and others. Simon Frazer was standing guard, to protect both the wounded Collector and the Commandant of the Palace guards, when he was killed by Mohammed Beg, despite pleas for mercy. The band of mutineers then massacred the rest, including the Collector, Commandant and the Chaplain of the church. As fear gripped the white men and women in Delhi, the European civilians fled to the flagstaff tower atop the Ridge.



FIGURE: 15.5.1 The Flagstaff Tower, Delhi, It is here that the British survivors of the rebellion sought Refuge on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1857. Source of Image [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Delhi)

Accessed at 2.00 am on August 18, 2013

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

A reluctant and aged Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah 11, deeply disturbed by the murders, looting and plunder in Delhi, publicly lent his support to the rebellion. The men of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cavalry and the 38<sup>th</sup> Infantry swarmed the courtyards of the Palace, tied their horses and littered the palace while the Meerut troopers, after a long and weary journey, were getting ready to rest. Despite being inexperienced in military combat, Mirza Mughal, the eldest son of the Emperor, was nominated as Commander in Chief of the forces. The writ of the native army chief did not extend beyond the city where primarily the Gujjars reigned supreme, in power and lawlessness alike.

By the afternoon 'The Delhi Bank' was destroyed in the carnage and looted, after killing its loyal chief-servants.



FIGURE: 15.5.2 The picture above is of the building of The Delhi Bank, established in 1947. The bank was owned by Briton Dyce Sombre and other stakeholders, comprising of native businessmen. It was housed in this stately building in the year 1857. It was reduced to a derelict during the Anglo Indian War of 1857. In May 1857 Mr. Beresford, the manager of this Bank was killed by the rebels in the rampage in Delhi.

Source: [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk) | {The copyright of the above photograph has expired, being over 100 years old. This photograph, thus, ought to be now in public domain}.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Some of the British, found hiding in the city, were held captive within the Palace and were killed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1857, regardless of the protests for such a barbaric act by the Emperor himself.

### 15.6. THE BATTLE OF THE RIDGE



*FIGURE:15.6.1 Troops of the Native Allies*

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian\\_Rebellion\\_of\\_1857](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Rebellion_of_1857)  
<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online:collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=15&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-20>

The copyright of the above painting has expired. It ought to be now in public domain.

The ancient remains of the Aravali hills in Delhi on its northern side is known as the Ridge. Escaping from the rebels and the native troops on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1857, the British officers and civilians had taken shelter here. Its location is strategic due its commanding height and water-body on one side by the river Yamuna. The water source for the camping British was a canal from the river that fed a small lake deep in the Ridge. Later this was to be known as the Khooni Khan lake, signifying



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

the water turning red with the blood of the wounded. On the Ridge was fought one of the most decisive battles of the year 1857. It was the recapture of Delhi by the outnumbered British, stationed atop the Ridge, which proved to be the most decisive turnaround for the British in India while the surrender of the last Mughal Emperor, who refrained from continuing the struggle, robbed the armed rebellion of much of its national texture.

The British captured the Ridge, at the onset of the mutiny at Delhi, occupying fortified posts atop the rocks and the barracks of the Bengal infantry to the west of the Ridge. The rear of their encampment was protected by a canal from the Yamuna river. The Hindu Rao House was the most exposed building under their siege. To the South of the Hindu Rao lies the Subzi Mandi, where rebel forces would gather each day.



FIGURE:15.6.2 The house of Hindu Rao in Delhi was extensively damaged in 1857. It now houses a hospital, which was being used by the British to treat the wounded. The copyright of this photograph has expired. It is now in public Domain.  
Source of Image [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Delhi)

Major General George Anson, Commander in Chief of the British army in India, since early 1856 and after having commanded the Madras Army for four years beginning 1954, was retreating at the hill station of Simla - oblivious of the tribulations of his army and their families in the neighborhood of the Emperor of India. He had ignored all warnings in the past. He received a telegram on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1857, dispatched by Major H.W General Barnard, on 11<sup>th</sup> May from Delhi, informing him of the mutiny in Delhi. At that point of time, his European soldiers were all in the hills, many at Dugshai near Simla, where the 1<sup>st</sup> Bengal Fusiliers were resting for the summer. This fact comes home because hard evidence is

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

available from the accounts given by the British army, of the East India Company, itself.

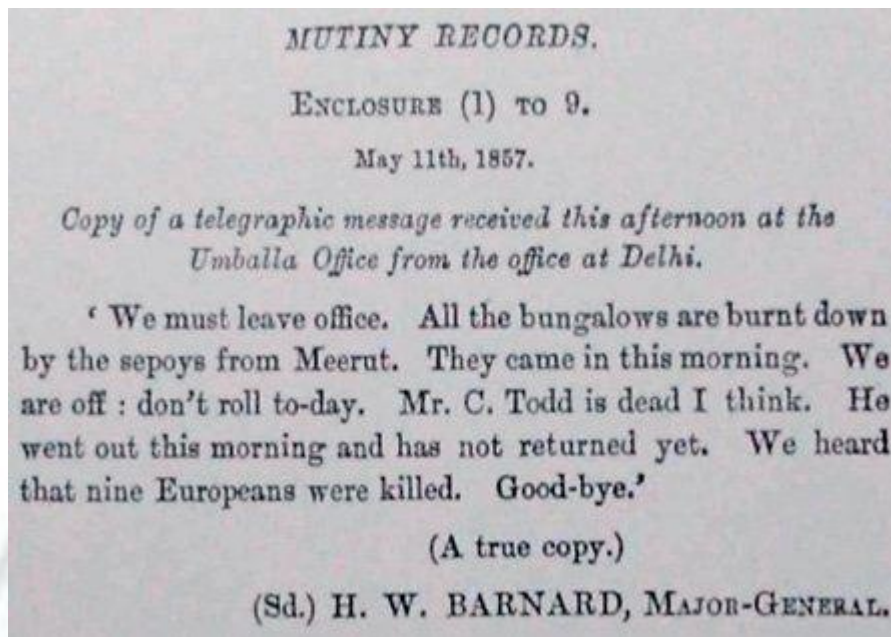


FIGURE:15.6.3

Copy of the original telegram. **The copyright for the original telegram has expired. It is in public domain. Source: meerutup.tripod.com/**Accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> August 2013 at 7 p.m

The telegram had arrived at the Ambala Army post office the same afternoon but it took one more day for the son of General Barnard, who rode to Simla on his horse, to deliver it to General Anson. The Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, thus, had received it at 3.00 p.m on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1857. In another hour he received another telegram. In a letter to Lord Canning he reproduced both the telegrams. The second telegram read as hereunder;

"Cantonments in a state of seize. Mutineers from Mirath- 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry-numbers not known-said to be a hundred and fifty men- Cut off communication with Mirath. Taken possession of the Bridges of Boats. 54<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry sent against them but would not act. Several officers killed and wounded. City in a state of considerable excitement. Troops sent down, but nothing known yet. Information will be forwarded"

The English officers and soldiers were resting in the hills of Simla, Kasauli and Dugshia. While the 75<sup>th</sup> foot was at Kasauli, two European Fusilier regiments were at Dugshai, close to Kasauli. Save for some Artillery regiments, the European

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

troops at Ambala were in the hills, leaving behind them three regiments of native troops. The Europeans in the hills had no more than 20 rounds in their pouches, as stated by Major General Barnard. The reserve wagons of the Artillery were at Ludhiana. It took three telegrams for General Anson to wake out of his slumber. Sir John Lawrence emphasized the gravity of the situation to the Commander-in-Chief. As he finally swung into action, he directed the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bengal Fusileirs and 75<sup>th</sup> Foot First (infantry) to march forthwith to the capital.



FIGURE: 15.6.4 'The 1st Bengal Fusiliers marching down from Dugshai', 1857.

The copyright of the original painting has expired. It ought to be now in public domain.

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858/

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D8&pos=19&total=335&page=8&acc=1971-02-33-495-2> The 1st Bengal Fusiliers consisted of Europeans. They were all at Dugshai, near Simla, which was a hill retreat used by the British during summer.

The treasury of the British and all Armoury was ordered to be guarded only by the British troops. 2nd Grenadiers and 60<sup>th</sup> rifles, commanded by Colonel Jones, was moved from Ambala to Delhi under Brigadier Halifax. General Sir Henry Barnard, too, was ordered to proceed to Delhi with the 9<sup>th</sup> Lancers, two troops of horse artillery and the 4<sup>th</sup> Bengal cavalry. He was commanding the Grenadier Guards and was a total stranger to India. Secret emissaries were sent to Punjab



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

and more specifically to Kapoorthala, Nabha, Faridkot, Patiala and Jind. Punjab troops gave in to the British and were earmarked as British allies. Meerut was put under Archdale Wilson.

In the prints below, watch how the British proceeded to reach Delhi, in whatever transport that they could in the absence of military carriage, These prints of paintings and citations below them are from the records of the British army.



FIGURE: 15.6.5 'Officers Joining the Force', 1857 (c).

" When news of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1859) reached the hill stations the troops, who were fit enough to march immediately, departed for the Siege of Delhi. This print depicts two British officers riding at speed in a two-wheeled canopied cart driven by an Indian blowing a bugle." Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-

1858/Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/onlinecollection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=0&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-3>



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)



FIGURE:15.6.6 'Troops hastening to Umballa', 1857.

*" When news of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1859) reached the hill stations the troops who were fit enough to march immediately departed for the Siege of Delhi, many travelling via Ambala in the Punjab. Troops are shown being transported on ox wagons and on an elephant. "The copyright of the above painting has expired. It ought to be now in public domain*

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858/

Source;

<http://www.nam.ac.uk/onlinecollection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=2&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-5>

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1857, General George Anson- Commander in Chief in India- died of Cholera at Karnal. He was succeeded by Major General H.W. Barnard.

