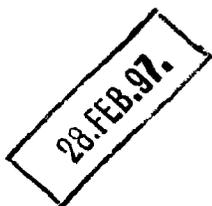


HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION,
EQUIPMENT, AND WAR SERVICES OF
THE REGIMENT OF
BENGAL ARTILLERY,

COMPILED FROM PUBLISHED WORKS, OFFICIAL
RECORDS, AND VARIOUS PRIVATE
SOURCES



By FRANCIS W. STUBBS,
Major-General, Retired List of the Royal (late Bengal) Artillery

WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO
FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G, &c ,
COLONEL-IN-CHIEF,
AND THE
OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY

P R E F A C E

HAVING now completed the last part of this history, it is with pleasure that I record my thanks to all those who have assisted me in compiling it. The India Office, where the officials have most kindly afforded me every information and facility for examining records, etc, the various Departments under the War Office to which I have had occasions to refer, the Accountant-General's and the other Government Offices in Calcutta, the Royal Artillery Staff of the three Presidencies in India—all have accorded me every possible aid. Especially I wish to tender my thanks to the Council of the Royal Artillery Institution and my brother officers of the regiment for their liberal and ready assistance, and for much information elsewhere unobtainable. Many officers and the relatives of others now deceased have been kind enough to entrust me with journals and letters of the greatest interest, and I hope that in endeavouring to describe events as they happened I have made a judicious use of these materials, especially those received from other branches of the service.

Many years ago the late Major-General E. Kaye, C B, drew up for me accounts of the Afghan and both Sikh

Wars, recording his own experiences, and as he was on the Regimental Staff in both the latter campaigns, they were of the greatest value. His lamented death deprived me of a like account of the Siege of Delhi and some of the operations in Oudh in 1858.

This work does not pretend to be more than a sketch of the events it records. The part about organization and equipment might easily have been expanded into a volume of itself. It has, indeed, been abbreviated from what I had written many years ago. But it may be a contribution to history, and it is to be hoped will be found a reasonably accurate one.

June, 1895

F W S

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HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

CHAPTER I.

AFGHAN WAR—INVASION—1838-1839

FORMATION AND COMPOSITION OF FORCE—Bengal Artillery—Bombay Artillery—Assembly of Bengal Troops at Ferozepore—Reduction of the Force—Bengal Column—Bombay Column—Reserve Force—Sikh Contingent—Interview of the Governor-General and Ranjit Singh at Ferozepore—March to Sukkur—Order Regarding 4th Troop 3rd Brigade—March to Quetta—To Kandahar—Halt—Major Todd's Mission to Herat—March to Ghazni—Its Capture—Flight and Pursuit of Dost Muhamad—Kabul—Order of Durani Empire—Return to India of Part of the Force Sir John Keane by Punjab, General Willshire by Quetta—Kalat Stormed and Taken.

WHEN Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, decided on the fatal experiment of dethroning the Amir Dost Muhamad and restoring Shah Shuja to the sovereignty of Kabul, which he had three times unsuccessfully tried to regain, he did not contemplate that it was to be effected only by a British Army. But an inevitable necessity compelled him to organise a larger force than had ever before crossed the frontiers of India. Part of the original programme was the formation in India of a contingent called, with even less than diplomatic truth, "Shah Shuja's own troops."

This contingent consisted of 6,000 men, under command of Major-General F. H. Simpson, two regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two troops of Horse Artillery. The unpopularity of the service in our own territories was evident. Government 4 per cent. paper fell from 2 to 9 per cent. discount. Hostile reports came from Nipal; symptoms of discontent appeared in Bandelkhand; and

1838

1838. the disturbances in the district of Jhansi were serious enough to call for the employment of a regular force. Captain W Anderson was employed in raising at Delhi and Meerut the two troops of Native Horse Artillery under Lieutenants G L. Cooper and F. Turner,* and no less than thirty-five desertions were reported in one day at the last-mentioned station, where they were undergoing instruction. And though Captain Anderson's energy finally overcame the difficulties he encountered, the troops were not ready when the army for Afghanistan assembled at Ferozepore on the 29th of November

This force consisted of a Brigade of Cavalry and two Divisions of Infantry. The Artillery were —

Brigadier C Graham, C B, Commanding

Major P. L. Pew

Bt.-Captain J B Backhouse, Brigade-Major.

Captain E F Day, Commissary of Ordnance

2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., Captain C. Grant

3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H A, Captain J Alexander

3rd Company 2nd ~~Battery~~ No. 5 H.F.B., † Captain T. Sanders.

Sanders.

4th Company 2nd ~~Battery~~, Captain H Garbett.

2nd Company 6th ~~Battery~~ (Native) No 6 Camel F B.,

Captain A Abbott.

Along with this force another was sent from Bombay under command of Lieut.-General Sir John Keane, K.C B, G.C.H., a Brigade of Cavalry and a Division of Infantry. The Artillery were —

Brigadier T. Stevenson, Commanding

Captain W. M Coghlan, Brigade-Major.

Lieutenant J. B. Wousnam, Aide-de-Camp.

Bt -Captain R. Warden, Commissary of Ordnance.

3rd Troop H.A., Captain J. H. M. Martin.

Q^aR H.A.

* G.G.O., 13th September.

† Draft had only just been changed from bullocks to horses. Drivers had not been supplied when the order to join the force arrived

4th Troop H.A., Captain T. E. Cotgrave. N.A., R.H.A.
 1st Company 2nd Battalion, Mule Battery,* Captain T. Reduced 1834
 J. Pontardent. B. 21, R.A.
 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, Horse Battery, Captain J. Reduced 1865
 Lloyd. 7 Co. E Div.

1st Company Gollandáz.

On the arrival at Ferozepore of the troops forming the Bengal Column, they learned that the Persian Army, foiled in its attempt upon Herat by the gallantry of one man, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery, and tardily yielding to the representations of Mr McNeill, British Minister at the Persian Court, had raised the siege of that place and retired on Teheran. The ostensible reason for the expedition was removed, but the Governor-General did not relinquish his intention of replacing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. The Army of the Indus, on the Bengal side, was reduced by General Duncan's Division, which remained at Ferozepore as a reserve. Captain Alexander's Troop and Captain Sanders' Battery were attached to it, and Colonel C Graham, an excellent and experienced Horse Artilleryman, gave over charge of the Artillery to Major Pew. Captain Anderson, as before mentioned, not being prepared to move, Captain H. Timings' Native Troop (4th-3rd H.A.), on the escort of the Governor-General, was directed to proceed with General Simpson. Its place on the escort was taken by Captain Nicholl's Troop (1st-1st), (G.O.C.C., 31st October), destined not long afterwards to shed a halo of glory round the greatest disaster that ever happened to our Arms.

K.C., R.H.A.
 Reduced 1879

The force as now (G.O.C.C., 27th November) constituted was brigaded as follows —

BENGAL COLUMN

Cavalry.

Brigadier R. Arnold, C.B., 16th Lancers, Commanding.
 H.M. 16th Lancers, 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry Detachment, 1st (Skinner's) and 4th Local Horse.

* See Note C, Appendix to this Chapter.

1838.
November.

Infantry.
Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B., K.C.H., Com-
manding

1st Brigade · Brigadier R. Sale, C.B., H.M. 13th L.I.;
16th and 48th N.I.

2nd Brigade · Major-General W. Nott, 31st, 42nd, and
43rd N.I.

4th Brigade : Brigadier A. Roberts, Bengal European
Regiment, 35th and 37th N.I.

Engineers

Captain G. Thomson, Commanding two Companies
Sappers.

Artillery

Details given above.

There was no siege-train worthy of the name—merely
four 18-pounder and four iron 9-pounder guns, two 8-inch
and two 5½-inch mortars. Also two spare field howitzers.

BOMBAY COLUMN

Cavalry

Brigadier Bentham Sandwith, 1st Light Cavalry, Com-
manding

Two Squadrons H.M. 4th Light Dragoons, 1st Light
Cavalry, and Poonah Horse

Infantry.

Major-General T. Willshire, C.B., Commanding.

H.M. 2nd Queen's Royals, 17th Regiment, and 19th N.I.

Engineers.

Captain A. C. Peat, Commanding.

Sappers and Miners, Lieutenant F. Wemyss.

In addition to these two Columns, a reserve force was
sent from Bombay to Sind under Brigadier T. Valiant,
H.M. 40th, three regiments N.I., and the following
Artillery ·

Major G. W. Gibson, Commanding

Lieutenant G. Hutt, Adjutant.

Bt.-Captain E. A. Farquharson, Commissary of Ordnance.

3rd Company 1st Battery, Captain W. Brett.

30 Fd. Bat.
R.A.

5th Company Golandáz.

Lieutenants Elliot D'Arcy Todd, Bengal, and Eldred Pottinger, Bombay Artillery, were (G G O, 1st October) appointed Political Assistants, the former also Military Secretary, to Mr. W. H. MacNaghten, Envoy and Minister

1838.
Novem ber.

It had been the Governor-General's wish that a Sikh force should co-operate with the other British troops it might be found necessary to send. But Ranjit Singh limited his co-operation within very narrow bounds. After the interview at Ferozepore it was arranged that the ex-King's eldest son, Timur Shah, should proceed with his father's family by the direct route through the Punjab and Khaibar Pass to Kabul. An escort, chiefly of newly-raised levies, was sent as a protection. Lieutenant W. Barr, of the 4th Troop 2nd Brigade, with forty of his men and two 24-pounder howitzers, was attached. Lieutenant R. Maule of the Artillery, Assistant to the Political Officer, Lieut.-Colonel Claude Wade, who commanded the whole, brought two 6-pounder guns. Two companies of Native Infantry, under Captains J. Ferris and C. Farmer, accompanied. Lieutenants R. Dowson and W. R. Hillersdon and some native officers commanded the miscellaneous levies. Besides these, which numbered some 4,700 men, there was a Sikh force of 6,100 men, under Colonel Shekh Basáwan, who in his younger days had been a gunner in our service.*

I.C., R.H.A.
Reduced 1882

The British troops assembled at Ferozepore in the end of November. On the 27th the Governor-General arrived. Ranjit Singh's camp was on the further side of the Sutlej River. On the 29th Lord Auckland received the Maharaja in public durbar, and on the 30th returned the visit. Two

December.

* He was a native of Patna, and served in the Artillery which went to Egypt in 1802. In 1812 he entered the Sikh service as an adjutant; served in the expedition against Multan by Ranjit Singh in 1819, when he was raised to the rank of Commandant, and was made Colonel in the Sikh Army in 1821. He was afterwards poisoned at Peshawar by a subordinate. For this information I am indebted to Mr. T. H. Thornton, formerly Secretary to Government of the Punjab.

1838.
December.

more days were spent in martial displays, and then, the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" having terminated, the army on its reduced footing commenced its march on the 10th.

Shah Shuja's contingent had already left Ludhiána, and was on the way to Bháwalpur. The army marched on successive days as follows :—

Dec. 10th — Headquarters ; Horse Artillery ; Cavalry.

Dec. 11th.—1st Infantry Brigade , Camel Battery.

Dec. 12th.—2nd Infantry Brigade.

Dec 13th.—3rd Infantry Brigade.

Dec 14th.—Artillery Park ; Commissariat Stores.

Each Column had its own supplies for immediate consumption, and there were two months' supply of grain in reserve at Ferozepore. Nevertheless, the want of forage along the left bank of the Sutlej and Indus told heavily on the cattle. The leading Column was not many days distant from Ferozepore when the horses of Shah Shuja's Cavalry had greatly fallen off in condition. Captain Timings' horses, being well looked after, were in good order. Some of the Irregular Cavalry fed theirs on moth, a coarse grain boiled with gur, the unrefined product of the sugarcane.* Letters from camp told of great losses by death, desertion, or theft among the camels. The animals stolen, it was said, were often sold the following day to the next Column, the process being sometimes repeated more than once, to the great profit of the owners and commissariat gomashas.

The great amount of baggage taken and the number of camp-followers increased the difficulties of the army, and were a temptation to theft. Dr. Kennedy says there were four times the quantity of stores necessary. Brigadier Arnold is said to have had sixty servants ; he certainly had a buggy, which survived its master and returned to India. Dr. Kennedy himself confesses to plated dishes, twelve servants, and four camel-men. He was, however, a Superintending Surgeon. By the time the army reached

* A diet that encourages flesh more than muscle.

Kandahár, the greater part of the baggage had passed through the sieve of fate, though even then it was excessive. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, had issued an order on the subject, but no limit was laid down and no measures were taken to enforce obedience to the spirit of the order.

1838.
December.

The Bombay Column landed at the Hajamri mouth of the Indus in November. As some opposition from the Amirs of Lower Sind was apprehended, Sir Willoughby Cotton moved down with part of his force to co-operate with Sir John Keane; but they submitted, and he returned from Khandiári to Rohri.

In the middle of the wide stream of the Indus, between Rohri on the left bank and Sukkur on the right, stood the fort of Bukkur, the cession of which was demanded from the Amirs, to be held during the campaign as a security for the communication, and this was finally given up on the 29th of January. But it was so uncertain that the garrison would admit our troops, that Captain Abbott was sent in one of the boats to blow open the gate should this be necessary. Captain Thomson, with Captain Sanders, began to throw a bridge of boats across just above the fort where it was only five hundred yards broad. This was finished on the 3rd of February, and the force commenced to pass over—Cavalry dismounted in single file; guns by hand; the heavier ordnance ferried over. All had crossed by the 18th.

1839
January.

February.

Sir John Keane arrived at Schwán the same day, and continued his advance along the right bank to Larkhána. The headquarters of the Bengal Column reached Shikarpur on the 20th. Shah Shuja held some reviews of his troops and presented colours to the regiments. The order published on this occasion said.—

January.

“Major-General Simpson cannot conclude this order without expressing the high opinion he entertains of Captain Timings and the Honourable Company’s 4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery under his command. The Major-General has not been

1839.
January.

unobservant of the orderly and soldierlike conduct of the native officers and men composing the troop. To Captain Timings and Lieutenant Hawkins he tenders his warmest approbation.—Camp, Shikarpore, February 27th, 1839 ”

March.

Captain Anderson's two troops of the Shah's Horse Artillery were on their way down. He had not been able in the time to procure the best horses, and the march of 766 miles from Meerut was a severe test. So when he reached Rohri on the 4th of March he had to halt. Second-Lieutenant E. Kaye had come with him, and went on to Shikarpur to join the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, to which he belonged.