On June 8th 1857, troops of the native allies and the British troops clashed at the Badli ki Serai. The sepoy force had superior artillery. Nonetheless, the British fared well under Brigadier Hope Grant. General Sir Barnard was sent to British Cantonment while Wilson occupied the entire area from Bara Hindu Rao right up to the Flag Staff Tower. Colonel Chester, who was the Adjutant General of Queens regiment, was killed along with 47 others while 131 British troops were wounded or missing. The mutineers had lost rather heavily. There were 350 casualties and loss of 26 guns with some ammunition. Ammunition, that is

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

serviceable was required by the English who were waiting for supplies. More than anything else, the battle of Badli ki Sarai was to prove beneficial to the European soldiers as they had gained a strategic base for future operations. Along the Grand Trunk road, it had the river on one side and the western canal of river Yamuna on the other side. It was a commanding military position, open in the rear for entry for supplies and reinforcements from the Grand trunk road. Behind the ridge lay the old British Cantonment.



FIGURE: 15.6.7 Image of the clash at Badle ke Sarai

The copyright of the above painting has expired. It ought to be now in public domain

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/onlinecollection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=4&total=335&page=9&a>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadiers and the 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles of the British army occupied the Bara Hindu Rao on the extreme right of the Ridge. On the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1857, the troops of native allies again attacked the Bara Hindu Rao but were countered by Major C. Reid, who commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier housed in barracks and using the Bara Hindu Rao as a hospital for its wounded.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

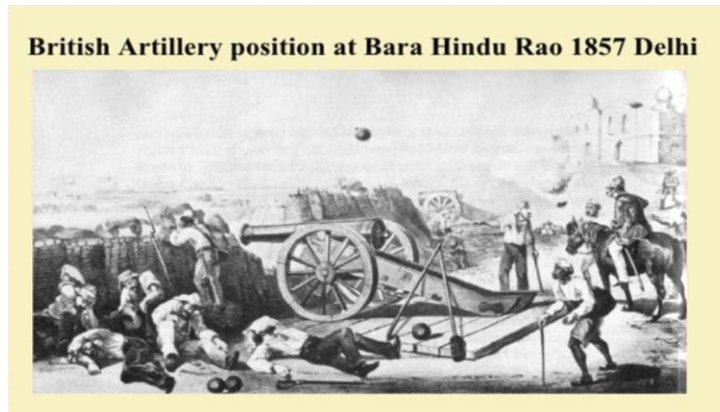


FIGURE: 15.6.8

Source: <http://www.slideshare.net/rampalr/mutiny-delhi-1857-presentation>

Accessed at 1.29 am on August 18, 2013.

The extreme right of the Ridge was flanked by Bara Hindu Rao which was occupied by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier and 60th Rifles. Major C Reid led the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier. The Bara Hindu Rao was the hospital and living barracks of the men of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier of the British army.



FIGURE : 15.6.9

This mosque, at Delhi was a British picket on the Ridge. Strategically located, in the centre of the Ridge, it enjoyed a vital situation as a cover for the vulnerable encampment of the British. The copyright of the above photograph has expired. It is now in public domain.

Source: [www.merapix.com/.../rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprisin...](http://www.merapix.com/.../rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprisin...)

Accessed at 8.15 pm on June 18, 2013.

### **15.6.1 THE SIEGE OF DELHI**



MAP- B

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Delhi)

Accessed at 1.49 am on July 18, 2013.

On 10<sup>th</sup> June 1857, while Nana Sahib was leading thousands of sepoys to encircle the entrenchment of General Wheeler in Cawnpore, the British began to lay siege to recapture Delhi. The period between May-September 1857 is often referred to as the period of the 'siege of Delhi', though Delhi was never besieged technically.

### **15.6.2 JUNE 10, 1857**

The British were desperately attempting to breach the city walls and aimed to capture the Red Fort, the heart of the capital. One could see the lining up of heavy cannon massed against the old city walls. The King and the royal family watched from the bastions of the red fort. The palace was an easy target. The British fixed a cannon permanently to shell the palace.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)



**FIGURE: 15.6.2.1 Artillery fire into Delhi on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1857**

Source: <http://www.slideshare.net/rampalr/mutiny-delhi-1857-presentation>

Zahir Dalvi writes about the daily firing that singled the beautiful white marble royal apartments. He wrote,

*'.....and as they perfected their range, the shells used to create havoc on bursting. If a cannon ball fell on a several- storey building it would go in right through it to the floor, and if it fell on a flat surface it would dig deep—at least ten yards into the ground-destroying everything around it. Shells were worse. The old Shah Jahan houses of the fort were completely blown apart if they received a direct hit. Later in the siege, on bad nights, it was like hell on earth, with ten shells fired at a time in the dark, and bursting one after the other'. {ZahirDehlavi, Dastan-e-Ghadr: 95}*

At the south of the palace was the dwelling for women or *zenana* where a cannon ball destroyed the *zenana khana* alongside the Shah Burj tower. The Emperor himself missed a volley of cannon balls on the morning of 14<sup>th</sup> June 1857. A weary and fragile Emperor summoned the chief officers of rebel army and enquired, ".....You say you have come here to fight and drive away the Christians. Can you not do even so far as to stop this rain of shot and shell falling into my palace" {Memoirs of Hakim Ahsamullah Khan, entry for 14 June 1857}

The sepoys of the Indian mutiny were equipped with superior artillery in rapidity and accuracy of fire. Between the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1857 the Indian

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

mutineers attacked the Flag Staff Tower, the Bara Hindu Rao, Metcalfe house and Subzi Mandi areas occupied by the British. There was a lull on the midnight of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1857. The British imagined that peace was around the corner. They were in for a surprise attack on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1857, which almost cost them their empire - but for the lack of fool-proof strategy on the part of the sepoys.

As the British relaxed on the Ridge, the troops of the native allies attempted a master stroke. Little did they realize that they had found the Achilles heels of the British officers reasonably early in the siege. On 19<sup>th</sup> June 1857, the sepoys had mounted an attack from three directions on the Ridge, which resulted in stretching the resources of the British to their utmost limit. They had, an hour before sunset, mounted a surprise attack on the Ridge coming from Subzi Mandi as well as Mubarak Bagh from the North West. Led by a rebel force from Nasirabad, they had also attacked from the east, coming from Metcalfe house. The battle continued all night and the British found no time to recover ground. With artillery, cavalry and infantry, the rebels had attacked in large numbers. The British knew their own weakness, but the rebels did not. The sepoys failed to harness the British from the rear. The sepoys had the numbers to attack from the rear of the encampment - the river side, but not enough thought and planning had gone into the execution. Worse still, the sepoys did not subsequently make another attempt, as this one, with renewed strategy.

Pre-monsoon showers lashed the Ridge on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1857, 1857. Taking advantage, another fierce battle was fought on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1857. Meanwhile on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1857 was born the Stanley Delhi Field Force. By 23<sup>rd</sup> June reinforcement arrived for the British with a total of 850 men. The sepoys attacked the Bara Hindu Rao again, There was enormous musket fire and artillery shelling. Major Reid held on to the pickets with more than 150 men on both sides of the road. By the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1857, the sepoys attacked both from the Subzi Mandi and Metcalfe house side. The casualty of 165 dead was a figure of the British army 60<sup>th</sup> Rifle alone. The British were, obviously, eager to silence the guns on the ramparts of the Red Fort. They shelled the city walls to somehow make entry into Shahjahanabad. The engineers were next summoned to install heavy guns close to the city walls.

The British went into a defence mode as its troops were exhausted in the heat. Medical supplies were dwindling, antiseptics were in short supply. Carcasses of animals, filth and flies led to acutely deteriorated sanitary conditions. Not a single

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

soldier or officer, on the British side, who had a limb amputated survived infections to tell the tale of the sepoy mutiny. Reports from General Sir Bernard, about the British being besieged and daily casualties rapidly rising, woke the British to turn all attention to Delhi as the focal point for suppression of the mutiny.

### DO YOU KNOW

Which newspapers covered the uprising at Delhi, uninterrupted ?

Delhi's two principle newspapers, published in Urdu, the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* and the Court Circular the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* were being published throughout the uprising of 1857, without missing a single issue. While the former was wonderfully expressive, the latter was restrained.

Source : The National Archives of India. It has complete sets of both.



**FIGURE 15.6.2.2 Rare photograph of the days of the rebellion.**

Source: <http://www.merapix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html> (The copyright for the original picture has expired. It ought to be now in public domain.)



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

By July 1857, more troops on the British side were dying of cholera than the bullets of the sepoys. The successor of Major General Anson, General Sir Barnard, died of cholera on July 5, 1857 like his predecessor. The third General commander-in -Chief to step into his shoes was another elderly General Thomas Reed. Two weeks into his leadership, General Thomas Reed was 'too ill to do anything' {Greathed, Letters: 3} He left for Shimla with a caravan of sick and wounded men. General Archdale Wilson took over from General Reed. He first demolished all the bridges over the river Yamuna to prevent surprise attacks from the rear of the camp, and systematically improved defences, fortified entrenchments forbade senseless adventures, such as "rat chasing the retreating sepoys down the hill into the gardens of the Sabzi Mandi: two of these counter attacks had recently come near to disaster, losing 220 men on one occasion, and a further 200 only five days later." {Eric Stokes, 'The Peasant Armed':80} Though the British had come to siege the city of Delhi but were limited by the scorching heat, sickness, an un-surmountable and formidable task to take entry into the city, coupled with their relatively small numerical strength. They decided to cling on till relief came.

A military thinker and strategist, in his letter to Sir John Lawrence in mid- July 1857, General Wilson spelt put the need for reinforcements to Delhi also for the reason that large number of native and tribal troops were in Delhi and it was prudent to retain them in Delhi. Cross-country mutiny and sporadic violence was more difficult for the British to handle, limited as they were in numbers. The relevant portion of the letter written from the ridge camp at Delhi is reproduced herein below;-

*".....The force consists at present of 2200 Europeans and 1500 natives, a total of 3700 bayonets, while the insurgents are numberless, having been reinforced by the mutinous regiments from every quarter. They are in a perfect state of preparation with string defences and well equipped .....I have determined to hold out the position, we now have, to the last as I consider of the utmost importance to keep the insurgents now in Delhi from overrunning the country...."*{ John Lawrence Papers: Mss Eur F90 Folio 19b Letter to John Lawrence from the camp at Delhi dated 18<sup>th</sup> July 1857 }.

What prompted General Wilson to write that he considered it of importance to keep the 'insurgents' be in Delhi was arrival of Afghan warrior and Wahabi warrior Bakht Khan from Bareilly.



### **15.6.3 THE HOST CITY : DELHI JUNE - JULY 1857**

Between the bullets of rebel sepoys and the shelling of the British, the local civilian population of Delhi was trapped in voluntary, but inevitable, captivity. In just a month of the British shelling, spirits of the locals were sinking within confinement. The soldiers ruled over the King, nobles and the locals alike. Postal and power services lay disrupted. "A month after the outbreak, life was now proving very hard for the ordinary people of the city, especially the poor. With many of the bhistis and sweepers pressed into service for building and maintain the city defence, the sanitation of the city had fallen apart, dead camels lay rotting even in the elite quarter of Daryaganj." {Memoirs of Hakim Ahsamullah Khan: 35}

The horsemen from the rebel army had laid siege on Chandni Chowk and tied their horses at shops at vantage crossings. While the tradesmen feared their goods may be looted, shopkeepers fled the market with their wares and business was altogether dead. The worst hit were the money lenders who were frequented by the cavalry. The plight of the money lenders in the walled city was reported by two partners, Jugal Kishore and Sheo Prasad, in July 1957. While visiting them on a daily basis, the cavalry of the rebel army, "...who come for the sake of looting, wanting to threaten us to death or imprison us. For the last three days, we have been forced to go into hiding, while our employees and servants have been harassed and persecuted. Now we flee our homes in distress and confusion. All our honour and reputation has gone with the wind." {Habib: 8}.

This was not all. Delhi's hinterland was in control of the tribesmen named *Gujjars* and *Mewati*. The British could not achieve the blockade that they succeeded with, for purposes of looting anyone who went to and fro the capital. The outskirts of Delhi remained their uncontested fiefdom.

Anarchy paraded the roads leading to Delhi in the guise of blockade and supplies to the capital were soon dwindling. Nonetheless, optimism to chase the British out of Delhi prevailed as the small size of the British force entrenched on the Ridge soon became obvious while the strength of the sepoy garrisons along the wall of the city was rapidly growing each day.

#### **15.6.4 NATIVE REINFORCEMENTS MARCH INTO DELHI**

The rebel forces were soon joined by several thousands of reinforcement from Jalandhar and Ambala from the North and Nasirabad and Haryana from the west. From Bareilly in the east, marched towards Delhi the largest rebel army of enormous number.



FIGURE: 15.6.4.1

The picture above depicts the magnitude of the native military movements and transport used. Horses, camels, oxen, mules and elephants all hauling cannon, carts, luggage and native Indians over long distances. People are moving in caravans and pitched battles are being fought. It was a spontaneous rebellion and the only one of its own kind in human history.

Image source and courtesy - [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk) |  
Accessed at 12.30 pm on August 18, 2013.

"Across Hindustan, of the 139,000 sepoy in the Bengal Army, all but 7,796 had now risen against the Company, over half were now either in Delhi or on their way to it." {*Habib: 8*}.

The mixture of refugees and civilian rebels were joined by an assortment of *Jihadis* that consisted of militant *faqirs*, Whabbi *maulavis*, pious Muslim civilians- the 'weavers, artisans and other wage earners' who believed that it was their duty to free the *Dar-ul-Islam* from the rule of the hated *kafirs*. {*Habib:12*}

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

They camped in the courtyard of the Jama Masjid and the Zinat-ul-Masjid by the riverside. However, the Hindu sepoys mistrusted the jihadis and were seen searching and detaining many whom they regarded as suspicious. { *NAI Mutiny Papers, Collection 67, no 12, 27 July 1857 for Zinat-ul-Masjid: and Collection 15, File 1 for Jama Masjid.*} Inside the mosques, the firebrand maulavis of the Mujahideen called for jihad and appealed to the most fundamentalist amongst them - the Wahhabi *maulavis* who belonged to the Punjabi Muslim Community. {*NAI Mutiny Papers, Collection 67, no 12, 27 July 1857 for Zinat-ul-Masjid: and Collection 15, File 1 for Jama Masjid.*}.

Half of Delhi's civilian population comprised of Hindus, many of whom were alarmed at the thought of hosting in Shahjanabad several thousands of hungry and violent sepoys and fanatical holy warriors, the latter pretentious of crusading against the infidel. Many of the Muslim holy warriors petitioned the Emperor for food, appreciation, recognition and monetary reward for participating in the battle. Some *jihadis* prayed for arms and funds for their followers to give them food and strength to fight against the infidels. Bahadur Shahs' (Zafar's) armoury was reportedly rendered empty.

### **15.6.5 BAKHT KHAN AND THE BAREILLY BRIGADE:**

Subedar Bakht Khan, leading a Brigade of foot infantry, cavalry and artillery had successfully revolted in Bareilly. The British army was hopelessly out-numbered while the European civilians were unarmed. He released all the prisoners from Bareilly jail, took control of the treasury and by virtue of self proclamation he was promoted to the rank of a Brigadier and his friend Bahadur Khan as the Nawab of Bareilly. Thus assured that Rohilkhand was in the control of the rebels, Bakht Khan, set off with his mentor, Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali, to rescue Delhi from the assault of the British.

On 1<sup>st</sup> July 1857 Bakht Khan had arrived, at the bridge of boats, leading his Bareilly brigade, one of the largest rebel forces put together for the revolt against the British East India Company in 1857. He was welcomed by Nawab Quli Khan, the father of Begum Zinnat Mahal, wife of Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. Bakht Khan was known to several officers of the British army who were then fugitives on the Delhi ridge. "There was no open place in the city sufficient for this vast assemblage.....so the Brigade encamped outside the Delhi Gate [south of the



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

city].....This was found necessary as the crowds of sepoys already in the town were occupying all the houses and most of the shops. The entire 73<sup>rd</sup> Native Infantry had for example taken over the Ajmeri Bazaar—with six or seven sepoys in every shop.” {account of Said Mubarak Shah by Dalrymple William:264}

### DID YOU KNOW

#### WHO IS A WAHABBI AND WHO WAS MOULVI SARFARAZ ALI ?

One who follows the Islamic philosophy, enunciated by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab Najdi [1703-1792] in 7th Century Arabia, to practice Islam in all its purity, as did Prophet Mohammed, is a Wahabbi. Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali, though a mathematics teacher, had imbibed knowledge of Quranic interpretation and Hadeeth. As Imam of the Mujahideen, Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali prayed to the people to lend their hands in the uprising. It is said that, “It was he who had motivated his initially reluctant disciple Bakht Khan to join this momentous struggle. In the pre-revolution time, Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali was regarded as one of the brightest jewels in Delhi’s intellectual crown, by no less than Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan himself. So it was Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali who urged Bakht Khan to fight against the infidel Christians for the honor of his country. Interestingly this ‘accusation’ of his being a Wahabi also betrays probable renaissance of Islamic culture during the revolution of 1857.”

[Sourcetwocircles.net/2012aug15/bakht\\_khan\\_winner\\_lost\\_battle.html](http://Sourcetwocircles.net/2012aug15/bakht_khan_winner_lost_battle.html)

With Bakht Khan, a Wahabbi, came his mentor the Maulvi Sarfraz Ali. The Emperor, old and senile, was pleased to find the army of men and military armaments brought by Bakht Khan and gave his guest the title of Sahib-i-Alam. Replacing his own son Mirza Mughal who was the Commander-in-Chief, he gave Bakht Khan supreme authority over his army and made his son, Mirza Mughal, the ‘Adjutant General’, while Bakht was given the designation of ‘Governor General’.

Within a week of his arrival, Bakht Khan made energetic attempts to effect changes. Ordering payment of salaries to the royal staff, he directed the police to



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

arrest those who looted and issued commands that sepoys be removed from the bazaars and relocated in new camps outside Delhi Gate. The younger sons of the Emperor were to be relieved from their duties pertaining to the army. The army was to be divided into three formations so as to ensure that at least one part was engaged in fighting every day. {Dalrymple William: 288} On 9<sup>th</sup> July 1857, Bakht Khan made a concentrated attempt to destroy British positions for all times ahead. The Khan irregular cavalry wore the same uniform as was worn by the British irregular and, while the disguise went unnoticed, Bakht's men had reached deep into the British camps. They succeeded in capturing British horse guns and some of the Artillery. The British managed to keep Bakht's men at a distance and finally drove them away. Nonetheless, they would not flee and lured the enemy soldiers to continue fighting so as to force them to leave their trenches. The soldiers, on the side of the British, kept fighting the native sepoys and coming down the slopes, where they had no cover. Thus exposed, the British officers and loyal soldiers were facing rebel guns in the open. With support from the *Jihadis*, Bakht Khan and his men went towards the west and captured the outlying pickets.

The loss of men and material on the side of the British was much more than any other day since the siege of Delhi by the rebel force on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1857. Much more than 200 men were killed and the heat followed by incessant rain left the British forces in a very fragile state of mind.