From Shikarpur the line of the Bengal Column was directed through Kach Gandáva by Dhádar and the Bolán Pass to Quetta in the Shál Valley. The 2nd Brigade halted for a time. General Thackwell with the Cavalry and Captain Grant's Troop H A marched on the 23rd of February from Shikarpur. Shah Shuja, with his contingent previously in advance, now come on in rear. Along the south-east side of Kach Gandáva was a hard level plain separating it from Upper Sind. The rivers flowing towards the Indus disappeared when they came to its margin. No water, no vegetation beyond some patches of hardy tamarisk shrubs were to be seen there. It was called the Pat, or Rann. The distance across it from Rojhán to Barshori, $26\frac{1}{2}$ miles, had to be made in one march. The leading portions of our force crossed it without much difficulty, but those which had to do so in hotter weather, especially some small detachments, underwent extreme suffering and lost many lives* From Barshori to Dhádar six marches covered 79 miles. This was reached on the 10th. To Quetta the road lay for eight marches (86 miles) all but the last through the Bolán Pass. The hills on either side, formed of a coarse conglomerate overlaid with clay and pebbles, in some places closed to within a few feet of

* Sir Thomas Seaton gives a graphic account of this —“ From Cadet to Colonel.”

the road ; in others widened out into a valley intersected by a stream which after rain was a roaring torrent. The way, for road there was none, along this defile crossed and re-crossed the river. It was necessary to increase the teams frequently, and assist them with drag-ropes. The level of the Shál Valley is about 5,600 feet, or 4,800 above that of Dhádar. In the march from Ab-i-gum to Sir-i-Bolán the rise is 1 in 25 feet, so that the labour on the Artillery horses was considerable. The mornings were very cold. Major Cureton, 16th Lancers, with the advance party, was overtaken on the 15th of March by a snowstorm which caused much loss of animals and baggage. Forage was scanty and of bad quality. Karbí* was a poor substitute for grass : Captain Grant's Troop had made 73 marches—857 miles—on such fare

1839.
March.

Sir W. Cotton moved on to Quetta without waiting for the Bombay force to come up. The crops in the Shál Valley were still green, but delay would not have added much to the supply of forage. It was a clear gain to have crossed the desert while as yet the nights were cool, and to secure the formidable defile of the Bolán before the people whose land was being invaded had become awake to its value was imperatively necessary. As yet only bands of Biluch plunderers had hovered about, to carry off what they could. Two sergeants of Artillery went out shooting on the 3rd of April, and while in the act of giving a Kákar a pinch of snuff were suddenly surrounded and slain after killing several of their assailants.

The Bombay Column had been much crippled for want of carriage, and had to be assisted in this respect from the front. It had moved for the sake of forage and supplies of food from Larkhána on Gandáva. But the latter were so scarce they were nearly starving. Sir Alexander Burnes had gone to Kalát, the Khán of which place agreed to provide what he could. But Mahráb Khán could not

April,

* The stalk of bajra (*Holcus sorgum*) or joár (*H. spicatum*).

1839
April.

furnish much. This was afterwards made one of the pretexts for attacking him. Sir John Keane had gone on, and at Quetta on the 6th of April assumed the personal command. He determined to push on at once towards Kandahár. Major-General Nott, with part of the 2nd Brigade and Captain Pontardent's Field Battery, was left at Quetta ; the rest moved on

The order of march had varied according to the nature of the ground. In the Bolán Pass H.M. 13th L.I. led ; in more open ground the 16th Lancers. But Captain Grant's Troop and Captain Abbott's Camel Battery occupied the second and fourth places. The army left Quetta on the 7th of April, and entered the Kojak Pass on the 14th. The road here was steep and difficult, occasionally only wide enough to allow a carriage or camel to pass. Dragropes were again in requisition. But all got clear at last.* From the summit of the pass, 7,457 feet elevation, the hills behind which lay Kandahár were visible. Short as it was, the Kojak defile might have cost more than a day's fighting before it could have been won. From the rear came the intelligence that General Willshire had been attacked at the head of the Bolán Pass. The Kandahár chiefs were preparing to fight. But on the 20th of April Tej Muhamad Khán, chief of the Kákar tribe, came into camp and tendered his submission to Shah Shuja, with whom he had been before this in correspondence. He was better known as Háji Khán Kákar, and was notorious even among Afghans for treachery. His defection was a warning plainly read by the Kandahár Sirdars, and they fled. So Shah Shuja took the advance, and, attended by the Envoy, made his public entry into the chief city of Western Afghanistan on the 25th of April

The army was halted at Kandahár till the 27th of June. During that time, Colonel R. H. Sale, 13th Regi-

* One of Captain Grant's guns with its team rolled down the first descent into the pass, but without any serious injury to men or horses : a wheel smashed.—"Corresp. Gen. Abbott," p. 81.

ment, was despatched with a brigade in pursuit of the Sirdars in the direction of Girishk, some 75 miles to the west. But they had got across the Persian frontier, and the force returned.

From Kandahár a political mission to Herat was also sent. It left on the 21st of June and reached Herat on the 25th of July. As the three principal officers on this mission belonged to the Bengal Artillery, a brief sketch of it is given in Note D.

Major-General Willshire had joined with the Bombay Column while the army rested at Kandahár. As it marched away on the 27th of June, the old Lion of the Punjab was breathing his last at Lahore. The 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, Lieutenant Cooper's Troop, Shah's H.A., and the four 18-pounder guns under Lieutenant A. W. Hawkins were left there. Lieutenant Hawkins was transferred to the Shah's H.A. about this time. Captain Martin with the 3rd Troop Bombay H.A. took Captain Timings' place with the Shah's contingent.* Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, who had been doing duty with the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, rejoined the 4th of the 3rd.

Kalát-i-Ghilzai was reached on the 4th of July. There was an old fort, but in ruins, on a hill, soon after the scene of a gallant defence. The headquarters and first Column reached Mukúr on the 14th and halted a day. The second Column joined it at Ahmad Khel on the 19th, and General Willshire, with the third Column, joined the next day at Nání. It was reported that Sirdar Afzal Khan, Dost Muhamad's eldest son, was preparing to attack, but no enemy appeared.

On the 20th Lieut.-Colonel Wade, with the Sikh contingent, moved out of Peshawar to Jamrud at the entrance of the Khaibar Pass.

* The reason of this change is not clear. Captain Timings' horses were in very good condition, but being a Native Troop it was, one might think, better suited to the contingent.

* This is an error. The reason of this change is not clear. Captain Timings' horses were in very good condition, but being a Native Troop it was, one might think, better suited to the contingent.

1839.
July.

On the 21st the army moved on Ghazni, the Cavalry in column of troops right in front, on the right, the Artillery by the main road, and the Infantry in column of companies left in front, on the left. On approaching the town some skirmishing took place with the enemy, who were posted in the villages and gardens close to the fort. The 13th Light Infantry and Light Company of the Bengal European Regiment on the right, the 48th N.I. in the centre, and the 16th N.I. on the left, were pushed forward and dislodged them; the Horse Artillery and the Camel Battery opening upon them with shrapnel until they retired within the out-works.

Ere this, Sir John Keane had seen the mistake he had made in leaving his heavy ordnance behind. A reconnaissance was made by the Engineer officers, and it was decided to move round to the Kabul side. This was effected during the night. Abd-ul-Rashid Khan, a nephew of the Dost, had come over to us. From him we learned that all the gates had been built up inside except the Kabul gate. Sir John Keane had one resource left, that of blowing in this gate and attempting an assault, and this, on the advice of his Engineers, he resolved to try.

The arrangements were well-made and carefully carried out, in accordance with the orders of the 22nd. All the batteries were to be in position during the night of the 23rd, their right above the village on the hill north-east of the fortress, and their left among the gardens on the Kabul road. About three a.m. they were to open fire, and draw the attention of the enemy from the actual point of attack.

It was a gusty night. The Engineer party carrying the bags of powder under Captains Thomson and Peat, with Lieutenants Durand and MacLeod (Bengal), were followed by the advance stormers, under Colonel Dennie, H.M.'s 13th Regiment, the Light Companies of the 2nd, 17th, and Bengal Europeans, and one company of the 13th. The main body, under Brigadier Sale, were the rest of the 2nd,

13th, 17th, and Bengal Regiments, while Brigadier Roberts led the 35th, the 16th, and 48th N.I. as a reserve.

1839.
July.

The explosion was rather too successful, for Captain Thomson had, to guard against failure in the event of the gate having been built up, partially or altogether, inside, applied a heavier charge * than the mere woodwork required, and it "not only destroyed the gate, but brought down a considerable portion of the roof of the square building in which it was placed." The bugle sounded the advance, Dennie, at the head of his men, rushed through the smoke and dust over the ruins, and were soon inside, engaged with those of the garrison who had hurried to the spot. Captain Peat had been thrown to the ground, stunned by the concussion. Sale pressing on, heard from him, unconscious of Dennie's success, that the entrance was blocked up, and for a few minutes they were halted, till another Engineer officer † reported that the advance party had got in, when they pressed on, but in that brief time the number of the defenders had rapidly increased. In the struggle on the ruined masonry Sale was wounded in the face by a cut from a sabre, but, aided by Captain Kershaw of the 13th, as he was engaged on the ground with his opponent, mastered and slew the Afghan. Soon the colours of that regiment (the first planted on the ramparts by Ensign Frere) were seen flying in the breeze, and Ghazni was won.

The casualties were comparatively small, amounting for the 21st and 23rd to 18 killed, 172 wounded, and one missing.

* So said Captain Peat, who assisted in the necessary calculations, but without inferring any blame, for he added in his report that it is impossible, even now, to say how much the charge might have been reduced with safety. But in truth, as gateways of Oriental forts were commonly constructed, a charge of 100 lbs would be very likely to bring down some masonry as well as woodwork, especially if the upper portion of the buildings on either side rested at all on the cross-beams forming the roof described by Captain Peat, and it would seem that the charge was more than the 120 lbs assigned as the limit by Colonel Pasley.

† Colonel Dennie gives his name, Captain Thomson.—"Pers. Narr.," p. 77.

1839.
July.

of them the 3rd Troop Bombay H.A. had two men wounded. The names of Brigadier Stevenson, Captains Coghlan and Backhouse were honourably mentioned in Sir John Keane's despatch

The army resumed its march on the 30th. Lieutenant G. P. Sealy, with the Bombay Company of Golandáz, and a small detail of the Shah's H.A., was left in charge of the captured ordnance. Lieutenant G. A. Pruen (2nd Co. 2nd Batt.), who was ill, was also left behind. Both these officers rejoined their battery when it passed through again in September

August

Dost Muhamad had intended making a stand at Maidán, but the treachery of his followers prevented him, and he fled across the hills towards Bamián. His guns were found in position, abandoned, near Arghandi, west of the city of Kabul, before which the army encamped on the 6th of August

A party of Cavalry, under Captain J. Outram, had been sent in pursuit of the Dost. Twelve officers, all dashing riders and bold men, volunteered for this service, and were sent. They were Captains J. B. Backhouse, Artillery; F. Wheler and G. St. P. Lawience, 2nd Bengal Cavalry; J. Christie (Shah's service) and R. S. Trevor, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, G. K. Erskine (Poonah Horse), 1st Bombay Cavalry; Tayler, ~~1st Engineer~~ Regiment, Colin Troup, 48th Bengal N.I.; Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, ~~1st~~ European Regiment, Hogg, 2nd Bombay N.I.; W. H. Ryves, 61st Bengal N.I., and Assistant-Surgeon Worrall.

But along with them the noted Háji Khán Kákar was sent. This man was now in correspondence with the Dost, as he formerly had been with Shah Shuja, and, by interposing obstacles and delay the whole way, so effectually hindered Outram's progress that the Dost had crossed the frontier while he was yet thirty miles distant. So he had to return. It was as well, perhaps. Had he been brought back a prisoner some harsh treatment might have been added to the injustice of deposing him. Sir W. MacNaghten

would not have written to Mr. Robertson* the remarkable confession that he was the unoffending victim of our policy, and Lord Auckland might not have had the opportunity of receiving him, not as a captive rebel, but with the courtesy due to a prince.†

1839,
August.

After the army had reached the capital, the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, which had been left at Kandahár in June, marched up to headquarters in August. Captain Timings' health had been failing, and Lieutenant Mackenzie was in virtual command.

On the 3rd, Lieut.-Colonel Wade, with the Shahzáda Timur, arrived at Kabul. The opposition met with was not serious. Lieutenant Barr, in a pleasantly-written book, described the events of the march. On the 17th a grand durbar was held, at which certain officers were invested by Shah Shuja with the insignia of an order newly-created by him—that of the Duráni Empire, or, as it was called, the Darr-i-Duráni.‡ The following Artillery officers received the decoration —

September.

Brigadier T. Stevenson, Bombay	}	2nd Class.
Major E. D'A. Todd, Bengal		
Lieut.-Colonel P. L. Pew, Bengal	..	
Major Eldred Pottinger, Bombay	..	
Captain A. Abbott, Bengal	...	} 3rd Class
Captain W. Anderson, Bengal	..	
Captain H. Garbett, Bengal	...	
Captain J. Abbott, Bengal	...	
Lieutenant R. C. Shakespear, Bengal	..	

The time had now arrived when, according to the original intention of the Governor-General, the troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan. But it was plain to the Envoy and everyone else that on our withdrawal the King we had set up would fall, and the fall proclaim

* "Kaye," I., p. 568, note

† It is plain from Kaye's account, which only repeats all others, that the sympathies of British officers were on the side of Dost Muhammad.

‡ "Pearl of the Duráni."

1839.
September. our failure. Lord Auckland decided, therefore, that a brigade of Bengal troops must remain, Sir John Keane returning with the rest through the Punjab, and that General Willshire was to take the Bombay troops back by the southern route; one Bengal company of Artillery, the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion, proceeding to Sukkur.

October. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., 16th Lancers, 3rd Light Cavalry, 3rd Local Horse, and the N.I. which had come with Colonel Wade, went by Peshawar. The first Column left Kabul on the 15th of October passed through the Khaibar defile without opposition, and got to Peshawar on the 7th of November. The second Column had some attacks in the pass to repel, especially on the rear guard and baggage, but all were got through with comparatively little loss. On the 2nd of January, 1840, Sir J. Keane having crossed the Sutlej, published a general order at Ferozepore, breaking up that portion of the army of the Indus.