Brigadier General John Nicholson, a legendary political officer under Sir Henry Lawrence and one who would eventually lead the 'storming into Delhi,' narrated the helplessness of the Emperor before the jihadis. To quote Nicholson:

*"....and Bakht Khan is for all intensive purposes military dictator with full veto powers over any decision Zafar makes! He commands the Muslim War Counsel and has full veto over the appointment of anyone, the firing of anyone, any and all decisions of war, and the very fate of Delhi. Nothing whatsoever can be done unless he signs off! Zafar is a panto puppet. And Mirza Mughal is a farce! Mirza Mughal tried to use the defeat to oust Bakht Khan but the reality is the Wahhabists need a Wahhabi military dictator to enforce their religious dictatorship. So Bakht Khan is still in full control of the military despite his disaster.....But the so called Rebel Army is unraveling as we speak.....Desertions every day and no one obeys anyone. Half of the so-called Rebel Army is nought but criminal bands, of petty warlords roaming about Delhi, stealing. The rest only obey their NCO's and refuse to obey any other commander. So Bakht Khan really can only count on his own fanatic jihadist thugs. But the jihadists are fanatic, and will die on command. Unwavering loyalty of the blindly fanatic! Willing to do anything on command! If Bakht Khan told the fanatics to take*

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

*Zafar out and crucify the old man for being a Sufi heretic they would without hesitation! Zafar's days are numbered. No one obeys him or any royal prince. But killing him right now might scare the Hindu population."* {John Nicholson great mutiny.word press.com/.../blog-359-bill-sikes-strikes-}.



FIGURE : 6.5.1 Photograph of Metcalfe estate which was being protected by pickets by the British. It could not, however, be safeguarded as locals stormed through in the battle of the ridge and broke the barricade. | Photographer Felice Beato's Image; Source & courtesy - [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk) | Being 100 years old, the copyright of the original photograph has expired. It ought to be now in public domain.

Though the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1857 was the most successful assault that was made, since the onset of the uprising, it brought no cheer to the city of Delhi and the palace of the Emperor as the expectations were very high and the British were still entrenched, holding their position on the Ridge.

Soon the enthusiasm of the sepoys' began to wane. Many were seen idle during the day, shirking their duties and hiding in sufi shrines. Some would lounge in the gardens and threaten the civilians upon being questioned as to why they were not in battle. The rebels slackened.

By the end of July, while rains had, to some extent, immobilized his men, Bakht Khan faced open opposition from the sepoys in the durbar of the Emperor. The soldiers lamented that many days had gone by since the forces went out to fight. The Emperor agreed. Reprimanding Bakht Khan, Bahadurshah Zafar said, " You will never capture the Ridge. All the treasure you have brought me, you have expended....The royal treasury is empty. I hear that day by day soldiers are

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

leaving for their homes. I have no hopes of becoming victorious” {Dalrymple William: 291} Bakht Khan lost his position to a ‘Court of Administration’ presided over, as President, by Mirza Mughal.

A Mughal Emperor had thrown the baby out with the bath water for he had destroyed what he had set out to achieve. In place of coordinating between the differing segments of the rebel forces, nurturing the cohesiveness between the Hindu and Muslim sepoys, as the Emperor had set out to do, the unceremonious dismissal of Bakht Khan had encouraged the divisiveness amongst his forces. To the fugitive enemy hiding on the Ridge, the end of Bakht Khan brought instant relief. “The King of Delhi in Durbar had tainted the leaders of the mutineers with their want of success, this gave rise to mutual recrimination and refusal by some to carry out any longer the system organized by Bakht Khan. And so, **when we were scarcely able to stand, the attacks ceased, as if by dispensation of providence, and gave our force the repose they so much needed.**”{Barter Richard: 36}

British historian Saul David supported what Barter had said when David candidly admitted that the conquest of the mutiny of 1857 by the British, so as to dispel the uprising, was not inevitable right up till the time of the conquest of Delhi. {“The Indian Mutiny: 1857”, London, Viking, 2002}.

The *jihadis*, too, could not dislodge the British from the Ridge but succeeded in alienating the Hindus. The hard line ‘Wahabbi’ views of Bakht Khan cost India dear. The Mughal court emphasized the need to maintain Hindu- Muslim unity and the Emperor issued orders to register all the cows in the city. Soon Delhi was engulfed in communal tension over cow slaughter, looting and terrorising by incoming sepoys and *Jihadis*, dacoity and even black marketing. It was rumoured that the British were getting food and other supplies from civilians on this side of the Ridge. At a time when a ploy ought to have been put in place to attack and plunder the siege train being expected by the enemy, the King was plagued with keeping communal harmony at home.

### 15.7. THE CAPTURE OF DELHI

The British had the height of the ridge, into which they had dug themselves backed with the valour of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs. The Hindu Rao house was the anchor of the ridge. It was held by the Gurkhas, under the Command of Major C. Reid. The Gurkhas had lived for the last two months through the ordeal in



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

rubble and under continuous fire. Half of them were either wounded or killed. They were never attacked from all four sides. They were safe from the rear, from where arrived the supplies. No enemy visited them on all sides at the same time. However, there were exceptions. Their visitors were vultures, flies, dysentery and cholera.

In the midst of the rot and corpses, two British officers were conspiring. The two who were plotting were Richard Baird Smith a British Engineer Officer, who had been in-charge at Roorkee in May, when the sepoys had revolted at Meerut. Richard Baird Smith had been appointed the Chief of the siege civil works at Delhi. When General William Archdale was losing his spirit, after heavy losses at the hands of the sepoys, Baird had persuaded him to hold fort till reinforcements came from Punjab. The other Officer was charismatic John Nicholson, who had brought in reinforcements from Punjab and was expecting the 'siege train' from Phillaur. Both were planning the 'Storming of Delhi', later led by Nicholson who was also to become a Victorian hero in the times ahead. Nicholson discussed a plan to have sepoys defect by persuading Lord Canning to agree to offer some vague terms of clemency for those who crossed over back to the British army.

John Nicholson prevented Richard Baird Smith from destroying the bridge of boats so that the people would have a route to escape when the British finally captured Delhi. He had decided to let mutineers flee so long as they broke no law. It would be easier, both decided, to take in battle an empty city rather than a populated one. Nicholson and Smith hoped to persuade the citizens to flee.

The rebels of the Bengal army had by August 1857 little food to eat, feudal weapons and fatwas to pin on their chests. They had not received their salaries by the Emperor and were broke, as soldiers normally are.

The capture of Delhi was the magical key for suppressing the Indian rebellion. To this end was fought a bitter battle, which led to destruction of monuments of faith and massacre of the rebels and civilian population alike. Look closely at the picture on the next page to note how monuments of faith were destroyed during the rebellion. The target of destruction signified the anger displayed in the rebellion against interference by foreign missionaries in the faith and belief of the natives.

**Do You Know**

St Jame's Church in Delhi was a target of destruction in 1857 ?



Top : Photograph of St. Jame's Church, near Kashmiri Gate Delhi, which was attacked in 1857. The Skinner's Horse - a cavalry regiment of the army - was commanded by Colonel James Skinner {1778 -1841}. As he lay in a battlefield, Colonel Skinner had avowed to build a church if he survived. Designed by Major Robert Smith, it took ten years to complete the structure (1826-1836.) It was damaged by shell - fire in 1857. The church houses the grave of British Commissioner, William Frazer and a large memorial cross built in memory of the British army personnel who were killed in 1857. The tomb of Thomas Metcalfe is at the rear of the Church. Colonel James Skinner died at Hansi in 1841.

Below : Photograph of the old cross that was atop St. James Church, as seen above. The dome had a copper ball with a cross, a replica of one in a church at Venice. Notice how it was riddled with bullets in 1857. During the mutiny, the sepoys used this as a target to practice shooting.



FIGURE: 15.7.1 (Far Above), 15.7.2 (Above). <http://www.merapix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Weeks before the British assault on Delhi in September 1857, gun batteries were to be installed within close range of the city walls. This work was being supervised by Richard Baird Smith, in consultation with John Nicholson, as this was dangerous work. In the process of the work, several sappers were killed by rebel musketry and artillery fire. Once established, the British gun batteries would enable breaches in the bastions and walls to assist the attacking troops.

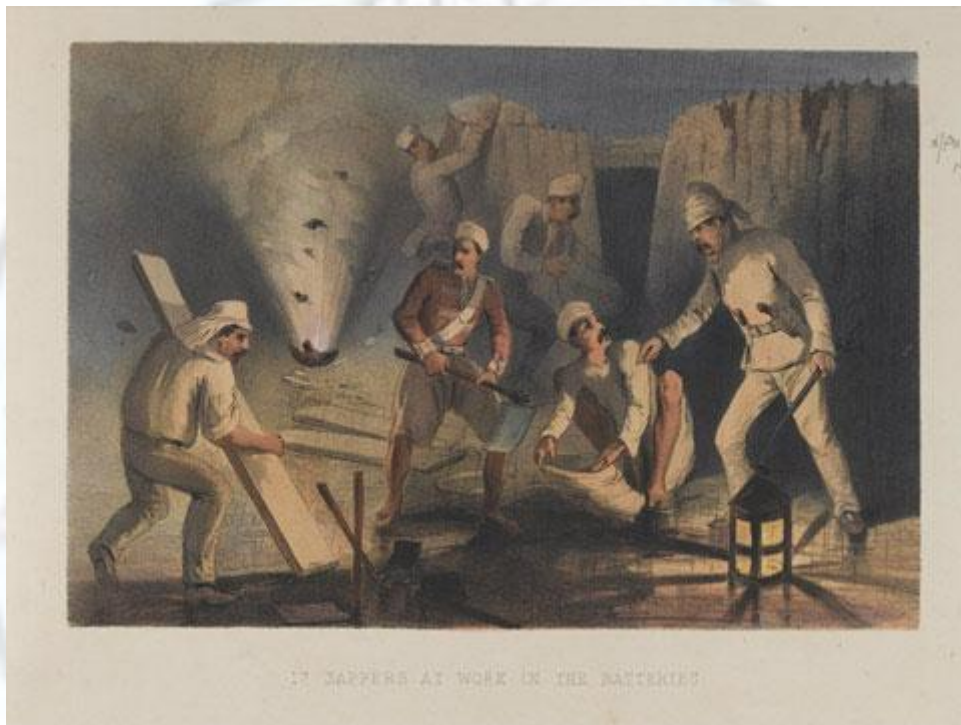


FIGURE: 15.7.3

'Sappers at work in the Batteries', 1857.

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858  
Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=13&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-17>.

Under the informal command of Brigadier General John Nicholson, who was in fact a young captain, the capture of Delhi was in competent and compassionate hands. He had experience in surveying for railroads, stringing the telegraph and the army had trained him to work with sappers and miners. The military police was manning the Ridge which was cleaned up. Once the siege train arrived from



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Phillaur, the soldiers were given clean clothes, food and water. Massive reinforcements were placed on forward positions. Siege artillery and cannons were hauled in by a line of elephants, courtesy the Rajas who resented the Emperor. The siege train brought with it reinforcements, including 2000 men and 32 guns. Numbers and logistics were worked out. The noose was tightening around a desperate city.



FIGURE : 15.7.4 'Reinforcement proceeding to Delhi', 1857.

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=7&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-10>

**Ironically, the majority of the reinforcements were Indian. Without the support of the natives, both in men and material, the British troops would neither have been able to hold their trenches on the Ridge nor capture Delhi.**

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

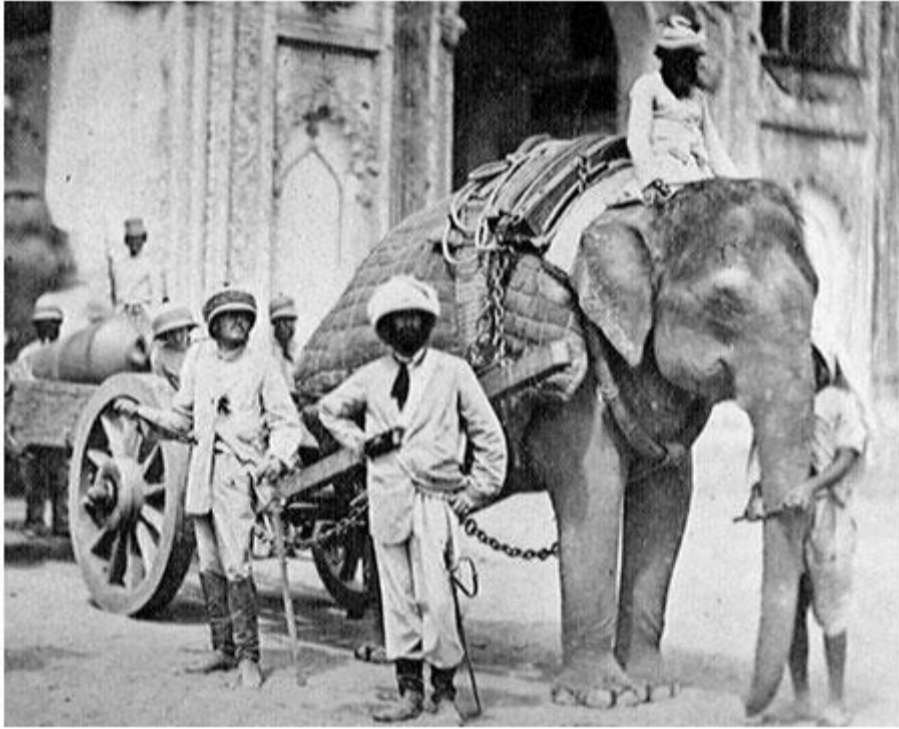


FIGURE: 15.7.5 Rare photograph of an elephant hauling a cannon

Source: <http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html> { This image ought to be in public domain as the original photograph is more than 100 years old. The National Army Museum, London , sells lithographs of this and other photographs. }

By 8<sup>th</sup> September 1857, when the British siege batteries inched closer, the realization that the end was imminent galvanised the forces of rebellion into cohesion of a kind that had eluded them throughout the siege of Delhi. Mirza Mughal directed that drums be beaten across the city to announce that the war was one of religion and faith. He urged all to be true to their faith and creed and slay the British and those enslaved by the British.

Little was known to the British as to what Mirza Mughal was preoccupied with, almost on a war-footing. He had been busy erecting an elaborate system of street defences and barricades. Once the British were within the walls of Delhi, they and their soldiers would be far more vulnerable than they were behind their breastwork on the Ridge. He was, it seemed, luring them to come out of their impregnable entrenchment on the Ridge into the streets of Delhi where they would lose their advantage of military strategy. Snipers would await them in the nooks and crannies of the narrow streets of Shahajanabad. The enemy at their gates, Mirza said, was more favoured than on the Ridge. He asked all to come out and give a good fight. The *jihadis* would have an opportunity to indulge in Guerilla warfare put their axe to use. Antiquated weapons and a maze of streets would

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

both be alien to the British warriors, enough to give the jihadis a good head-start. Even otherwise, many desertions in the rank of the sepoys had made the jihadis account for little less than half of the total fighting force in Delhi. It was estimated that out of approximately 60,000 rebels in Delhi, 25,000 were the *Jihadi's*, most bearing allegiance to Bakht Khan. Imdad Ali Khan, one among Bakht Khan's *Jihadi's*, had displayed bravery in confrontation with the enemy. He was accompanied by Moulvi Nawazish Ali with his 2000 men and a newly arrived regiment of suicide Ghazi's from Gwalior.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 1857, the British coordinated the firing of all their guns simultaneously. The first salvo struck the walls of the Kashmere Gate. One after another, came the deafening salvos. By mid day, the walls were finally beginning to crumble "sending up clouds of dust, and bringing its masonry down into the ditch" {Barter:45}. The Kashmere Gate had been breached as the guns were rendered silent. Two large breaches in the curtain wall stood testimony to a history in the making. One was near the Kashmere bastion and the other the Water bastion near the Yamuna river front.

The rebels fought gallantly, sending out their cavalry, killing the support trail of coolies, British engineers and gunners. Casualties of the British enemy were reportedly over 400 men.

Charles Griffith wrote that, "Though the batteries on the bastions had been well nigh silenced, the rebels struck well with their field guns in the open space before the walls, they sent a storm of rockets from one of the Mortello towers and fired a stream of musketry from the ramparts and advanced trenches." { Griffith: 149}.

Of the Indian Mutineers, it has to be conceded that the mutineers fought with "an obstinacy not to be conceived, though the bastions are a heap of ruins, yet they still return our fire and their numbers are so great that day after day they come out and attack us on all sides. They will never be driven from the walls until the bayonet is brought into play." {OIOC Vibart Papers, Eur MSS F 135/19, Camp before Delhi, 12 September 1857}.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)



FIGURE: 15.7.6 Accessed at 9.07 on September 1, 2013

Rare photograph of Kashmere Gate (close front view) after the pounding from British guns in 1857. Source: <http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>



FIGURE: 15.7.7 Rare photograph of Kashmere Gate (from an angle) showing the destruction of the monument by British guns on September 11, 1857. See the marks of cannon balls on the walls and the damaged roof. Accessed at 9.24 am on Sept 1, 2013 Source: <http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

(The copy right of the original photographs has expired. These ought to be in public domain).

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

By 12th September, 1857, the British guns were blazing away at the northern face of the city. 60 guns were pounding round after round. Salvos of artillery were being fired day and night. The walls of the city and its gates were trembling.



FIGURE: 15.7.8 'Heavy Day in the Batteries', 1857.

Accessed at 1.29 am on August 18, 2013.

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858.

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=12&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-15>

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of September 1857, General Wilson announced at a meeting of senior commanders that the assault would take place at sunrise on the following day. Brigadier General John Nicholson was directed to lead the attack. Edward Campbell was to be the prize agent—in charge of legalized looting of the captured city. Four columns were determined, each entering the city through a different opening on the northern face of the wall. Theo Metcalfe was to guide the column that was to enter from the Kashmere Gate and capture the Jama Masjid. Jama



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Masjid was to be the base to attack the palace of Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. The troops rose at midnight and assembled in their columns. General Wilson's order was read out to them by the Officers. The directions were unambiguous. "Each man to carry 200 rounds of ammunition.....The wounded were to be left where they fell. There was to be no plundering; all the valuables in the city would be placed in a common treasury under Edward Campbell's supervision. No prisoners were to be taken, 'but for the sake of humanity and the honour of the country', women and children were not to be hurt " {Dalrymple William : 341}. As the pages of history tell us, almost all the above orders were soon to be flouted.

Through the woods and cover of the fruit trees, which once formed part of the Mughal Gardens of Qudsia Bagh, at 3.00 am in the morning marched the four columns in silence under John Nicholson. As in the past ten days, the siege artillery had been firing ceaselessly, the darkness illuminated by flashes. At the break of dawn, suddenly the guns fell silent. In the ensuing stillness, "small birds twittering among the trees" and the smell of orange blossoms were "apparent in spite of the sulphury smell of powder" {Barter: 52}.

John Nicholson gave the order, the nearly 9000 strong, troops ran through the rose garden into an open space, or no man's land, between the garden and the city walls. Manoeuvring a deep ditch with the help of ladders, the men of the British Army emerged, moving like a hound of wolves. Richard Barter recalls the heads of the rebels rising from the gaps of the ramparts and along the walls, "...they swarmed thick like bees. The sun shone full upon the white turbans and black faces, sparkling brightly on their swords and bayonets, and our men cheered madly as they reached the breach" {Barter: 52-54}

Out of the nearly 9000 men that made Nicholson's force, just about one third were British. The rest were Sikhs, Punjabis and Gurkhas. The assault, in a way, had already begun when the artillery breached the city walls and the sappers blew in the Kashmere Gate. Unmindful of the directions of General Wilson as were read out to the troops at midnight, the British forces and their Indian allies indulged in an orgy of looting and killing in the days that followed.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)



FIGURE:15.7.9 "The capture of Delhi, 1857".

Source : <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D7&pos=2&total=335&page=7&acc=1971-02-33-139-1>

Coloured lithograph by Bequet Freres after R de Moraine, published by E Morier, Paris, 1858 (c).