Major-General Willshire with the Bombay Column left Kabul the 18th of September. He took, after passing Ghazni, the more direct route to Quetta, about 85 miles less than that by Kandahár. His orders were to move upon Kalát, the chief of which the Sind politicals had declared guilty of treachery, on very doubtful evidence*. On reaching Quetta, it was found necessary to reduce the force for this service owing to the want of carriage and supplies there, as well as forage on the road. Most of the Horse Artillery, Captain Pontardent's Mule Battery, and the Cavalry marched by Gandáva, while the General, with two guns of the 3rd Troop (Lieutenants Forster, H. Creed, and Woosnam), four of the Shah's H.A. (Lieutenant G. L. Cooper), the Engineers, two risálas Local Horse, the

* He had not been proved guilty of any overt act of hostility; the worst that was said was that he had thrown difficulties in the way of our obtaining supplies. So the attack on our part in defiance of national rights went far to justify Akbar Khán's bitter remark that we had taught every chief to lie and cheat by our example (Bust, p. 252)

Queen's Royals, 17th Regiment, and 31st Bengal N.I. took the direct route to Kalát.

1839.
September,
November.

As General Willshire drew near, it was seen that three heights on the north-west face of the town were held by the enemy with five guns. Captain Peat, reconnoitring, reported that it was necessary to carry these first. Major Pennycuick, 17th Regiment, with two companies took the gardens and enclosures on the north-east face; two companies acted as supports and maintained connection with the main attack by three columns on the heights. Brigadier Stevenson, moving on rapidly to the front, opened an effective fire which compelled the enemy to retire, leaving their guns. Lieutenant H. Forster commanded the two guns of his Troop; Lieutenants Cooper and Creed each two of the Shah's. The two former next took up a position on the heights, firing on the defences of the city; while Lieutenant Creed moved round on the left to within two hundred yards of it. A few rounds opened a passage, through which Major Pennycuick and his men effected an entrance. The citadel was next carried, and the chief fell fighting to the last—a victim to our policy of injustice.

The only casualties in the Artillery in this business were two privates and one gun lascar of the Shah's wounded. The thanks of the General in his despatch were given to the Brigadier, Lieutenants Forster and Cooper, and Captain Coghlan, Lieutenants Woosnam and Creed were also recorded for approbation.

From thence the force proceeded southward on its way to Bombay, having accomplished the last act that marked the invasion of Afghanistan.

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APPENDIX.

- A. Names of Officers, Bengal Artillery.
- B. Names of Officers, Bombay Artillery.
- C. Equipment of Bombay Batteries.
- D. Major Todd’s Mission to Herat

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan from December, 1838, till December, 1839.

Major Bt.-Lt.-Col. Captain	Peter L. Pew Henry Timings ..	4th Batt. 4-3 H.	Commanding Died at Kabul, September 12th, 1839
„	Augustus Abbott	2-6	
„	Charles Grant ...	2-2 H.	
„	Hubert Garbett *	4-2	
„	Edward F. Day	Comy. Ord	
„	William Anderson	Shah's II A	
„	Julius B. Backhouse †	Bde Major	
Bt.-Captain	James Abbott ..	4-2	Political Attached to Herat Mission
„	Francis K. Duncan	2 2 II	
„	Elliott D'Arcy Todd		Political—Mily. Secy. to Envoy
(Major in Persia) Lieutenant	John Anderson .	2-2 H.	
„	Geo Hall MacGregor		Political—Asst. to Envoy
„	George L. Cooper	Shah's II A	
„	Richmond C. Shakespear	4-6	
„	Robert Walker	4-2	
„	Murray Mackenzie	4 3 II	Did duty with 2-2 H.A. till the army reached Kandahár, when he re- joined his Troop *
„	Michael Dawes .	2-6	
„	William Barr .	4-2 H.	
„	Frank Turner	Shah's II.A	
2nd-Lieutenant	Robert Warburton	{ 2-6 † Shah's H A.	
„	Alexander W Hawkins	{ 4-3 II. † Shah's II.A.	
„	Edward Kaye ‡ . . .	2-2 II.	
„	Charles A. Greene	{ 4-2 2 2 H. Shah's II.A	
Asst.-Surgeon	G Rae	S S. H.A.	

* Appointed to the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A, *vice* Timings.

† Appointed at Kabul to raise a mountain battery for the Shah's service, for which purpose he returned to India with the troops under Sir J. Keane.

‡ Was attached to 4-3 H.A. at Shikarpur.

NOTE B.

Names of Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in Afghanistan from December, 1838, till December, 1839.

Lieut -Colonel	Thomas Stevenson		Brigadier Commanding
Captain	John Lloyd	2nd Co 2nd Batt	
"	James H M. Martin	3rd Troop H A	
"	Francis J Pontardent	1st Co 2nd Batt	
"	William M Coghlan		Brigade Major
"	Thos. E Cotgrave	4th Troop H A	
Bt.-Captain	Richard Warden		Commissary of Ordnance
Lieutenant	Henry Forster	3rd Troop H A	
"	Wilham A St Clair	4th Troop H A	
"	Robert C Wormald	4th Troop H A	
"	John Jacob	1st Co 2nd Batt	
"	Henry Creed	2nd Co 2nd Batt	
"	Thomas Gaisford	2nd Co 2nd Batt	
"	James B Woosnam		Aide-de Camp to Brig. Stevenson
"	George A. Pruen	2nd Co, 2nd Batt	
2nd Lieutenant	Edward J Baynes	1st Co 2nd Batt.	Died at Quetta August 1839, of Cholera
"	George P Sealy	2nd Co 2nd Batt	
"	T. G. McDonell	1st Co. 2nd Batt	
"	Arnold B Kemball	3rd Troop H A	

IN UPPER SIND

Major G W. Gibson
Captain W Brett

Bt.-Captain E. A. Farquharson
Lieutenant G Hutt

NOTE C

The equipment of the Bombay batteries, notwithstanding the efforts made in 1836 to assimilate all such details in the three Presidencies, differed from ours. As in Bengal till now, each troop had four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder howitzers. But Captain Lloyd's battery had no guns, only 24-pounder howitzers. The late Major-General G. P. Sealy, who gave me a good deal of information relative to the Bombay Artillery in Afghanistan,

did not know how long this had been the case, or why it was so * Captain Lloyd had only just replaced bullocks with horses, which were not received by him till he was starting for Afghanistan They had to be broken in as they went along †

Captain Pontardent's battery had mule draft. Sir Charles Colville, the Commander-in-Chief, had suggested the employment of this animal for Horse Artillery wagons, and some were imported from Persia about 1823 Five years after that, they were turned over to the Foot Artillery, and in 1836 there was in addition to the four troops of Horse Artillery only one organised field battery of four guns drawn by mules, and stationed in Kutch

The Board of Artillery Officers convened in Calcutta in 1836 to consider the assimilation of battery equipments throughout India, recommended horse draft for all field batteries, but there were none supplied till the outbreak of the Afghan War Captain Pontardent's battery had before that been supplied with the number of mules laid down by the committee as necessary, viz., teams of eight for both guns and wagons, two for two staff-sergeants and two for the buglers, and twelve spare Total 112.

NOTE D

MAJOR LODD'S MISSION TO HERAT

Major Lodd had been employed in Persia since 1833, instructing the artillerymen of the Shah, who conferred upon him the Order of the Lion and the Sun At the time of the siege of Herat, he was acting as Secretary of Legation to Mr McNeill, who deputed him to wait upon the Governor General of India at Simla Thence he was appointed Military Secretary to Mr MacNaghten, Envoy with the army of the Indus

From Kandahar, Mr MacNaghten deputed him to Herat, to negotiate a treaty with its ruler, Shah Kamran. Captain James Abbott † was his assistant Captain L Sanders, Bengal Engineers, with Lieutenants R C Shakespear, Bengal Artillery, and C F North, Bombay Engineers, and thirty sappers accompanied them, as also Drs. Logan and Ritchie The mission arrived at Herat on the 25th of July, 1839

One of its objects was to stop, as far as possible, the cruel traffic in slaves carried on by all the central Asia tribes, in which

* As a 9-pounder gun with limber, stores, and ammunition weighed a little over thirty-four cwt, and a 24-pounder howitzer thirty-six, weight could not have been taken into account

† Major-General G P Sealy and Major T Gaisford.

‡ Todd was junior in the regiment to Brevet-Captain Abbott, but had the local rank of Major in Persia and Afghanistan, and the latter was only then appointed to political employ.

every Khan participated, none worse in this respect than Yar Muhamad, Minister of Herat, the Khan of Khiva, and the Turkoman tribe towards the Caspian Sea

During the protracted stay of the Mission at Herat, General Peroffski was sent from Orenburg towards Khiva with a force to compel the release of some hundreds of Russian captives detained in slavery there. But his cattle perished from the severity of the weather, the snow lay five feet thick, and he had to retreat in the early part of 1840. Colonel Stoddart, who had been on the Persian Legation with Todd, was at Bukhára, but unable to communicate with his countrymen.

Major Todd, therefore, selected Captain Abbott to proceed to Khiva to negotiate for the release of the Russian captives. This officer, if possessed of the romantic cast of mind attributed to him by Kaye, had an intrepid soul, and a high sense of duty that would face any danger, and yet not be swayed too much by the natural kindness of his disposition. The task, therefore, was a congenial one

When Captain Abbott left Herat for Khiva in December, 1839, General Peroffski was advancing on it, and the Khán Hazrat still professed willingness to accept British friendship. After the Russian force fell back, one motive in that direction disappeared. The underhand intrigues of Yar Muhamad while he accepted British gold, were steadily directed to foil the efforts and influence of our political officers. They contributed to keep Colonel Stoddart in a dungeon at Bukhára, and followed Abbott on his perilous journey

Finding that the Governor of Orenburg had stopped all communication between Khiva and the Russian Emperor, Captain Abbott, at the Khan's entreaty, undertook to visit the Russian Court, bearing the Khan's offer to search out and liberate all Russians enslaved in Khánism. The Chief of the Chaodúr Turkomans was sent as his guide with orders to escort him to Novo Alexandroff, called by the Turkomans Dasht Kulla, or the Stone Fort. But he, at the instance of Yar Muhamad it was believed, on reaching a part of the Caspian Sea where no boats were to be had, refused to go on to Alexandroff, higher up, and left him, and at his instigation a party of Kazáks attacked Abbott on the 22nd of April. The latter escaped indeed with life, by a providential combination of circumstances, but with a severely mutilated right hand. For eighteen days he and his servants were prisoners in the Kazák tents till the Akhunzáda, who had followed from Khiva, arrived with an escort, released and conducted him to Novo Alexandroff, whence he went to Russia and afterwards to England.

Five months subsequently, Lieutenant R. Shakespear left Herat to complete what Abbott had prepared the way for, and was the



F. Gray Todd

By permission of the Artist Charles Grant

[To face page 28.]

means of delivering the wretched captives. For this he was knighted on reaching England. The honour was well deserved, but Abbott should not have gone unrewarded.

Meanwhile, Major Todd was maintaining his post at Herat under the greatest difficulties. Shah Kamrán had for some time been receiving annually large sums from the Indian Government, but the treachery and insolence of Yar Muhamad became more and more unbearable. Dost Muhamad was in India, his sons as yet had not acquired a leading influence in Afghanistan, but the intrigues of the Herat Minister kept alive a spirit of resistance to us. Todd knew all this, so did our Envoy at Kabul, so did the Governor-General at Calcutta. There were proofs that Yar Muhamad was plotting the destruction of the Mission, and an attack on the British garrison at Kandahár. The subsidy to Shah Kamrán was stopped. Yar Muhamad demanded its payment and a large additional sum, but was refused, and this brought matters to a climax. Major Todd was told he must either pay the money or leave Herat. He chose the latter alternative as the only one consistent with the honour of the Government he represented, broke up his camp, left Herat, and returned to Kandahár.

But Lord Auckland judged differently, and with a hasty injustice foreign to his nature, begotten perhaps of a feeling that his policy in Afghanistan was all a mistake, he repudiated Major Todd's act, and removed him from political employment. So he went back to his regiment, but deeply as he felt the blow to his public reputation and his prospects, his strict sense of duty and upright Christian character, shone as brightly in the routine of battery duty as it had done in the important and more difficult position of Political Officer.

CHAPTER II

AFGHAN WAR—OCCUPATION, 1840-1841.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTILLERY—Operations in Biluchistan—Defence of Kahan—Death of Brigadier Stevenson—Action at Pirschatta—Kabul—Site for Cantonment—Pashut Taken—Expedition to Bamián—March of 4th Troop 3rd Brigade over the Passes under Lieutenant M. Mackenzie—Captain Garbett joins—Operations in the Valley—Return to Kabul and India of the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade—Salc's Operations in Kohistan—1st Troop 1st Brigade and Mountain Battery come from India—Kandahar—Nott's Operations—Tazi—Disturbed state of Biluchistán—Movements of Artillery—Attack on Sibi—Lieutenant Creed Killed—Operations in Zamindawar—Kabul—Zurmit Expedition—Distribution of Artillery—Sale goes to wards Jalálabad—Outbreak at Kabul—Murder of Burnes and Broadfoot—Of Maule—Envoy Negotiates—Preparations for Retreat—Lavozy Murdered by Akbar Khan—Retreat and Destruction of Kabul Force—Artillery Regimental Order—Eyre's Letter—Noble behaviour of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade—Its Devotion and Glorious end

1839
October

WHEN Sir John Keane returned to India, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton was left in chief command in Afghanistan, with his headquarters at Kabul. Portions of the northern force were on detached duty at and about Jalálabad, in the Bamián Valley and at Ghazni.

Major-General Nott commanded at Kandahár, with the troops at Quetta under him.

Brigadier T. Stevenson, of the Bombay Artillery, commanded in Upper Sind, with his headquarters at Sukkur. The communication with the Punjab was not yet closed; that by Sind was open.

The Artillery were at first stationed as follows.—

At Kabul.—Half of No. 6 Field Battery * under Lieutenant Dawes.

* Camels had been found very unsuitable for the ground they had to work over, and Captain Abbott had got leave in August, after the capture of Ghazni, to replace them with horses, for which harness had been brought. The change was made without loss of time, and the Kabul horses, though small, were so capable of work and so soon

° 1840. detachment was attacked by numbers of Marri people and destroyed, when only a few miles on their way. Captain Brown's position with his small force was very perilous, but he and Lieutenant Erskine held the post gallantly. In August. August Major Clibborn, 1st N.I., was sent to reinforce him with a detachment of 464 Infantry, 200 Cavalry, and three field howitzers under Captain H. Stamford, encumbered, however, with a convoy of 1,200 camels and 600 bullocks. Close to Káhan the road went over the Nafusk Hills about 3,000 feet high. A formidable ascent led up to the top of the pass. When Major Billamore had been here in the January before, Lieutenant J. Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, accomplished the difficult task of making a road over this and the Sartof Pass, otherwise it would have been impracticable. But now the tribes had collected to bar the way, the terrible heat was intensified by the want of water as they went up the hill; and Major Clibborn, after losing 179 killed and 92 wounded and spiking his guns, had to retire to Puláji. Captain Brown subsequently concluded a treaty with the Biluch chief and marched with his men unmolested to Puláji on the 1st of October.

Brigadier Stevenson had died at Sukkur on the 9th of August, and Major-General G. B. Brookes was commanding in Upper Sind. Hearing that Nasír Khán, the young son of the late Khán of Kalát, had collected a large force at Kotra, about seven miles south-west of Gandáva, Colonel Marshall was sent against him. He found a force at Pirchatta, attacked and defeated them with loss. Lieutenant Pruett, commanding two guns and a detail 5th Company of Golandáz, was honourably mentioned. December 1st

1839. It will be more convenient now to detail the operations immediately under the officer commanding at Kabul.

Some of the chiefs had nominally given in their adhesion to Shah Shuja, but Dost Muhamad was hovering about, and the country was unsettled. As winter approached it was necessary to assign quarters to the troops. At first

they were placed in the Bálá Hissár, which Lieutenants Durand and Sturt held was the only defensible spot. But the Bálá Hissár belonged to the King; our stay was to be but brief. Shah Shuja would not hear of this being continued, so we yielded to him and the Envoy, and fixed upon a spot to the north of the Kabul River, where an extensive parallelogram was marked out for a cantonment; as a defensive post it was quite unsuitable, not so much from the weakness of the ramparts, for stout hearts behind weak walls will not fear, but it was on low ground commanded on every side, had no flanking defence, and the city itself was a bar to its communication with Ghazni on the south and the Punjab on the east.

1839.

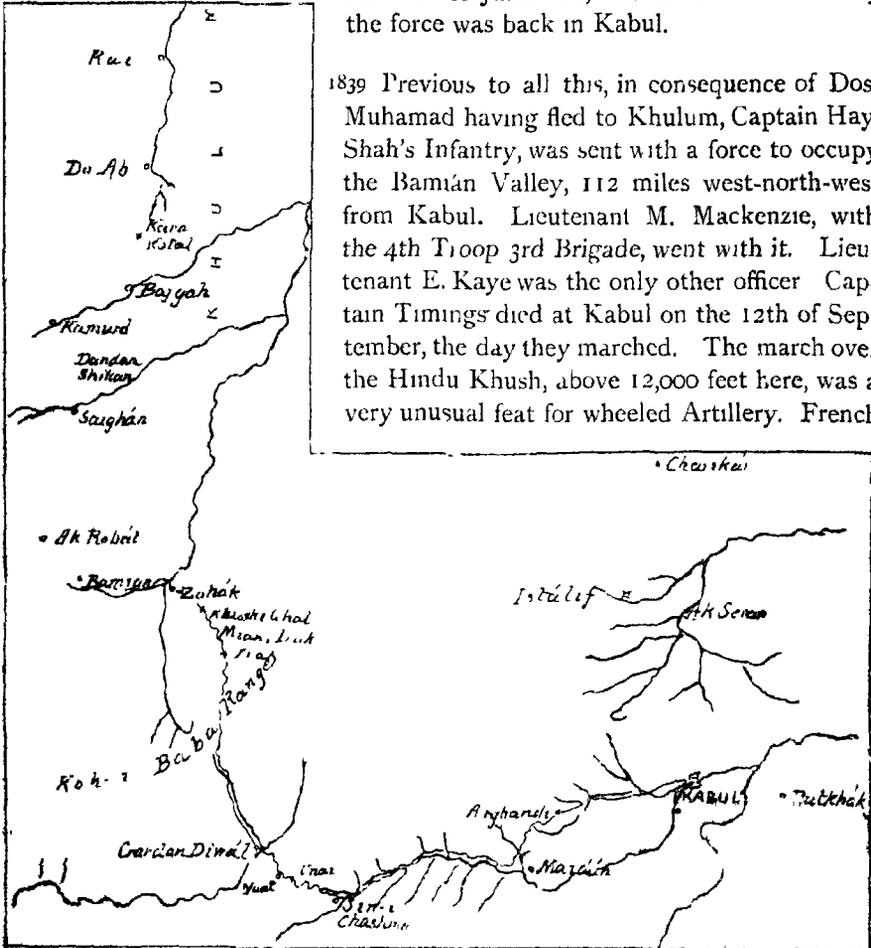
Immediately after the return of Lieutenant Dawes from Ghazni, Captain Abbott's Battery marched, on the 2nd of November, for Jalálabád as part of an escort with Shah Shuja. They only reached that place on the 12th of December. Next month half the battery formed part of a force under Lieut.-Colonel Orchard, C B, 1st Bengal European Regiment, sent to the Kunar Valley, the chief of which was refractory. The town of Pashút, about forty miles in a direct line north-east of Jalálabád, was reached on the 16th of January. About 400 yards from Pashút stood a fort with a rampart 18 feet high and 10 feet thick at base, with an outer wall at a distance of 10 feet. Such a work could not be breached with field pieces. They demolished the outer gate, however, but a traverse hid the inner one from sight. It had been raining since morning. Lieutenant Pigou took up some bags of country powder to blow open the inner gate, which was of massive construction, but the powder, absorbing additional moisture from the clouds, would not ignite. A second attempt was made with all the powder Captain Abbott could spare, which he advised should be taken up in barrels. The weight, 133 lbs., was thought too great, and it was taken up in two baskets. One did not reach the gate, the other failed, and the

1840
January.

January 18th

attempt was not renewed, but the garrison evacuated the fort that afternoon.

After remaining some time longer in the valley, Colonel Orchard returned to Jalálabád, and on the 10th of May the force was back in Kabul.



1839 Previous to all this, in consequence of Dost Muhamad having fled to Khulum, Captain Hay, Shah's Infantry, was sent with a force to occupy the Bamian Valley, 112 miles west-north-west from Kabul. Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, with the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, went with it. Lieutenant E. Kaye was the only other officer. Captain Timings died at Kabul on the 12th of September, the day they marched. The march over the Hindu Khush, above 12,000 feet here, was a very unusual feat for wheeled Artillery. French

troops had done the like before, but not with Hindustani soldiers.

The difficulties commenced at Arghandi, about 18 miles from Kabul. After surmounting a steep and rugged pass, they were

met by an exploring party under Lieut.-Colonel Salter of the Cavalry, Captain Thomson and Lieutenant Sturt of the Engineers, who reported the ranges beyond impossible for guns, and said they would recommend their recall Mackenzie, however, went on. The descent from the summit of the first range, somewhat less rough, led into a beautiful valley, through which flowed the Kabul River. The guns were taken along this, ascending to Sir-i-Chashma, the source of the river, as its name signifies. Beyond this, the Koh-i-Bába range separated the Bamián from the Kabul Valley. The Unai Pass (about 11,400 feet) was reached, and the cold was intense. After considerable difficulty, and two days' hard work, the troop encamped on the 21st on the plateau of Yuat, a small mud fort.

1839.

September.

Here, in consequence of Major Thomson's report, orders to halt were received. The horses, three guns and their ammunition-wagons were to be sent back, the remaining three to be transported to Bamián on elephants. This was a great disappointment. So much had already been accomplished, the Artillery officers thought the rest might be achieved. Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, of the Shah's Gurkha Regiment,* and M. Mackenzie went on to examine the Irák, the highest pass to be crossed. They reported there was no difficulty which might not be overcome with a little labour. On this, Captain Hay asked for permission to take on the whole troop, and while they waited for a reply from Kabul, Broadfoot collected some Hazáras, and went forward to improve the road, while the troop, for convenience of forage, went on down to Gardán Díwál, on the River Helmand. The permission to proceed was received on the 30th. Three difficult marches brought them to the foot of the Irák Pass.

October.

Then commenced a longer and steeper ascent. The guns, limbers, and wagons were dragged up separately, the Infantry and about 200 Hazáras assisting; and after a hard day's work the troop was safely encamped at the

October 3rd.

* Belonged to the 1st European Regiment

1839. north-west foot of the mountain. The snow of the preceding winter here lay still on the ground.
- October 4th. Next day they got through a defile enclosed by steep rocks, keeping it in almost perpetual gloom. Even now the sun's rays only reached the small brook flowing northward for four hours of the day. Then, after many interruptions from dangerous ledges of rock, down a rapid descent to Miáni Irák, where the glen opened out into a small valley with some cultivation and a few inhabitants, many of whom lived in caves.
- October 5th. The Khuski ghát was yet to be passed. It was of insignificant height compared with the others, but of greater difficulty, and the march occupied 17 hours. The night was passed in a narrow defile, a mere fissure in the mountain.
- October 6th. Crossed the last ridge and encamped at Zohák, where the first snow fell. Next day the troop marched to Bamián, where it was destined to remain for a year and a day. The gunners, being natives of India, were unaccustomed to the cold temperature, but all worked well. The horses were not very much the worse for the scarcity of forage, which lasted till summer crops appeared. *The carriages had stood the rough work well, and were favourably reported upon by Lieutenant Mackenzie, to whom, as well as to Lieutenant Kaye, the greatest credit is due for the manner in which the difficulties they encountered were overcome without any accident to either men, horses, or matériel.*
- The Bamián Valley is a small one, only about 14 miles from Zohák to Surakh-darra (red gate), and from half a mile to less than a hundred yards broad. Three forts, sufficiently contiguous for mutual defence, were selected as winter quarters. They were afterwards connected by field-works.
- November. On the 2nd of November a small force was sent to Saighán, 37 miles north of Bamián. Two rivals were contending for the mastery of this valley. Gholám Beg,

son of the Khulúm chief, was besieging the fort of Sar-i-Sang for the claimant who was in the interest of the Dost. Dr. Lord, the Political Agent, wished to surprise him, and Lieutenant Mackenzie with 65 of his troopers acting as Cavalry, a small party of Christie's Horse, and Lieutenant Broadfoot with 120 of the Shah's Gurkhas mounted on ponies, were sent. The Cavalry out-marched the mounted Infantry, and the Usbegs, caught at their morning meal, fled without a fight. Trifling as the affair was, it led to important results. Dost Muhamad fled from Khulúm to Bukhára, where the Amír made a prisoner of him.

1839.
November.

Captain H. Garbett had been posted to the native troop *vice* Timings, and joined it in the beginning of March. He travelled alone from Kandahár, the country being peaceful, and had performed the hundred miles from Arghandi on foot, as the mountains were deeply covered with snow. As senior, he assumed command of the Bamián force. On the 14th he, with two guns under Mackenzie, and four companies of Infantry under Captain Hay, went against some Hazáras who had become defiant. They occupied the fort of Fuládi, six miles from Bamián, and a neighbouring hill. The gate of the fort was forced by round-shot at 30 paces, and after a severe but short resistance the place was taken. A gunner of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, a laboratory man, killed while trailing one of the guns, and a trooper wounded were the only Artillery casualties.

1840.
March.

In May a further advance was made by the Political Agent towards Khulúm, and the fort of Bálgáh in the Kamurd Valley was occupied. It was a wrong move Sir W. MacNaghten, the Envoy, did not object, for he did not see that we were everywhere occupying more ground than we had men to hold—a common mistake. It roused the jealousy of tribes hitherto generally quiet, and when the Dost escaped from confinement at Bukhára, things became unsettled and hostilities gradually thickened around.

May.

1840.
August.

Captain Hay's position at Bájgáh was unsafe. Hearing that Lieutenant Golding was coming with a reinforcement, he sent, on the 1st of August, a party under a sergeant, Douglas by name, to meet him, but this small force was attacked by greatly superior numbers and compelled to retire with severe loss. Only good management and the coolness of the leader saved them from destruction. This encouraged the insurgents, and Bájgáh was attacked on the 30th, but they were driven off. It was, however, thought better to withdraw from the place. They got as far as Sar-i-Sang, which was made over to a friendly chief, and the party returned to Bamián.

September.

To meet the Dost and his ally, the Wali of Khulúm, Brigadier W. H. Dennie, C B, had been ordered to Bamián with the 35th N I. On the 18th he moved out with a part of his force, having heard that they had passed the defile of Surakh-darra, six miles distant. He found them in possession of the forts before the defile, and in greater numbers than was anticipated, but attacked with a promptitude for which they were unprepared. The Gurkhas dislodged them from the heights on either flank, while Lieutenant Mackenzie, with a gun and howitzer, went in for the main body. His practice, the Brigadier reports, was beautiful. The success was complete. The enemy fled, pursued by the Cavalry for some distance.

A larger force, with four of Captain Garbett's guns, was sent on, but the Dost, refusing to submit, fled to Nijrao. The Wali entered into a treaty, and the objects of the expedition to Bamián were considered to have been fulfilled.

Altogether, the service performed by the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade reflected the highest credit on its officers and the regiment. The name of Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, till his career was closed in the eventful year of 1857, was thenceforth honourably known in the regiment, particularly in the Horse Artillery, in which he served, almost uninterruptedly, for more than twenty years.

On the 8th of October, 1840, the troop returned to Kabul with the rest of the force under Brigadier Dennie. Three months later it accompanied Colonel Wheeler's Column, escorting Dost Muhamad, to India, and arrived at Ferozepore February 5th, 1841.

1840.
September.

While the movements of the Dost were keeping the country in a state of ebullition, Major-General Sir R. Sale was sent into the Kohistán, north of Kabul, with three regiments of Infantry and details of Cavalry. Captain Abbott, with three guns and a howitzer, and two of the Shah's H.A. under Lieutenant Warburton, accompanied it

Sept. 24th

The fort of Tutandarra was taken on the 29th of September with but little loss, which the Major-General ascribed to "the excellent practice of the Artillery under the able direction of Captain Abbott, assisted by Lieutenants Maule* and Warburton"

The fort of Julgáh was attacked on the 3rd of next month. Here the resistance was more serious. The storming party had to be withdrawn under cover, and while preparations for a second attack were being made, the place was evacuated. Captain Abbott and Lieutenant Warburton were again mentioned with approbation. A gunner of the Field Battery was killed, and a subadar of the Horse Artillery wounded. The other two guns of the battery joined it this month.

October.

For some days there was no fighting of importance, but on the 27th the Dost began to move from the Nijrao country towards Kabul. On the 29th Sale advanced from Bagh-i-Alam, and, after reconnoitring, met the Dost at Parwán-darra. The misconduct of the squadron of the 2nd Light Cavalry, which refused to follow their officers in a charge, might have caused disaster. Only the advanced guard of our force was engaged. After the flight of our men, the enemy's Cavalry, though headed by the

Nov. 2nd.