The British troops and their allies besieged the city. John Nicholson was wounded by a sniper and died nine days later. The fighting and the ransacking of the city continued for almost a week. The target of massacre were not merely the combatants, including Jihadis armed with axes, but included innocent unarmed civilians. In one muhalla, Kucha Chelan, alone, more than 1400 defenceless civilian were killed. Edward Vibart has gone on record to say that, "The orders went out to shoot every soul".

"It was literally murder.... I have seen many bloody and awful sights lately but such as I witnessed yesterday I pray I never see again. The women were all

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

spared but their screams, on seeing their husbands and sons butchered, were most painful.... Heaven knows I feel no pity, but when some old grey bearded man is brought and shot before your very eyes, hard must be that heart that can look on with indifference..."{Dirk Nicolas }



FIGURE:15.7.10 'Storming of Delhi', 1857.

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=16&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-21>.

Coloured lithograph from 'The Campaign in India 1857-58', a series of 26 coloured lithographs by William Simpson, E Walker and others, after G F Atkinson, published by Day and Son, 1857-1858.

Alongside the fall of Delhi, Emperor Bahadur Shah 11 was arrested. Most of his sons were hanged. Three of them were killed in cold blood. Even though the East India Company had acknowledged, under its own hand and seal, that Delhi was the Emperor's vassal, yet he was tried in his own palace and prosecuted as rebel and traitor. On 7<sup>th</sup> October, 332 years after Babar invaded India, Zafar, as was his pen name, was banished from his city and send into exile in Burma. He left in a bullock cart by the bridge of boats. Accompanying him, in palanquins, were his two wives and two of his sons, Mirza Jiwan Bakht and his youngest son, Mirza Shah Abbas, who was only 13 in 1857 and born to a concubine of the Emperor.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Mirza Jiwan Bakht's wife, too, accompanied the royal family to Rangoon. Bahadur Shah 11 died on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1862 and was hurriedly buried in an unmarked grave.



FIGURE: 15.7.11 Top left: Emperor Bahadur Shah11 in his durbar.  
Top Right: Emperor Bahadur Shah 11 {Zafar}  
Right: An old and ailing King Bahadur Shah 11{Zafar}.  
Bottom; After the fall of Delhi, the King being arrested .

Source: Collage from blog on Brigadier-General John Nicholson, who led the British troops to capture Delhi.

Theo Metcalfe, whom history shall remember as the hangman of Delhi, erected gallows at the Metcalfe house. He hounded and hunted out the nobility, many being friends of a courtier and now world renowned, poet Mirza Ghalib. His friend, Nawab Muzaffar-ud-Dhaila was caught and executed in Gurgaon. The nawab of Jajjar, the Raja of Ballabgarh, the Shia leader, Nawab Hamid Ali Khan, Nawaab Mohhamed Khan, a mukhtiar who had led a part of rebel army at the battle of Badli ki Sarai, and many others were brought back to Delhi from their refugee



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

outside of the Mughal capital and hanged after a sham trial. {Narayani Gupta}



FIGURE: 15.7.12 ZAFAR IN EXILE IN RANGOON.

Flanked by his sons, Jiwan Bakht and Mirza Shah Abbas

Source: Rare Photographs of India. :[http:// www. merapix.com /2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html](http://www.merapix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html)

(This image ought to be in public domain as the original photograph is more than 100 years old)

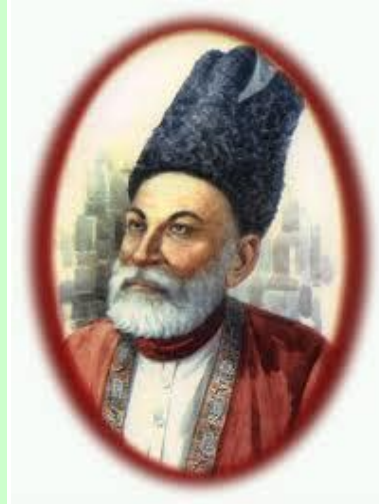
Had it not been for those who escaped, Ghalib and Zafar Dehlavi for instance, the chronology of many historical events would have been lost forever.

Karl Marx dissented from the typical view of some of the British Imperial historians of Indians being 'barbaric'. Both Engels and Marx saw a nexus between the colonial exploitation of India and the anger of its people that spilled on the streets at the time of the uprising in 1857. The Marxist thinkers have hailed the unity displayed by the Hindus and Muslims in opposing British colonialism in what

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

history has recorded as "the largest anti colonial revolt against any European empire anywhere in the world in the entire course of the nineteenth century"

### DO YOU KNOW



**Source of Image:** <http://kalameghalib.tripod.com/>

**Some of Mirza Ghalib's poetry is a reflection of the turbulent times of the period. Ghalib survived the fall of Delhi, giving historians an invaluable insight into the aftermath of the uprising of 1857.**

Mirza Ghalib's entry into the nobility of Delhi came in 1850 with the poet Emperor conferring on Asadullah Baig Khan the title of *Dabir-ul-Mul*, *Najm-ud-Daula* and Mirza Noshah, the latter adding 'Mirza' to his name. By 1854, he was tutor to poet Bahadurshah 'Zafar'. He saw the eclipse of the Mughal dynasty with the fall of Delhi in 1857 and was a witness to massacre and slaughter in Delhi, particularly of Muslims, in the aftermath of the crushing of the rebellion. He was amongst a miniscule nobility of Delhi that survived by sheer chance of fate as his neighbours in his Balimaran mohalla had the patronage of the Maharaja of Patiala, an ally of the British. In his chronicle in the 'The Last Mughal', William Dalrymple gives a translation of a verse that Ghalib wrote in a letter to his friend as reproduced here;

"....The Chowk is a slaughter ground,  
And homes are prisons.  
Every grain of dust in Delhi,  
Thirsts for Muslim's blood.  
Even if we were together,  
We could only weep over our lives."

**Source:** Author , Verse in book by Dalrymple: 418

### **15.7.1 CAUSES FOR THE FALL OF DELHI.**

The primary reason why, despite the combined attack of the Jihadis and the sepoys, the British could not be dislodged from the Ridge in Delhi was not the lack of valour but the lack of coordination, ingenuity and absence of cunning. Had it not been for the constant infusion of mutinous troops, their insurrection would have long died out. Absence of strategy led to the mutineers being beaten in details of the operation. Thus, though their British officers were dumbfounded by the motivation, strength and determination of the rebel sepoys but their lack of operational tactics failed to give them an edge in the battle. Despite their small numbers, the British later made tall claims that they were seldom taxed by the sepoys' uncoordinated attacks. Major Hodson, in characteristic dismissive attitude of the British Officers said, " they do little more than annoy us, and the only great evil they cause is keeping our men out for hours in this scorching heat. " {Hodson 214}. The Jihadi's made even less impression than the sepoys for they lacked training in military combat.

The rebel force had brave men but few commanders. They could not integrate their regiments into one coherent army or employ strategy to make individual parts work together on the battlefield. Unable to gauge the flow of battle, to maneuver or strike from behind, they did not know how to maneuver the foe in a pincer move. Their attacks were thus defensive. Heroism by itself could not make up for the lack of military strategy. Midnight massacres at cantonments were not the same thing as real battles.

The reason as to why the sepoys were unable to draw advantage from their numerical strength was the fact that during their stay in the British East India Company army, the army regulations did not train the soldiers to command a unit of more than 100 men, nor had they been trained in logistic support for big military operations. Worse still, each night the sepoys returned to their temporary dwelling in the city, leaving the ground gained during the day in the hands of the British. The next day, the rebel army was forced to battle once again to reclaim lost ground.

Besides, the Bengal army of the East India Company, which led and sustained the rebellion in Delhi, was the least modern and titled 'ballast' because mediocre soldiers were dwelling in the glory of the past. Their reactions to a demanding situation were far too slow. The rebels had failed to attack the Ridge from the water side, when it was most vulnerable. Once the bridges were burnt down by the British, it was too late. They had yet another opportunity when the siege train



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

was to come. An attack on the siege train and acquisition of the arms, meant for the British, would have rendered the fugitives on the Ridge helpless. They let go this golden opportunity, success of which would have turned history the other way.

Further, the Emperor of the Mughal Sultanate in Delhi was emotionally detached from the uprising of the sepoys. His loyalty lay elsewhere- to his beloved city of Mughal elites, which was under destruction by the 'intruders', and to the cause of his dynasty and the Mughal Sultanate. Each passing day, in place of encouraging his warriors, he would be found deep in depression or with poetry-writing to keep him company. His queen disapproved of his support to the mutineers while the king himself had turned senile. He would swing from deep despair to 'exalted optimism'.

As evident of the senility mentioned in the above paragraph, one needs to examine the information that was brought by a spy working for the British, Gauri Shankar, in August 1857. It was reported that the King wrote poetry all day and reproduced herein below is a couplet;-

" O Zafar , we are going to take London shortly. It is nor far." {Dalrymple William: 298}.

It was the unity among the Hindu and Muslim sepoys of the Bengal army, coupled with stealth, which caused the mutiny to be successful at Meerut cantonment. Paradoxically, " it is even odder that one of the greatest threats to the cohesiveness of and unity of the Mughals' new forces was the arrival of groups of Muslim jihadis who eventually came to make up at least half of the rebel army in Delhi and that when the British counter attacked against those forces, they did so by raising against the Mughal a new army that consisted largely of Pathans and Punjab Muslim irregulars." {Ferguson: Empire; How Britain made the Modern World 149-150.} It is thus evident that, finally, the rebellion took the shape of assault by Indians against the Indians, with the British masterminding the operation of the fall of Delhi.