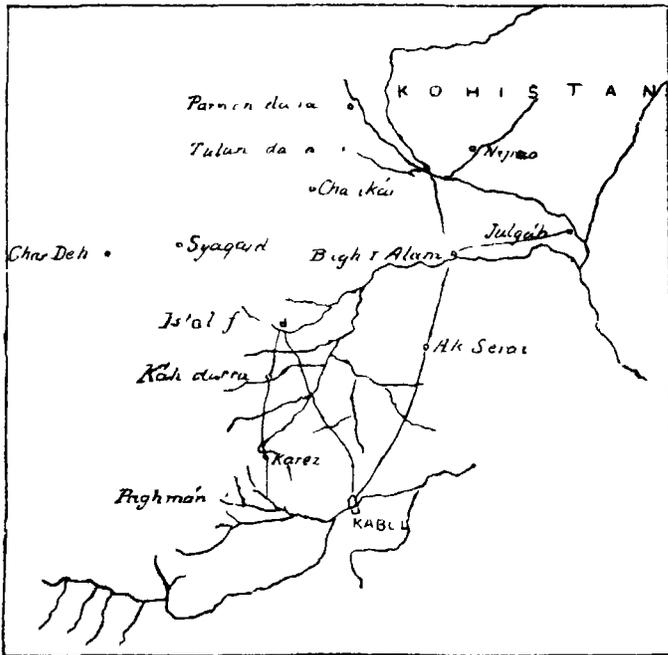
* Lieutenant Maule was in command of a regiment of Infantry raised in the Kohistán, but on this occasion served with the Field Battery.

1840.
Nov. 2nd.

Dost, did not come down upon the Infantry. Sale sent two companies round to the right, while Lieutenant Dawes with two guns covered an attack by three companies on a steep hill to the left, which was crowded by the foe. It was carried, and the enemy retired towards Chárikár. Lieutenants Rind, who commanded this attack, and Dawes were honourably mentioned in the dispatch. Next day, Dost Muhamad Khan had surrendered himself to Sir W. MacNaghten under the walls of Kabul

Nov. 3rd.

General Sale's force was now recalled, leaving detachments in Kohistán. Lieutenant Maule with his Kohis-



tani Regiment was stationed at Chárikár. Captain Abbott's battery, H.M. 13th and the 37th N.I., were sent to occupy the new cantonment. A Brigade under Lieut.-Colonel John Shelton, H.M. 44th, was on its way from India to relieve part of the Afghan garrison: H.M. 44th, the 54th

N.I., and 5th Light Cavalry. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. (F., R.H.A.) and a Mountain Train Battery, which Captain Backhouse had gone back to raise,* manned by natives, completed the force. Major-General W. H. Elphinstone, C.B., was coming from Meerut to relieve Sir W. Cotton. Lieutenant V. Eyre appointed Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance at Kabul also. Ranjit Singh was dead. His son, Karak Singh, and grandson, Nonehál Singh, who would have been more troublesome to us, were dead. The Máhárája Sher Singh had no real power. The Prime Minister, Dhían Singh, had his own ambitious designs in view, and had he attained to the control of the Sikh ráj, would perhaps, like his brother Guláb Singh, have considered that his best interests were near to those of the power across the Sutlej, if only he could get the great Sirdárs to forget the meanness of his origin. So the road through the Punjab was more open, much as the Khalsa soldiery resented our using it.

1840.
Nov 3rd.

Major-General Elphinstone arrived in Kabul on the 1st of April and assumed command. Brigadier Shelton had got as far as Jalálábád, when the Brigade was ordered to return to Jamrud by forced marches on account of reported hostilities on the part of the Sikhs, but was not required, and went on again. Captain Nicholl's horses were reduced in condition by the constant marching and being kept in rear of the Infantry. There were also some unimportant operations in February in the Nazian Valley.

1841.

* When Captain Backhouse returned to India to form his Mountain Train Battery, the details of the materiel and equipment of their pieces were pretty much as they had been at the time of the Nipal War. Captain Backhouse had served in Spain under Sir de Lacy Evans, and used the experience he had there gained. He remodelled both in many respects, replacing cheek by beam-trails; the shafts of the limber were altered; the saddles of his own design, and the ammunition-boxes adapted for the mules of the country. He had considerable mechanical aptitude and judgment, Colonel C. Douglas says, and he was a good judge of such matters. Captain Abbott's 9-pounder guns were of 10 cwt., a weight introduced at his suggestion, and his carriages were stronger than the old pattern ones, which he found too weak, and not too heavy for his Kabul horses.

1840 Reverting now to Major-General Nott's proceedings in his command, we find the Ghilzai people between Kandahár and Kabul again troublesome in April, 1840. Captains T. Walker and A. W. Tayler had been sent to keep the road open, each with 100 mounted men. But this force not being strong enough, Nott sent for Captain Anderson (Shah's H A) to ask him if he could march the following morning with a regiment of foot, 300 horsemen, and four guns. He replied that the Artillery were always ready; so next morning the detachment was under arms, Captain Woodburn with the 5th Regiment S S I being sent. Following the course of the Tarnak River, he met Walker and Tayler at Naorat. He had sent back part of his Cavalry under a mistaken idea that the enemy were weak in that arm. Two days after he came up with the Ghilzai force posted on some hills near Tazi, about 2,500 men. The action was well contested. The Ghilzais charged twice. The first charge was repulsed by Lieutenant Turner's guns—the second at the point of the bayonet by Lieutenant Spence and the Grenadiers of the 5th Regiment. Captains Walker and Tayler had been detached to the flanks, and fell upon them as they retreated. The success would have been more complete had Anderson been stronger in Cavalry, but it had the desired result of keeping the tribes quiet for a time.

May 6th

May 14th.

Colonel Wallace was sent on the 22nd of May from Kabul to co-operate. He had with him half of Abbott's Battery and two mortars, which remained a short time at Ghazni under Nott's orders, and then returned to Kabul.

The whole of Upper Sind was becoming disturbed, and Biluchistán also. The garrison of Quetta was strengthened in May by the 1st Troop Shah's H A. under Lieutenant Cooper from Kandahár. Some Biluch people were establishing themselves in Kalát, so Major-General Nott, moving down, arrived on the 2nd of November, and reoccupied the place. He left Lieut.-Colonel L. R. Stacy with the 43rd Ben-

gal N.I. to hold it, and returned to Kandahái. Lieutenant Walker, with a detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion and two 18-pounder guns, accompanied this force. Lieutenant Cooper, who had gone on to Kalát, was again left at Quetta, where he remained till the following February. The 4th Troop Bombay H A had left that station on the 27th of September for Upper Sind. The 3rd Company 1st Battalion was also there

1840.

35 Fd. Batt.
R.A.N-A. R.H.A.
Reduced 1884.
30 Fd. Batt.
R.A.

The 1st Troop went to Bágh on the 14th of January, 1841. It formed part of a force under Colonel Wilson of the Cavalry sent against Sibi, a fort a few miles north-east of Dhádar, now a station on the line of railway to Quetta. The attack seems to have been a very unjustifiable one.* Colonel Wilson was badly wounded early in the affair. Captain Leslie with his guns were in position at 200 yards for half an hour, and then at 100 yards. The storming party was badly supported and received a check. Lieutenant Richard Creed, with 20 dismounted Horse Artillerymen, volunteered to head and lead on again the stormers. He was shot through the head in the gateway,† five of his men were killed, and several wounded. Again they were not supported, and the attack failed. Captain Blood was wounded. The fort was, however, evacuated.

1841.

Feb. 20th.

Soon after, H.M. 40th, the 38th Bengal, and 25th Bombay N.I. were moved up to Quetta.

West of Kandahár the Duráni tribe in Zamindáwar had become very troublesome, and General Nott sent Colonel Farrington with a detachment against them in the end of the year. Lieutenant Hawkins, with two guns of the 1st Troop S.S.H.A. They marched by Khushki-ná-khud, crossed the River Helmand, and occupied the fort of Girishk. Moving on from thence, the enemy were found on

1840.

December.

1841.

January.

* Buist, p. 231-2

† Lieutenants Richard and Henry Creed, Adjutants respectively of the 2nd and 1st Battalions Bombay Artillery, were both good officers. They were twin brothers, born March 27th, 1812; entered Addiscombe at the age of 14, and were commissioned at 16. The surviving brother went home on leave this month.

1841.
January. the 3rd posted among sandhills near Landi-náwa, a canal in their rear. After a well-contested action they were routed with considerable loss. Lieutenant Hawkins was thanked for his services on this occasion.
- February. Next month Captain Anderson, with the rest of his guns, was ordered up from Quetta.
- April. In April, Captains Griffin and Macan, with the 1st and 2nd Shah's Infantry and some of Christie's Horse, were sent to occupy Kalát-i-Ghilzai, and put it in a defensible state. Their proceedings roused the Tokhi Ghilzais, who surrounded their position. Lieut.-Colonel Wymer was sent with 400 of the 38th Bengal N.I., the rest of Christie's Horse, and two guns under Hawkins. The Ghilzai people attacked their camp at Asia Elmi in great force at 5 p.m. They renewed their attacks till long after dark, and after a severe struggle retreated. Colonel Wymer in his despatch says :—
- May

“Too much cannot be said of the scientific and destructive manner in which the Artillery practice was conducted by Lieutenant Hawkins, which created awful havoc in the ranks of the enemy, to the admiration of all present ”

- A month after, Akhtar Khan having invested Girisk, Captain Woodburn was sent with the 5th S.S.I., some Jánbáz Horse, and a detail* of the 1st Troop S.S.H.A. under Lieutenant Cooper. The enemy held the fords of the River Helmand in great force. Captain Hart with the Cavalry crossed to cover a similar movement on the part of the Infantry, but the water was too deep, and Woodburn moved up to Zamboli to join him. He, seeing the difficulty, had recrossed. But Akhtar had forded still higher up, and was coming down on their right, so Woodburn had to form front to that flank.
- July 3rd.
July 4th

The guns were in the centre of the Infantry, the Cavalry on either flank. The enemy assailed his left first, but the

* Two guns by one account, four by another. If the former, Lieutenant Cooper was reinforced by two more when Captain Griffin joined in August.

well-directed fire of the guns and three companies on that wing repulsed the attack. The manœuvre was repeated on the right, where there were five companies, with a like result. Again, on the right and rear the Jánbáz, more from treachery than cowardice, would not act, and got into confusion, hampering the rest.

1841
July.

“This was a most trying moment. The Cavalry were broken, and nothing now remained to depend on save the guns and Infantry. The enemy . . . continued to advance till within a few yards of the guns, when a discharge of grape and a volley from the Grenadiers staggered, another completely broke, and a third sent them to the right about, retiring by the left. They were again exposed to a heavy fire . . . It was now eleven o'clock . . . when day broke . . . the plain was strewed with dead.” *

The affair was a most creditable one to the Artillery and Infantry. Captain Woodburn, in his dispatch of the 5th, says :—

“Lieutenant Cooper deserves my best acknowledgments for the rapidity and admirable manner in which he brought his guns to play upon the enemy. . . . His guns are never in difficulties. . . .

“It is also my duty to bring most prominently to the Major-General's notice the admirable conduct of the Artillery and 5th Infantry throughout the night of the 3rd inst, and to state my conviction that no troops could have displayed greater coolness and bravery than they did on every occasion. They moved from one position to another, not only without confusion, but with nearly as much precision and regularity as if they had been going through an ordinary parade.” †

This force being too small to accomplish its object, Captain J. Griffin, 24th B.N.I., was sent out. His force, including Captain Woodburn, consisted of 800 sabres, 350 bayonets, and four guns. He met the enemy at Kháwind

* Extract of a letter from an officer engaged. “Asiat. Journ.,” Vol. XXXVI., *Intell.*, p. 183. The word “guns” should be in the singular; the Grenadier Company and one gun were faced about to meet the attack on the rear.—*Vide* Dispatch.

† Government Notification, Secret Department, Fort Wilham, 9th August, 1841.

1841. and signally defeated them. Lieutenant Cooper was again
 August 17th. mentioned. Artillery casualty, one man wounded.
- September Next month, Lieut-Colonel Wymer took another force
 into the Derawat and Tírín Valleys, north of Kandahár.
 There were four guns S S H.A. and two 18-pounders, with a
 detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion present, but they
 had no fighting.
- Sept. 28th. From Kabul, in the same month, a force under Lieut.-
 Colonel Oliver was sent into the Zurmat Valley, south of
 the capital. Captain Abbott commanded the Artillery,
 with two divisions of his battery, the Mountain Train, and
 two iron 9-pounder guns. They returned without coming
 in contact with any enemy
- December. The Artillery in Afghanistan now were thus distri-
 buted.—
- F., R.H.A. Kabul.—1st Troop 1st Bde. H.A., 2nd Co 6th Batt
 Mountain Train.
- 35 Fd. Batt. Kalát-i-Ghilzai.—Half 4th Co 2nd Batt
- T., R.H.A. Kandahár—1st and 2nd Troops S.S.H.A., half 4th Co.
- 30 Fd Batt 2nd Batt., four guns 3rd Co 1st Batt. Bo Arty.
- R.A.
- 13 Co. S Div. Quetta.—3rd Co 2nd Batt.
- Major-General Sale was under orders to return to India
 with his Brigade, H.M. 13th, 35th and 37th N.I., and the
 2nd Co. 6th Batt. And from Kandahár the 16th, 42nd,
 and 43rd N.I., with the 4th Co. 2nd Batt, were under
 orders to return to Bengal, *via* Sind. General Sale was
 sent in October to clear the passes towards Jalálabád,
 which the tribes, owing to the cessation of the payments
 hitherto made to them, had closed. His movements
 belong to the next chapter.
- On the 2nd of November the storm, long gathering,
 burst, and the first English blood that was shed was that
 of Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother, and Lieutenant
 William Broadfoot, whose surviving brother was with
 Sale's force.
- It is useless going over all the well-known miserable

story. The same fatal mistake repeated at Cawnpore 16 years after, of neglecting to occupy with the troops, their armament and stores, the only defensible position available, and thence meeting the insurrection with prompt and vigorous measures, prepared the way for disaster. Our position in the country politically was hopelessly bad, in a military sense it was not much better. The defective position of the cantonment has been referred to (p. 27), but the fault of placing the commissariat stores in a weak, detached fort, out of range of cantonment command, made it more than unsafe. But worse than all, indecision in the military authorities and its certain consequence, panic in the ranks, when the opposite qualities were most needed, completed our defeat. Yet amid all, the conduct of regimental officers and of individuals threw an honourable light over the dark history, and it will always be told with pride of our regiment that in the days of England's deepest humiliation, the Bengal Horse Artillery maintained, as they did, the proud traditions of their arm, and the honour of their country. It will only be necessary, before concluding this chapter, to add the regimental order and Lieutenant Eyre's letter, which tells the story.

The outbreak at Kabul was the signal for a general uprising throughout Afghanistan. Lieutenant Maule, commanding the Kohistani levy, was at Káhdarra. He and his Adjutant were murdered by their men, Major Eldred Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton, both wounded, made their way into Kabul. Ghazni and Kalát-i-Ghílzai were invested. After the disastrous action of Behmaru on the 23rd of November it ceased to be a question of defence. Sir W. MacNaghten commenced to negotiate. Muhamad Akbar Khan had just arrived. The Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Maclaren, which Nott was to have sent from Kandahár, was not heard of. It was known on the 10th of December that it was not likely to make good its way. The Envoy had an interview with Akbar Khan and the other chiefs on the 11th, and preparations for the retreat

1841.

No ember.

1841.
November.

began. The magazine and other forts were given up on the 16th. While waiting for the Afghan chiefs to provide provisions and carriage, snow began to fall. Another conference took place on the 23rd, and the Envoy was shot by Akbar Khan. Major Pottinger took his place, and unwillingly completed whatever terms the Afghan chief imposed. Hostages were made over ; all our guns save six were delivered up.

1842
January.

On the 6th of January the army commenced its retreat. The snow laid deep on the ground and the cold was intense. Savage Gházi fanatics reaped an easy harvest with the sword. The mountain train guns next day were lost, in spite of all that Lieutenant Greene could do with his men to save them, but he spiked them all. More hostages were demanded and given up. By the end of the second day the entrance of the Khurd Kabul Pass had been reached ; only ten miles from Kabul

January 9th

Next day the slaughter in the pass was fearful. Pottinger was with the Afghan chief, who now proposed that all the ladies and children should be given up. It was done. There was no choice left. Next day Dr. Alexander Bryce, of the Horse Artillery, was killed at Tazín. Fifty Horse Artillerymen, about 250 of the 44th and 150 Cavalry troopers were all that now remained. Jezails and Afghan knives each mile were rapidly thinning the numbers. Brigadier Shelton bravely led the remains of his regiment, to which discipline and courage had returned. Jagdallak was reached on the afternoon of the 11th. In that defile the following day Brigadier Anquetil and eleven other officers fell—among them Captain Nicholl and Lieutenant Greene, but the exact spot or time is not known. But few left for Gandamak on the 13th. Captain Souter, of the 44th, with the regimental colours round his waist, and three or four privates were taken prisoners. Charles Stewart, last of the Artillery, fell. Only six officers passed the defile, and but one of them, Assistant-Surgeon Brydon, alone of the entire force reached Jalálabád.

" ARTILLERY REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

1841.

" 10th March, 1843.

" The total absence of official details on the subject has hitherto prevented the Commandant from noticing the conduct of the late 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. during the insurrection at, and disastrous retreat from, Cabul. He now publishes extracts from a letter received yesterday from Lieutenant V Eyre, late Commissary of Ordnance, as a public record of the high state of discipline and determined bravery exhibited by this gallant and devoted Troop on all occasions.

" It will always be a subject of sincere gratification to reflect on the noble manner in which they sustained the character of the corps under the severest trials, and in a climate that multiplied a hundredfold the difficulties with which they had to contend, whilst their fate in the unequal struggle demands the deepest sympathy.

" Extracts of a letter to Captain Buckle, A.A.G.A. :—

" It is necessary to premise that at the commencement of the rebellion on the 2nd November, 1841, a portion of General Elphinstone's force was sent to occupy the Bala Hissar, and the remainder was concentrated in the cantonment. To the former, Captain Nicholl and Lieutenant Stewart were attached with four guns, and to the latter Brevet-Captain Waller with two guns. On the 9th of November, Captain Nicholl, by order of the General, strengthened Captain Waller's detachment by a single gun. . . .

" The first active service performed in the field by the Horse Artillery was on the afternoon of the 3rd of November, when a sally was made under Major Swayne, 5th N.I., and a body of the enemy was defeated principally by the fire of the guns. On this occasion Captain Waller was severely wounded, and from that date up to the 22nd of November, when I was myself disabled, the virtual command of the H.A. detachment in cantonments devolved upon me. During this period several severe actions took place with the enemy, in all of which our arms were more or less successful. . . . Two great actions were fought on the 10th and 13th, against the collective force of the enemy, amounting on each occasion to several thousands of Horse and Foot, in which our side was completely triumphant, and two of their guns were captured.*

November.

* Lieutenant Eyre does not say that on the second of these two occasions it was the conduct of Anderson's Horse, supported by the

1841.
November

“Provisions, of which there had been from the beginning an alarming scarcity, soon began entirely to fail; the cold of winter set in with unusual vigour, the defence of our long line of low ramparts grievously harassed the troops, the guns placed in battery at the several angles of the cantonment required the constant attendance of the Artillerymen by day and night.

“The gunners from first to last never once partook of a full meal, or obtained their natural rest; of the hardships undergone it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea

“During the whole of this most trying period, the behaviour of the Horse Artillerymen was distinguished by a degree of patience, cheerfulness, zeal, and fortitude that excited the unbounded admiration of every eye-witness, and filled the heart of every Artillery officer with pride and delight”

“On the 23rd of November, Brigadier Shelton sallied forth with about 700 bayonets and one gun, which (there being no Artillery officer available) was commanded by Sergeant Mulhall.* An immense army of Afghans poured forth to battle, and a terrible conflict ensued. Sergeant Mulhall and his brave gun's crew committed great havoc amid the dense masses of the enemy, exhibiting a very high degree of professional skill, but their efforts, though partially successful, were ineffectual to repel the overwhelming hosts of assailants. Galled by the fatal fire of Afghan rifles, the Infantry lost heart and fled, abandoning our gun to its fate. Staunch to the last, the Artillerymen stood by their charge† until they were nearly all exterminated, Sergeant Mulhall himself escaping by a miracle, with his clothes perforated with bullets in divers places.

“In the public report of this day's operations, Brigadier Shelton did ample justice to the Artillery Sergeant and his devoted little detachment, but the document has, I fear, been lost

On the 14th of December, a treaty having been entered into,

guns (one H A and one of the M.T.) which saved the day, and turned actual rout into something like success, with two guns, one captured, the other spiked, to show for it. See the account in Kaye.

* Staff-Sergeant

† The gun was lost and again recaptured. Captain Johnson thus gives his testimony “As before, the Artillerymen were the last to leave, and it was a glorious sight to see these brave men dashing down the steep descent at the most furious rate in the midst of thousands of the enemy's Cavalry, regardless of everything but the safety of their gun” Brigadier Shelton's conduct on this occasion showed that if pluck alone in the leader could have availed, the day would have ended differently. It should be also borne in mind that the smooth-bore musket was quite ineffectual at a range where the Afghan jezail was still deadly. Captain Abbott saw a horse killed at 600 yards by a matchlock ball (“Journal,” p 100). Brown Bess did not carry much more than half that.

our troops were withdrawn from the Bala Hissár, and Captain Nicholl, on arriving in cantonments, requested me to send in a report of the conduct of his men, which I did, but that also was subsequently lost on the retreat.

1841
November.

“That the Horse Artillery sustained their high fame to the last is well known. On the retreat of the army from Cabul, owing to the starved condition of the horses, which disabled them from pulling the guns through the deep snow and rugged mountain passes, the guns were, one by one, spiked and abandoned. In the Khoord Cabul Pass a whole gun's crew perished rather than desert their charge, and on nearing Jugdulluk, some Horse Artillerymen, headed by Captain Nicholl, acting as Dragoons, charged and routed a party of the enemy's Cavalry

“Throughout the last struggle, up to Gundamuk, all eye-witnesses concur in testifying to their stubborn valour

“They died like true soldiers, selling their lives dearly

“Only three men escaped with life, being taken prisoners. Two others, who were left behind with the detachment of wounded at Cabul, also survived.’

“The above order to be read at a parade of each Troop and Company in the Regiment”

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CHAPTER.

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Military Consultations in India Office, and information
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APPENDIX.

A. Officers of Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanis-
 tan 1840-41.

B. Officers of Bombay Artillery who served in Afghan-
 istan 1840-41.

C. Inscription on Column, Dum Dum.

D. Glossary of names.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan, during the years 1840-41.

Major	Frederick S Sotheby		Comdg. Arty with Gen Nott
Captain	Thomas Nicholl	.. 1st Troop 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat.
"	Augustus Abbott ...	2nd Co 6th Batt.	
"	Hubert Garbett	4th Troop 3rd Bde	
"	William Anderson	...	Comdg. Shah Shuja's H A.
"	Julius B Backhouse		Comdg. Mtn. Train
"	James Abbott		Pol. Emp.—Wounded
Bt.-Captain	Elliot D'A. Todd		Pol Emp.—Remanded to Regtl duty
"	George H Macgregor		Pol. Emp.
"	Robert Waller	.. 1st Troop 1st Bde	
Lieutenant	Frederick W. Cornish	3rd Co 2nd Batt	
"	George L. Cooper	1st Troop S S. H. A.	
"	Richmond C. Shakespear	..	P. Emp.—Went home through Russia.
"	Robert Walker	.. 4th Co 2nd Bat	
"	Richard Maule ...		Comdg Regt. of Kohistanis, killed at Kahdara, 15 Nov., 1841
"	Vincent Eyre	..	Comy. of Ord, Kabul
"	Murray Mackenzie	.. 4th Troop 3rd Bde	
"	Charles Stewart	.. 1st Troop 1st Bde	Killed in retreat
"	Michael Dawes ...	.. 2nd Co. 6th Batt	
"	Frank Turner	.. 2nd Troop S S H A	
"	Robert Warburton	..	Pol. Emp.
"	Alexander W. Hawkins	.. 1st Troop 1st Bde.	With Shah Shuja's H.A.
"	Edward Kaye ...	.. 4th Troop 3rd Bde.	
"	Charles A. Greene	.. Mount Train	Killed in retreat.
"	Thomas Brougham	.. 3rd Co 2nd Batt.	
"	Alexander Robertson ...	.. 4th Co 6th Batt	
Asst.-Surg.	Alexander Bryce, M.D. ..	.. 1st Troop 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat.
"	Edward Hare ...	.. 2nd Co. 6th Batt.	
"	Herbert Koe ...	.. 3rd Co 2nd Batt.	
"	George Rae ...	.. S S. H A	
"	Andrew Paton ...	.. 2nd Co. 6th Batt.	

NOTE B.

Names of Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in Sind and Afghanistan during the years 1840-41.

Lieut.-Col.	Thos Stevenson, C B		Brigadier comdg. in Sind. Died 9th Aug, 1840, at Sukkur. Comdg. Arty in Sind
Bt.-Major	John Lloyd		
Captain	John S Leeson	4th Troop	
"	John T. Leslie	1st Troop	
"	Francis J Pontardent	3rd Co 1st Batt.	
"	Thos. E. Cotgrave	{ 3rd Co 1st Batt. }	On sick leave, 14th Dec, 1841.
"	Henry Stamford	{ 3rd Co Gol }	Comy. Ordnance, Bombay, 'n Sind 26th Dec., 1840.
"	Wm T Whithe	2nd Co. 2nd Batt	
"	John Grant		Comy Ord, Sukkur
Bt.-Captain	Clements Blood	{ 1st Troop }	G O., Sept. 15th, 1841
"	Richard Warden	{ 3rd Co. 1st Batt }	Comy. Ordnance.
"	George Hutt	"	Brigade-Major Arty.
Lieutenant	Wm A St Clair	4th Troop	
"	Henry Giberne	{ 5th Co Gol }	Doing duty from Rev. Survey.
"	Eldred Pottinger, C B.	{ 3rd Co 1st Batt }	Political Employ
"	John Jacob	1st Troop	Doing duty from Rev. Survey, after in comm Sind Horse.
"	Richard Creed	2nd Batt.	Adjt — Killed at Sibi, 20th Feb., 1841.
"	Henry Creed	1st Batt	Adjt — On leave from Feb., 1841
"	Thos. Gaisford		On leave from 5th Nov, 1840
"	Edward S Blake	Det. Gol	Upper Sind.—Adjt. Comy. Ordnance to Dec., 1840.
"	George A. Pruen		At Sukkur.
"	David Erskine	Det. Gol.	Upper Sind.
"	George P. Sealy	Det Gol.	Commissariat Kotra, June, 1841.
"	Walter S Terry	4th Troop	Attached to 1st Troop, G.O., 15th Sept, 1841.
2nd-Lieut.	Reginald B. Brett	4th Troop	
Asst.-Surg.	A. H. Leith	1st Troop	To Political Agency.
"	J. Cramond	4th Troop	
"	R. T. C. Baxter	1st Troop	vice Leith.

NOTE C.

INSCRIPTION ON THE COLUMN ERECTED AT DUM DUM.

On the West Face of Pedestal.

To the Memory of Captain THOMAS NICHOLL, Lieut CHARLES STEWART, Sergeant M MULHALL
And the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery,

Who fell in the performance of their duty during the insurrection at and retreat from Cabul
In the months of November and December 1841, and January, 1842, on which occasion of
Unprecedented trial, officers and men upheld in the most noble manner the character of the
Regiment to which they belonged. This gallant band formed the oldest Troop in the Bengal
Artillery, it had previously been distinguished on numerous occasions, having served
In Egypt, the Mahratta and Nepal Wars, and in Ava

Also to the Memory of the undermentioned officers of the Artillery

Lieut CHARLES ALEXANDER GREENE,

Who perished in command of a detail of Shah Shooja's Mountain Train and whose
gallant conduct emulated that of his comrades

Lieutenant RICHARD MAULE

Who was killed on the outbreak of the insurrection in Nov., 1841

And Lieut ALEXANDER CHRISTIE,

Killed in the Khyber Pass on the return of the victorious army under the command of
Major-General Sir GEORGE POLLOCK G.C.B., of the Bengal Artillery

This Column is erected by the Regiment as a tribute of admiration, regard, and regret
Fortis cadere non cedere potest.

1844

On the North Face of Pedestal.