### **15.7.2 Comparison of preparedness for the operation.**

A comparison of the preparedness of the two principal players in the fall of Delhi in 1857 shall exhibit the following;-

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

- While the British used Enfield Rifles and howitzer (cannons), the Indian mutineers had Brown Bess muskets, matchlocks and swords. Jihadis had axes.
- Artillery with the mutineers in Delhi was superior, but the rest of India was not as good as the Delhi gunners.
- When it came to training, the British had very good training in military combat compared to the mutineers, who were poorly trained.
- The British were experienced in handling of military formations when compared to the mutineers.
- In leadership qualities, the British were excellent as were the mutineers, but the leaders of the Indian mutiny were spread all over the country, coupled with poor communication and coordination. In Delhi, the rebellion lacked able leadership.
- Communication facilities with the British were excellent when compared with the poor facilities with the natives.
- Loyalty of both the British and the native mutineers was steadfast. However native troops famous for loyalty, such as the Sikhs and the Gorkhas, joined the British. The closing of ranks amongst native mutineers was not evenly high or universal amongst the Hindu and Muslim throughout the period.
- Motivation was high amongst the British due to economic stakes in colonial India. Motivation was much higher amongst the mutineers for differing reasons, but wavered towards the end when betrayed by those who joined the British rank and file.
- Bravery was commendable on the part of the mutineers. In their place, the British, if devoid of logistic support and plagued with traitors, would have fled. Lt. Colonel Smyth, the Commanding Officer of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Native cavalry at Meerut, is an example of the cowardice of British officers.
- British intelligence information was far superior. More so, with native spies leaking to the enemy the forthcoming combat moves of the natives.
- Most importantly, the British had a commander- in- chief while the mutineers had no centralized commander- in- chief to oversee the operation. Therefore, the British execution of plans was far superior.

### **15.8. THE MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE REBELLION OF 1857.**

One of the original contributions to the study of the Indian rebellion of 1857 was in fact made by Karl Marx, who began to write on India in 1853 as the London correspondent for the largest selling American newspaper called 'New York Daily Tribune'. Marx wrote two seminal articles entitled, "British Rule in India" and "Future results of British Rule in India". The economist in Marx noticed how the East India Company had deliberately destroyed the traditional society and economy of the colony and consequently subjected its people to untold misery. In the second article, on what the future held, Marx was looking forward to see the day when Indians would grow strong "to throw off the English yoke" all together. On August 8, 1853, Marx wrote in the New York Daily Tribune what would prove to be four years later an almost uncanny premonition when he penned down that "the native army, organised and trained by a drill-sergeant, was the sine-qua-non of Indian self-emancipation".

It is of historical significance that modern research is coming closer to the views held then by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels. Both held opinions in opposition to the theory of the rebellion being merely a military mutiny, disfigured by 'native' atrocities or that it buckled under British valour. His understanding of the Indian uprising in 1857 is all the more commendable as Marx was writing from London {in exile} at a great distance from India. Marx wrote during the course of events, as they unfolded, or soon thereafter in his open letters in the American daily on the character of the rebellion, the military struggle and the atrocities attributed to the rebels or committed by the British. Regarding the army Marx wrote, on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1857 in the New York Tribune, that the army was "the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people were ever possessed of " and by the 28<sup>th</sup> of July the same year he had approved Disraeli's assessment made on July 27, 1857 that, "the Indian disturbance is not a military mutiny, but a national revolt".

Marx and Engels were both sceptical about the self-laudation of the English as regards the defence put up by the British. Marx wrote {July 21, 1857: New York Times Daily Tribune} that the British were rather slow to concentrate their troops in Delhi and this lapse he rightly attributed to the season, when he wrote, "the heat proves an invincible obstacle, which it did not in the days of Sir Charles



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Napier'. Much more vocal than Marx, in this context, was his friend Fredrick Engels, who while writing on November 16, 1857 wrote: "No people, not even the French, can equal the English in self laudation." Commenting upon the courage displayed in Delhi, Engels wrote frankly that the conduct of the British in Delhi was 'not so very extraordinary.'

Karl Marx watched, with great interest, the rebellion as it unfolded across other parts of India. He commented on the areas that remained supposedly unaffected {on July 31, 1857- New York Daily Tribune} as those that experienced 'a very queer sort of quiet'. By August 14, 1857, Marx noticed that there was a general union of diverse tribes against the rule of the aliens and rubbished the claims of the British that the Hindus empathised with the English, "As to the talk about the apathy of the Hindus, or even their sympathy with British rule, it is all nonsense.....the great difficulties the English meet with in obtaining supplies and transports—the principal cause of the slow concentration of the troops—do not witness to the good feelings of the peasants." He expressed his confidence that, "by and by there will ooze out other facts able to convince even John Bull himself that what he considered a military mutiny is in truth a national revolt."

Marx was blunt when exposed to the tales of horror in the British press, of the atrocities committed by the Indians on European people, by posing a question on August 28, 1857 that, 'whether a people are not justified in attempting to expel the foreign conquerors who have so abused their subjects'. He defended the allegations being made against the sepoys with another poser, "Is it surprising that the insurgent Hindus should be guilty, in the fury of revolt and conflict, of the crimes and cruelties alleged against them ? " By September 4, 1857, Marx was reminding the British of the wisdom of an age old proverb that as you sow so shall you reap because Marx wrote, "However infamous the conduct of the sepoys, it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India.—there is something in human history like retribution."

The atrocities committed by the British were then unknown to Karl Marx, as also to the rest of the world. Yet by September 1857, before the fall of Delhi, Marx had gathered that the tales of woes of the British were an exaggeration, for he wrote, "it was a mistake to suppose all the cruelty is on the side of the sepoys.—The letters of British officers are redolent of malignity.—**Every nigger we meet with we**

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

**either string up or shoot.**—Whole villages were burned down.—An officer from Benares—says: “the European troops have become fiends when opposed to natives.”—The outrages of the natives, shocking as they are, are still deliberately exaggerated.’

Though sympathetic to the cause of the rebels in India, it would be a fallacy to presume that Karl Marx and Engels were not aware of the internal dissensions in Delhi for by the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1857, Marx had written about these differences between Hindus and Muslims and between the sepoys and the merchants of Delhi. Engels seconded Marx for by May 8, 1958 he was listing the demerits of the rebellion as, ‘the ignorance of military engineering’. Marx had detected that the weakness on the side of the native rebels had been that they were not “discovering a man upon whom to bestow the supreme command”. Sitting in London, he had noticed the fatal flaw in Delhi. In fact, Karl Marx was deeply disappointed that his prophecy about the success of the Indian rebellion had failed and he left it to Fredrick Engels to highlight the inadequacies of the rebellion of 1857. Engels wrote to Marx: “The sepoys must have defended the enceinte of Delhi poorly” {October 29, 1857} and “we have not heard in a single instance that any insurrectionary army in Indian had been properly constituted under a recognised chief” { December 31, 1857}. { Source: *Newspaper/ magazines* : Mainstream, May 11, 1968.}

### **15.9 WRITING OF HISTORY ON THE BATTLE FIELD OF DELHI.**

On the battlefield of Delhi was written a new history in native and European blood. The battle for Delhi in 1857 was the most significant event in over three hundred years of an entire civilization. It brought to an end the rule of both - the Mughals and that of the East India Company. It was to be the beginning of a new history. The battle for Delhi was a turning point, not only for the undisguised British display of intention to politically conquer India but more importantly, for the birth of a nation in the making. **The first stirrings of nationalism, even if its signs were not visible across all of India, were recognizable in the uprising as it unfolded in Delhi.** A popular sentiment of disgust, fueled by exploitation at the hands of a foreign trading company, saw the streets of Delhi

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

home to the diversity of a civilization, albeit to the discomfort of its elite inhabitants, many of who belonged to the nobility. Artisans, weavers, soldiers, traders, peasants et al travelled to the Mughal capital on camels, horses, bullock-ox-carts and with whatever else they could muster. Despite the cracks, over cow slaughter, in an otherwise united endeavour, the instant quick-fix cohesiveness among the Hindus and Muslims in Delhi in the beginning of September 1857, when danger of victory by foreign rulers became imminent, speaks of a sense of identity as one people, even if this unity remained fragile.

India thus lost the battle for Delhi. Nonetheless, it had won the battle for one people whose overwhelming Hindu sepoys had pushed a reluctant Mughal Emperor into rebellion against the oppressors of a rich, cultural heritage. A phenomenon so strange for the British who, despite ceaseless efforts thereafter to divide and rule the two principal communities, were compelled ninety years later to concede to a nation whose expression for freedom from tyranny was writ large in the face of British brutality that followed the fall of Delhi.

### Summary

- An understanding of the Nationalist historians' perspective of the rebellion of 1857 compels a reading of the Bengal army and the Mutiny of 1857, along-side the role of Mangal Pandey. An extract of a Bollywood film has been inserted to highlight the spark that ignited the disaffection amongst the sepoys.
- The stated position on two important dimensions by Rudrangshu Mukherjee and William Dalrymple have been challenged by the author,
- To understand the perspective of Imperialist historians, extracts of a film have been inserted. Herein, the narrative by Niall Ferguson brings home the limited understanding of the Imperialists as regards the causes of the rebellion of 1857.
- Lull before the storm at Meerut cantonment, the factum of the mutiny and its spread to Delhi on May 11, 1857.
- The Battle of the Ridge and Siege of Delhi have been dealt with to give the chronology of events and significance of the two for military strife aimed at control over Delhi.
- Discomfort of the host city, subjected to plunder, and the reinforcements of native troops.
- Dissention within the native troops and lack of leadership.
- Capture of Delhi by the British in September 1857, the causes for the fall



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

of Delhi and a comparison of the preparedness of the rebels and the British as regards the combat.