NAMES OF THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN

SERGEANTS.	ROUGH-RIDERS	J. King	P. Murray
J. Mosely	T. Smith	W. Turnock	R. Moore
E. Cole	T. Biles	F. Bunk	T. Lythgoe
J. Ashton	FARRIERS.	T. Monks	W. Parsby
J. Cook	T. Colley	J. Farley	G. Warvell
C. Buckley	W. Carter	W. Paul	E. Croker
J. Connolly	TRUMPETERS.	A. Alger	T. Molony
CORPORALS.	J. Howard	W. Meally	M. McDonnell
L. Sweetman	J. McEvoy	W. Jones	E. McCarthy
W. Dixon	W. Sudders	J. Ashton	T. Finn
R. Edmonds	GUNNERS	A. Glynn	M. Ryan
W. Wicks	M. Frasher	E. Short	M. O'Brien
J. O'Donnohoe	J. Jones	M. Delany	G. Phillips
R. Alley	J. Daly	R. Howarth	M. Coen
BOMBARDIERS.	A. Easton	Jno. Reilly	W. Browne
T. Townley	J. Ahern	Jas. Reilly	J. Jackson
L. Tool	A. Strammers	M. Reynolds	M. Brien
A. Thompson	J. Ellis	D. Walsh	R. Adams
J. Macnamara	C. Darkin	J. Walsh	J. Birch
T. Jarman	J. Goulding	P. MacNamara	J. Byard
J. Black	T. Egan	J. Cook	J. Glendon
E. Allen	H. May	J. Higgins	J. Flaherty
A. Bruce	J. Styles	P. Dunn	T. Mack
T. Kennington	M. Conlan	J. Dunn	R. Byrchell
W. Blease	F. Maher	H. Desmond	J. Southcombe
C. Colson	W. Donaghue	P. McPhillips	

NOTE D.

The following translations of words which enter into the composition of names of places in Afghanistan will be found of use :—

- Asia, a mill.
- Char-asia, four mills.
- Bárik-áb, narrow water , a slender stream.
- Beg, little
- Deh, properly Dih, a vilage
- Dar, Darra, a door.
- Haft, seven.
- Hazar, a thousand
- Karez, a watercourse , subterranean canal.
- Khel, a tribe, or subdivision of one.
- Khurd, little.
- Kotal, a defile.
- Land (Landi, diminutive), short.
- Ribát, inn , serai.
- Safed Sang, white rock.
- Siyah Sang, black rock.
- Surkh-áb, red stream

CHAPTER III.

AFGHAN WAR—EVACUATION—1842.

KANDAHÁR—Colonel Maclaren ordered towards Kabul—Returns—Insurgents Attacked—Distribution of Artillery—Nott crosses the Arghandáb—Kandahar Attacked—Wymer defeats Insurgents at Baba Wali—Ghazni Capitulates—General England's repulse at Haikalzai—Retires—Advances again to Kandahar—Defence of Kalat i-Ghilzai—Orders to Evacuate—England marches by Quetta—Nott by Kabul—Ghazni dismantled.

JALÁLABÁD.—Sale leaves Kabul for Jalalabad—Forces the Passes—News of Outbreak—Occupies Jalalabád—Dr Brydon brings news of the Destruction of the Kabul Force—Earthquake Destroys Defences—Akbar Khan Invests the Place—Is attacked and obliged to Retire—Colonel Dennie Killed—Distinction conferred on "the Jalálabad Battery"—Arrival of General Pollock.

POLLOCK'S RELIEVING FORCE.—Brigadier Wild sent to Peshawar with Four Native Regiments—Fails to force the Khaibar—Assembly of Force under General Pollock—His Judgment and Energy—Order of March—Passage of the Khaibar—Reaches Jalalabad—Indecision of Government—Colonel Bolton's Detachment Joins—Monteath operates in the Shinwari Valley—Advance—Action at Mamu Khel—Jagdallak—Tazin—Encamps at Kabul—Rescue of Prisoners.

EVACUATION—Khurd Kabul—Seh Baba—Jagdallak—Jalálabád—Khaibar—Lieutenants Christie and Terry Killed—Ferozepore—Feasts and Medals.

AT the commencement of November, three of the Bengal Regiments (16th, 42nd, and 43rd N.I.) were about to return under command of Lieut.-Colonel Maclaren to India, and had marched from Kandahár on the 7th. News the same day arrived that Captain Woodburn, with a detachment proceeding to Kabul, had been attacked by large numbers of Afghans and entirely destroyed. The well-known character of this officer showed the event to be one of ominous import. Maclaren's force was recalled. A few days later letters from Kabul ordered it to be sent up at once, the insurrection having broken out there. It marched on the 17th, with one of the Shah's troops H.A., but General Nott's evident unwillingness to execute this order,

1841

December.

and the loss of some of his cattle, furnished its commander with an excuse for halting two marches beyond Kalát-i-Ghilzai, and he returned to Kandahár on the 8th. Nott did not know how dire the extremity was at Kabul, and it is not certain that the counter-march was not in the end a saving of life

In addition to the regiments before mentioned, the Kandahár force consisted of H M's 40th and the 38th N.I. Regiments, 1st Shah's Cavalry, a squadron Skinner's Horse, 1st, 2nd, and 5th Shah's Infantry, two troops Shah's H.A., and four 9-pounders of Captain Blood's battery, with two 18-pounder guns and a detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion Bengal Artillery. The 1st Jánbáz Horse, always shaky, mutinied and murdered their officer, Lieutenant Golding, outside Kandahár, and deserted to Atta Muhammad, chief of the rebels. Saádar Jang, the Shah's son, also fled and joined him.

1842

January.

The insurgent chiefs now moved down the Arghandáb, and on the 12th were within five miles of Kandahár, when Nott attacked and dispersed them with small loss. H.M. 40th, the 2nd, 16th, 38th, and half the 42nd N.I., Captain Anderson's two Troops H A, and Captain Blood with his four guns were engaged. One European and one native gunner were wounded

The distribution of the Artillery below Kandahár at this time was as follows :—

Quetta.—Two 9-pounder guns, 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bombay, 3rd Company 2nd Battalion Bengal.—Major F. S. Sotheby, Commanding —

Dhádar.—Two 6-pounder guns, detail Golandáz, Bombay

Sibi —One 6-pounder gun, detail Golandáz.

N., R. H. A.

Shikarpur —Two 6-pounders 4th Troop Bombay H.A.

Sukkur.—Three 6 pounders, detail Golandáz.

And Captain Leslie, with the 1st Troop Bombay H.A., was moving up to Quetta.

The city of Kandahár was occupied by our troops. The

insurgents had been for some time gathering strength, so Nott, on March 7th, went out with his main force, leaving the 2nd B.N.I. and two and a half regiments of the Shah's Infantry, and the detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion Artillery to guard the town. He followed them as they retired across the Tarnak River, and then across the Arghand-áb. His guns opened fire upon them on the 9th, but they dispersed, and now being nearer to the city, they recrossed the river higher up, and while Nott was yet ignorant of their design, they attacked Kandahár furiously. Major Lane commanded, and had Captain H. C. Rawlinson to aid him. The number of the enemy, the swarms of fanatic Gházis intoxicated with bhang, made the attack a very serious one. But for the steadiness of the garrison, and the well-directed fire of the guns, they might have forced an entrance through the Herat gate, which they had fired and destroyed. From eight p.m. till midnight of the 10th the fight raged, and while the garrison suffered no loss beyond that of the grain bags piled up inside the burning gate, that of the assailants was variously estimated at 600 men or more. Nott came back in haste.

1847.

Lieut.-Colonel G. P. Wymer was again sent out on the 25th against the Duráni insurgents, taking with him Turner's Troop. He met at Bába Wali, on the Arghand-áb, a large body of Horse, who charged his Infantry vigorously, but the fire of the guns prevented them from inflicting much loss. Colonel Wymer mentions "the admirable practice of the Artillery under Lieutenant Turner's guidance; every shot from which told with beautiful effect upon the dense masses of the enemy."

March.

On the 31st of March a letter from Kalát-i-Ghilzai announced to Nott that the garrison at Ghazni had capitulated. It was too true. Lieut.-Colonel Palmer with the 27th B.N.I. held it. The city had been invested since the 20th of November. On the retirement of Maclaren's Brigade the enemy collected in increased numbers and undermined the walls, within which they were admitted by

1842.
March.

the inhabitants, and the garrison were compelled to withdraw into the citadel. The Sepoys could not endure the cold, which at one time fell 14 degrees below zero. Throughout February Colonel Palmer held on, but on the 6th of March he marched out. The Governor-General announced his intention of submitting him to trial by a court-martial, which was subsequently held, but he was acquitted of blame. It is possible that he might have held out longer, but he had no Artillery, and was heavily handicapped in consequence. Kalát-i-Ghilzai was still ours.

A far more discreditable repulse occurred this month. Major-General England, K H, at Quetta, prepared to move up to Kandahár with money and ammunition, of which Nott was greatly in want. His force only consisted of five Companies H M.'s 41st, six of Bombay N.I., a Troop 3rd Bombay Cavalry, fifty of the Poona Horse, and four guns of Captain Leslie's. Other troops were on the way to join, but he did not wait for them. He left Quetta on the 24th, and next day at Kuchlák Captain J. Christie, 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry, with two of Leslie's guns, had a slight brush with the enemy. After a day's halt, he got to Haidarzái on the 27th, and next day moved on Haikalzái, where he had intended waiting for the reinforcements in rear. But the defile leading to Haikalzái was occupied. Captain Leslie's guns opened with good effect on the heights to the left, while Major Apthorp, of the 41st, a very good officer, led his men against those on the right. The enemy were not in great force, but had the advantage of position. Major Apthorp was very dangerously wounded,* Captain May was killed, and the attack failed. Lieut.-Colonel Stacy, Bengal N.I., offered to lead the men again to the attack, and they were eager to go,† but the General had lost heart. He retired to Quetta and there employed himself in throw-

April

* He died on the 30th.

† "The men were in a fine state of courage, and anxious to go and recover the bodies of their comrades. . . . I think I pressed my offer three times."—Stacy, "Narrative," p. 101. *

ing up defensive earthworks, though no enemy was following him. He even suggested to Nott the probability of his having also to retire on Quetta, but the Sepoy General in a letter dated the 18th gave him to understand that he was expected to find his way to Kandahár, promising to co-operate with a force at the Kojak Pass.

1842.
April.

On the 25th, therefore, General England again advanced with an increased force. Captain Leslie's whole Troop, Major Sotheby and the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion (Bengal) were with it. The Haikalzai defile was carried, Leslie's guns working well. "The troops were as steady as on parade; the Artillery practice was admirable. Discipline and tactics were too much for the enemy, they turned and fled."*

On the 30th, General England was at the south-east end of the Kojak defile, apparently uncertain how to proceed. Lieut.-Colonel Wymer with the 2nd, 16th, and 38th N I. was crowning the heights from the other end. They had left their pantaloons in rear, and, clad in the more familiar dhoti,† were signalling by the flashes from their bayonets to the Bombay Column that the way was clear. Disappointed as the latter were that the honour was not theirs, they cordially welcomed Wymer's men, and with them reached Kandahár on the 10th of May.

Meanwhile the garrison at Kalát-i-Ghilzai had been holding out well. Captain J. Halket Craigie, with the 3rd Shah's Infantry, had been placed there in garrison in November, 1841. Lieutenant Walker, with half ‡ the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, after returning from Kalát with General Nott, was sent to the Ghilzai fort, and Lieut.-Colonel Maclare, when returning on his uncompleted

* Stacy's "Narrative," p. 107.

† The undress garment of the Sepoy. In earlier times he was not encumbered with the British article, which, however, was very acceptable when the thermometer was below freezing point.

‡ Forty-three men.

1842.
April.

expedition to Kabul, left some 300 men of the 43rd N.I. with Captain Craigie. In all he had about 950 men.

The ruins of the old fort were repaired as well as could be done. Though not actually in contact with an enemy, the garrison could only communicate with Ghazni and Kandahár by paying messengers well. Tolerably well off for grain, sheep for the Europeans were only to be had by raiding for them. On two occasions the gunners were for some days on bread and water, but grumbling was not thought of. It was only a change of diet. In April their position was closely invested, and from this time till nearly the end of May a constant state of fighting was kept up. From shelter trenches and wherever cover could be found they continued to annoy the garrison. On the 21st of May, hearing that Brigadier Wymer was on his way, a furious and determined assault was made to capture the place, if possible, before succour should arrive. The defence was a gallant one, and five days afterwards Wymer was safely under the defences that had been held so well. Lieutenant Walker's account of the 21st is given in the Appendix. The 3rd Regiment Shah's Infantry were afterwards formed into "the Kalát-i-Ghilzai Regiment of the Bengal Army under command of Major J. Halket Craigie, C.B."

By this time General Nott had received orders from the Governor-General to retire to India by the Sukkur route.* It was a blow to his hopes of joining General Pollock at Kabul. But in the end the desired permission was granted. On the 7th and 8th of August Kandahár was evacuated.

August

Major-General England marched on the 10th for Quetta with four Regiments of Infantry. Lieutenant Cooper, with the 1st Troop S.S.H.A., and Lieutenant Walker, with the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, proceeded with this Column and returned to the Bengal Presidency *via* Shikarpur, meeting little opposition.

Major-General Nott, with the rest of the force, moved

* G.G. to Nott, April 19th, P.P. No. 259.

towards Kabul on the 8th and reached Mukúr without any opposition on the 27th. After this, hostile parties began to show themselves. Next day the Cavalry fell in with the enemy's whole force of Horse and were roughly handled, and the whole force turned out ; but they had disappeared. Their leader, Shams-ud-din, showed front again on the 29th as we were bombarding a small fort, but he lost the two guns he had, his ammunition was blown up, and his tents burned. There were some casualties among the Artillery while attacking the fort. The force reached Ghazni on the 5th, and here again the enemy appeared, but they were driven off, the Horse Artillery and Lieutenant Terry with two guns being engaged. The great Ghazni gun, the Zabar Jang, threw some shots into our camp.

1842.
August.

After General Nott had spent three days in destroying the fortifications of Ghazni, and burning the city, the force again moved forward on the 10th, taking with it the gates of Somnáth by order of Government and the great gun as a trophy. There was more or less fighting each day, in which the Artillery had their share—particularly on the 14th and 15th, when Shams-ud-din, with some 12,000 men, occupied a succession of strong positions from Beni Badám to Maidán. Nott briefly says —

September.

“Our troops dislodged them in gallant style . . . The Artillery distinguished themselves, and I beg to mention the names of Captain Leslie, Bombay H A , Captain Blood, Bombay F.A., and Captain Anderson and Lieutenant Turner of the Bengal H A.”

As Nott was driving Shams-ud-din from his last position, Pollock, a few miles off, was encamping his force on the racecourse at Kabul.