- The Marxist perspective of the rebellion of 1857 with special emphasis on the siege and fall of Delhi.
- Writing history on the battlefield of Delhi

## Exercises

### 1 Answer the following questions:-

- (1) Briefly discuss the position of the Nationalist historians and the Imperialist historians as regards the Mutiny of 1857.
- (2) Rudhrangshu Mukherjee has argued that Mangal Pandey was irrelevant to the sepoy mutiny of 1857, which occurred two months after the execution of Pandey. Do you agree with this view ? Give reasons for your answer.
- (3) Historian Dalrymple argued that "If Mangal Pandey was the sepoy inspiration they certainly did not articulate it, nor did they rush towards Barrackpore or Calcutta. Instead it was, unequivocally, the capture of Delhi which was the great transforming masterstroke for the Uprising". Do you agree with the view expressed by William Dalrymple ? Give reasons for your answer.
- (4) To what extent, do you think, were the British responsible for not taking control immediately after the Meerut revolt ?
- (5) Do you think that the fall of Delhi could have been averted ? Give reasons for your answer.
- (6) Write short notes on the following:-
  - (a) The Battle of the Ridge.
  - (b) The fall of Delhi.

## Glossary

Barakat: a blessing.

Bell of Arms: a bell shaped structure that houses the Magazine. i.e. arms and ammunition. It was often located in army parade grounds at British Cantonments.

Bhishtis: people who carry water.

Faquir, Fakir : a sufi renounce, poor and homeless wandering person.

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Gadhr:	mutiny.
Gali:	a street or lane.
Gujjar:	an ethnic group originating from a nomadic tribe—found in both India and Pakistan.
Howitzer:	A medium sized artillery with a steep angle of descent. Twenty times the power or calibre of a gun. When organized in a group, it is called batteries.
Kafir:	an arabic word for 'infidel' or 'disbeliever'.
Matchlocks:	a hand-held fire-arm. . It has a slow burning match, in a clamp, which lights the gun –powder. When the trigger is pulled, the clamp drops and the match lights the powder.
Maulvi Moulvi:	a title given to an Islamic scholar.
Mewati:	Users of an Indo-Aryan language spoken by people in parts of Rajasthan and across Mahendragarh, Rewari and Rohtak in erstwhile Punjab (now Haryana).
Mohalla,Muhalla:	a residential area distinct from another.
Mukhtiar:	An Urdu word for the eldest, leader.
Musket:	An European muzzle-loading specific type of gun used in the 19th Century.

## References

### Works Cited

#### *Primary Sources:*

##### *Manuscripts:*

*Oriental & India Office Collections, British Library.*

*(1) John Lawrence Papers, Mss, Eur F 90*

*(2) Vibart Papers, Mss, Eur F 135/19*

*National Archives of India, New Delhi.*

*(1) Mutiny Papers.*

{Abbreviations: OIOC: Oriental and India Office Collections. NAI: National Archives of India.}

#### *Published Text:*

Dehlavi Zahir, 1955, *Dastan-e-Ghadr, "An eye witnesses account of the uprising of 1857", Lahore.*

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Khan Hakim Ahsamullah, 1958, 'Memoirs' ed. S. Moinul Haq, 'Journal of Pakistan Historical Society', Karachi.

### Secondary Sources:

#### Books

Barter Richard, 1984, 'The Siege of Delhi', London.

Dalrymple William, 2006, "The Last Mughal: the fall of a dynasty, Delhi 1857", India: Penguin.

**David Saul, 2002, 'The Indian Mutiny: 1857',** London: Viking

Ferguson Niall, 2003, 'Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power', London: Allen Lane.

Greathed, H.H, 1858, 'Letters written during the siege of Delhi', London.

Griffith Charles John, 1910, 'The Seige of Delhi,' London.

Hodson Major W.S.R, 1859, 'Twelve Years of a Soldier's life in India', London.

Kaye's and Malleson's, 1892, 'History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58' ed. Colonel Malleson, CSI, Vol 11 by Sir John Kaye, KCSC,FRS-Cabinet Edition, London, W.H Allen & Co. Ltd.

Majumdar, R.C, 1963, 'The Sepoy Mutiny and the revolt of 1857'.ed K.L Mukhopadhyay Calcutta: Firma

Mukherjee, R, 2006, 'The Sepoy Mutinies Revisited.' in 'War & Society in Colonial India: 1805-1945', ed. Kaushik Roy New Delhi: Oxford,114-125. (This essay was first published in Mushirul Hasan and Narayani Gupta (eds), "India's Colonial Encounter: Essays in Memory of Eric Stokes", New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1993; reprint 2004,: 193-204).

Nicolas Dirk, 2006, 'The Scandal Empire: India and the creation of British Imperialism,' Harvard University Press.

Stokes, Eric, 1986, 'The Peasant Armed: The Indian Revolt of 1857', ed.C.A. Bayly, Oxford.

Savarkar,Vinayak D, 1947(1909), 'The Indian War of Independence-1857'. Bombay: Phoenix Publications.

### Articles & Periodicals:

Ferguson Naill 2003, 'Empire: How Britian made the Modern World, London.

Gupta Narayani, 1981, 'Delhi between Two Empires 1803-1931" New Delhi

Habib Irfan, 1998, 'The coming of 1857', Social Scientist, January-April vol.26 no1.



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Mukherjee Rudranshu, 2005, '*Mangal Pandey: Brave Martyr or Accidental Hero?*,' New Delhi, Penguin.

### *Films*

Footage from *Mangal Pandey: The Rising* (2005) - Directed by Ketan Mehta.  
Mumbai: Yash Raj Films-Hindi film

Footage from Empire: How Britain made the modern world- Niall Ferguson---  
English Documentary.

### **Suggested Readings**

Ball Charles, 1860, '*History of the Indian Mutiny: Giving a detailed account of the sepoy insurrection in India*' The London Printing and Publishing Company, London.

Biswamoy Pati, 2010, '*The 1857 Rebellion*', Oxford University Press.

Farooqui, M trans, 2010, '*Besieged: voices from Delhi 1857*,' Penguin.

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels, 1959, '*The First Indian War of Independence, 1857-1859*', Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

## **Web Links**

1. FIGURE:15.1.1 "Capture & Death of the Shahzadas',1857

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=19&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-24>

2. FIGURE: 15.2.1 "THE PATTERN 1853 ENFIELD RIFLE"

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D3&pos=1&total=335&page=3&acc=1992-11-63-1>

3. FIGURE:15.2.2

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D3&pos=16&total=335&page=3&acc=1972-03-37-1>

4. FIGURE 15.4.1

Source: [http://cbmeerut.org.in/heritage\\_sites.html](http://cbmeerut.org.in/heritage_sites.html)

5. FIGURE: 15.5.1 The Flagstaff Tower, Delhi,

Source : [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Delhi)

6. FIGURE:15.6.1 *Troops of the Native Allies*

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian\\_Rebellion\\_of\\_1857](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Rebellion_of_1857)  
<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online:collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=15&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-20>

7. FIGURE:15.6.2

Source of Image [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Delhi)

8. FIGURE:15.6.3 Copy of the original telegram.

**Source:** [meerutup.tripod.com/](http://meerutup.tripod.com/)

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

9. FIGURE: 15.6.4 'The 1st Bengal Fusiliers marching down from Dugshai', 1857.

<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D8&pos=19&total=335&page=8&acc=1971-02-33-495-2>

10. FIGURE: 15.6.5 'Officers Joining the Force', 1857 (c).

11. FIGURE: 15.6.6 'Troops hastening to Umballa', 1857.

<http://www.nam.ac.uk/onlinecollection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=2&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-5>

12. FIGURE: 15.6.7 Image of the clash at Badle ke Sarai

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/onlinecollection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=4&total=335&page=9&a>

13. FIGURE: 15.6.8 Source: <http://www.slideshare.net/rampalr/mutiny-delhi-1857-presentation>

14. FIGURE : 15.6.9 The mosque at Delhi was a British picket on the Ridge.  
Source: [www.merepix.com/.../rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising...](http://www.merepix.com/.../rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html)

15. **FIGURE: 15.6.2.1 Artillery fire into Delhi on 10<sup>th</sup> June 185**

Source: <http://www.slideshare.net/rampalr/mutiny-delhi-1857-presentation>

16. **FIGURE 15.6.2.2 Rare photograph of the days of the rebellion.**

Source: <http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

17. FIGURE: 15.6.4.1 "The picture above depicts the magnitude of the native military movements and transport used."

Image source and courtesy - [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk) |

18. FIGURE: 15.7.1 (Far Above), 15.7.2 (Above). <http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

19. FIGURE: 15.7.3 "'Sappers at work in the Batteries', 1857."

Source: <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online->



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

[collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=13&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-17](http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=13&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-17).

20. FIGURE : 15.7.4 'Reinforcement proceeding to Delhi', 1857.

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=7&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-10>

21. FIGURE : 15.7.4 'Reinforcement proceeding to Delhi', 1857.

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=7&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-10>

22. FIGURE: 15.7.6

Source:<http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

23. FIGURE: 15.7.7 Rare photograph of Kashmere Gate (from an angle) showing the destruction of the monument by British guns on September 11, 1857.

Source:<http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html>

24. FIGURE: 15.7.8 'Heavy Day in the Batteries', 1857.

25. FIGURE:15.7.9 "The capture of Delhi, 1857".

Source : <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D7&pos=2&total=335&page=7&acc=1971-02-33-139-1>

26. FIGURE:15.7.10 'Storming of Delhi', 1857.

Source:<http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26simpleText%3DMutiny%2520of%25201857%26themeID%3D%26resultsDisplay%3Dlist%26page%3D9&pos=16&total=335&page=9&acc=1971-02-33-495-21>.

27. FIGURE: 15.7.11

## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

28. FIGURE: 15.7.12 ZAFAR IN EXILE IN RANGOON.

Source: Rare Photographs of India. :[http:// www. merepix.com /2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html](http://www.merepix.com/2013/07/rare-photos-indian-sepoy-mutiny-rebellion-uprising-1857.html)



## The 1857 Rebellion.(I)

Part of the paper “Marx on Indian History” that appeared in a volume, edited by P.C. Joshi and published by the National Book Club to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Karl Marx—printed in *Mainstream* (May 11, 1968)