We now have to go back to the time when Sir Robert Sale left Kabul with orders to clear the passes towards Jalálabád. Lieut.-Colonel Monteath marched on the 9th of October with the 35th N.I., a squadron 5th Light Cavalry, Broadfoot's Sappers and Miners, and the guns of Captain

1841.
October.

1841. October. Abbott's battery under Lieutenant Dawes They were attacked at Butkhák. The heights of the Khurd Kabul defile were strongly held. On the 11th, General Sale, with the 13th Light Infantry, marched from the capital. The following day the pass was cleared after some hard fighting, in the early part of which Sale was wounded. The Sepoys of the 35th emulated the soldiers of the 13th in climbing the steep heights,* and from this day sprung up between the two regiments a spirit of brotherly camaraderie which continued till they separated at Ferozepore in December, 1842.
- 18th. On the 18th, Captain Backhouse joined Colonel Monteath with the Mountain Train. Captain G. H. Macgregor was employed negotiating with the chiefs while the force halted for want of camels. On the 19th, Captain Abbott, having returned from the expedition to Zurmat (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 40), marched from Kabul with the remainder of his battery, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars. The 37th N.I. also came with him. On the 22nd, Sale moved towards Tazin. Cautiously advancing through the Haft Kotal, crowning the hills on either side, they had a succession of skirmishes with the enemy which lasted till dusk.
- 24th. On the 24th, the 37th N I, half the Sappers, and half the Mountain Train were sent back to Kabul. On the 26th
- 26th. the Brigade marched to Seh Baba, and next day to Kāta Sang.
- 28th. On the 28th, a further advance was made to Jagdalak, during which the rear guard was attacked. Next day the enemy were in force on the salient points of the hills, and the flanking parties found themselves exposed to fire from ground still higher which it was difficult to silence. Captain Wilkinson, with a company of the 13th, was sent on by Captain Abbott through the defile to ascertain if it were clear ahead. The enemy had not provided for this. There was no obstacle; so Captain Abbott with his guns and the

* Colonel Denme's dispatch, P.P. No. 5.

JALALABAD

Kabul

Atbar Khan's position

Tired

K A B U L R I V E R

Dennis killed here

15 ft

3 ft high

3 ft high
10 ft

Kabul Gate

Mosque

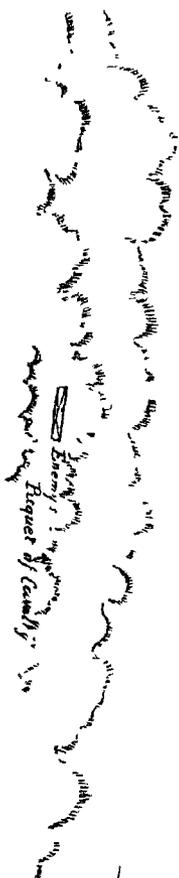
Water Gate

Citadel

Posthumus Gate

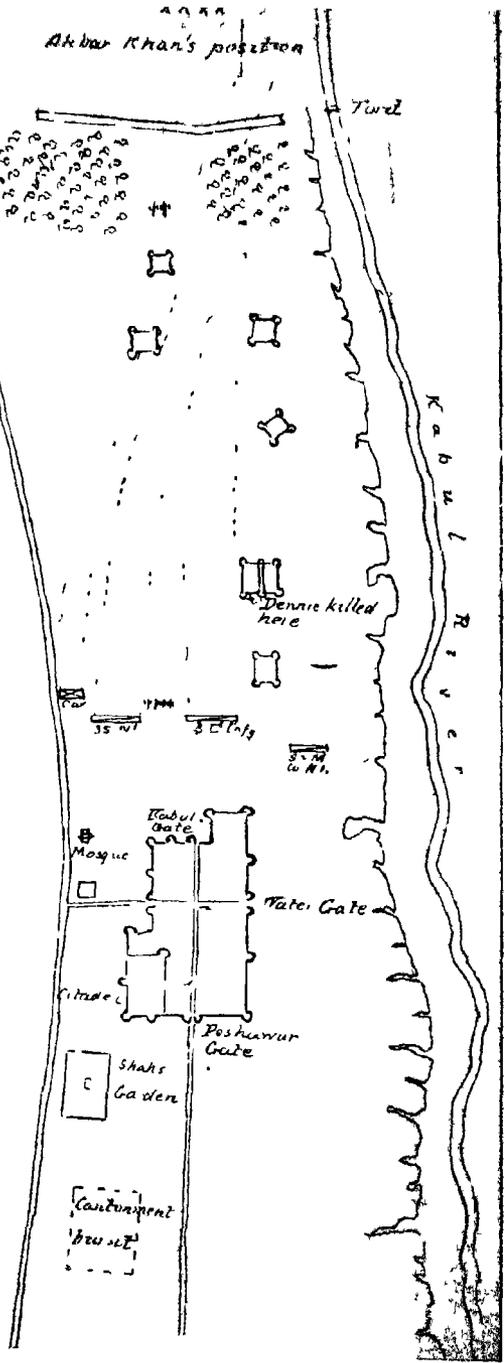
Shah's Garden

Construction
house



Pepe's Hill

Remains of the
"Empire" in general
"Empire" of Gaudy



advanced guard moved on at a rapid pace and were able to take them in reverse. The enemy, however, fell upon the rear guard and baggage, and for a time confusion prevailed ; but "by the praiseworthy exertions and cool and soldier-like order and example of Captains Backhouse, Broadfoot, and Fenwick, confidence was restored . . . and the rear guard extricated from the defile."*

1841.
October.

For eleven days longer Sale remained at Gandamak. Pressing letters from the Envoy urging his return were received by the General. Captain Macgregor received on the 10th authentic intelligence of the outbreak at Kabul. A council of war was held. It decided upon occupying Jalálabád as a *point d'appui* for a relieving force from India. The move was made, and Sale encamped before Jalálabád on the 12th of November. An attack on the enemy on the 14th freed them for a time from annoyance ; and next day the Artillery and Infantry marched in and took possession of the town, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who thought they were on their way to Peshawar.

November.

An examination of the town and citadel showed that both would have to be occupied, but the walls required much labour before they could be rendered defensible. Captain G. Broadfoot, an officer of great talent, energy, and will, was appointed engineer. With Captain Abbott also, than whom there was not in the regiment a better Artillerist, it was certain that everything that ought to be done would be accomplished as far as it was possible. Some stores were found, and while the enemy were not in sight supplies came in freely. The works were pushed on as rapidly as possible. The enemy began to collect again on the 22nd, the canal supplying the town was cut on the 25th, and, as Sir Robert Sale was careful of his ammunition, they approached closer, occupying the low ground along the river on the 1st, when a sortie, under Colonel

December.

* Sale's dispatch, P.P. No. 8.

1841.
December

Dennie, supported by Captain Abbott, was made, and they were again free from annoyance

Next day a letter from Major Pottinger told of the murder of the Envoy, and on the 9th a sealed letter was delivered by three Sowars. It required the evacuation of Jalálábád in virtue of the convention entered into with Akbar Khan. Sale, after holding a council, asked for further instructions as to the security which would be given them for a free passage. A welcome convoy from Peshawar brought 25,000 rupees, of which they were very much in want

1842.
January

But on the 12th intelligence of the evacuation of Kabul was received, and next day the sentries saw a solitary figure slowly approaching the town. Eager eyes discerned through their telescopes that he was English, and mounted on a miserable pony, and a party of Cavalry went out and brought him in, wounded and exhausted. It was Asst.-Surgeon Brydon. The terrible news of the slaughter in the passes was told. Lights were kept burning all night, and bugles sounded, if haply some other survivor might be within sight or hearing, but there were none. The pony died, but the man lived to take part in another memorable defence, that of the Lucknow Residency in 1857.

The garrison of Jalálábád knew that Brigadier Wild was at Peshawar, preparing to advance, and that General Pollock was to command a force then being formed in India, but on the 23rd they learned that the former had been worsted in an attempt to pass the Khaibar, and they had now to depend on their own resources. Another demand for the evacuation of the place arrived on the 26th, bearing the seal of Shah Shuja. An evasive reply was sent. A third * came on the 8th of February, but this

* General Sale does not mention this last demand. The officers summoned to consider it were surprised at seeing a letter from the Governor-General saying that, in the event of Kabul falling, all the other stations were to be abandoned. This added a fresh difficulty in the way of deciding. They had no longer any business in Afghanistan, the only question was, could they retire with honour under the circumstances?

was more directly answered. It was to be referred to the Governor-General.

1842.
January.

The food supply was tolerably well kept up by foraging parties. The people had large herds grazing about, and the raids were sometimes very successful.

But on the 19th of February, as the working parties were busily engaged on the fortifications, Colonel Monteath being field officer, a violent shock of earthquake in a few seconds destroyed the work of many weeks. Colonel Monteath was buried partially beneath the débris, from which he was extricated by the men of the 13th working there, who esteemed him as if he had belonged to their own regiment.* But, in no way discouraged, the garrison set to work to repair damages.

1842.
February.

Akbar Khan was in the immediate vicinity. His camp was seen on the 15th. He had heard three days before a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the birth of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, which was announced the day before.

March

Next month, the enemy began to invest the place. Whenever a good chance offered, Abbott gave them a few rounds from his guns, and he did not waste his ammunition; but as their numbers increased, so did their audacity. A sortie, under Colonel Dennie, on the 11th caused them considerable loss without any on our side. Captain Abbott, on the 12th, was wounded by a spent ball, causing a troublesome injury, but he did not absent himself from duty.

The proximity of the enemy hindered our getting forage, which was scarce, and the horses suffered. Akbar Khan

* Amusing stories were told of this gallant and highly-respected officer, that when other officers were glad to have an occasional change of linen, he used to turn out in a style fit for Bond Street. He wore—with respect, let it be said—a wig, but it was an unpardonable offence to suspect it. And when the earthquake, regardless of rank, threw him down, his chief anxiety was lest his headgear should have been in any way disordered. As a 2nd-Lieutenant, I only knew him to be of that rare school of gentlemen, as courteous to a young subaltern as to one of his own rank. He afterwards took the suffix of Douglas to his name. Kaye and other writers have misspelt it.

1842.
March.

sent out his sheep to eat the grass which we wanted. Captain Broadfoot, in one of the affairs which the protection of the grass-cutters made necessary, was severely wounded on the 24th of March, but a few days after Lieutenant E. W. C. Plowden, 5th Cavalry, having got permission from the General, sallied forth with twenty men, the rest of the Cavalry and a large party of Infantry following in support. He dashed forward, cut off a large flock before the enemy could prevent him, and thus secured 520 head, while the enemy's force coming on too late, suffered considerably from the fire of the guns. It should not be omitted that, on this occasion, the 35th N.I. gave up their share of the spoil to their European comrades, though they had been themselves on half rations throughout.

April 7th

As the enemy had been fortifying their position and rendering ours more difficult, some of the senior officers, Captains Abbott, Oldfield, and Broadfoot in particular, induced the General to order a sortie in force.* Reports had come in that General Pollock had failed to force the Khaibar, and the confidence of the enemy required a check. So, on the 7th of April, the ordinary guards being left at the gates, and the camp-followers† manning the walls, the whole force moved out at daybreak in three columns. Colonel Dennie, in the centre, had 500 bayonets; Colonel Monteath, on the left, commanded his own regiment; and Captain Havelock, of the 13th L I, led a company of each regiment and the Sappers and Miners on the right. The Cavalry, under Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, were on the left, and the Field Battery in the

* Kaye (II., p. 342) calls it a council of war: but Abbott, always careful in his statements, and never malicious, is distinct on this point.

† The camp-followers, mustered and unmustered, numbered 1,312. General Sale enlisted them for service January 15th; 621 were armed chiefly with pikes, made up by Captain Abbott; 691 were told off to posts where stones had been collected. The Artillery had two killed; the Commissariat seven, and six wounded.

centre. The Afghans, about 6,000 strong, were drawn up in front of their camp.

1842.
April.

The centre column deviated to the right in its advance to attack a fort, and here Colonel Dennie, with some men, were killed. The delay deprived the flanks of support, and they were hard pressed, but, leaving the fort, which was afterwards abandoned by its garrison, the centre came up, and Captain Abbott, advancing the battery at a gallop, directed a heavy fire on the Afghan centre. Notwithstanding a stout resistance, their line was penetrated by our centre and left. Havelock forced their left back on the river, and soon the whole were disappearing in the direction of Lughmán. Four of the guns lost by the Kabul force, with 635 rounds of ammunition, were recaptured; their tents were burned, and such stores as were not taken possession of were destroyed. It was a complete success. Captains Backhouse and Macgregor served as volunteers with the battery. A total of thirteen killed and seventy-one wounded was small in comparison. Sir Robert Sale in his dispatch of this date mentions all the Artillery officers engaged.*

Captain Abbott in his report next day to Regimental Headquarters, brings to notice the great assistance he had received throughout the siege from Lieutenant Dawes, and reiterates the good service rendered by this officer at Khurd Kabul and Jagdallak on the 12th and 29th of October. But he had to serve yet another campaign with frequent honourable mention before he received even brevet promotion. Captain Abbott also reports the names of two gunners † of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., who had come from Kabul as laboratory-men. They were both

* Papers, No. 315.

† "Gunners Swindall and Deane . . . both volunteered their services and were most useful. Both men wounded in the action. Gunner Swindall has proved a most valuable assistant to me, being thoroughly acquainted with every part of an Artilleryman's duty. He is sober, active, and intelligent, and I strongly recommend him for promotion."

1842.
April.

wounded on the 7th, and were promoted to the rank of sergeant (G.O.C.C., 19th May, 1842).

The defence of Jalálábád worthily vindicated the good fame of our army. The honours accorded by Lord Ellenborough to "the Illustrious Garrison" were merited. There was one conferred upon the Artillery which custom has not perpetuated, and is now a thing of the past. It was, that the 2nd Company 6th Battalion, in common with the rest of the garrison, should wear on their appointments a mural crown superscribed "Jellalabad." Also that the same name should be engraved on the guns, which were to be permanently attached to the Company.* As the 2nd of the 7th it forfeited, in 1857, its right to any badge of honour, but the principle involved remains. The Artillery motto of "Ubique" covers all fields, as in a sense it does the achievements of the whole army. But why should batteries not retain the designations as well as the traditions which have descended to them from former days? Why should not the guns bear the names of the fields where they have won fame? Napoleon knew well how much a wreath, a motto, conferred on the battlefield and worn proudly afterwards could nerve the arm and steel the heart when odds were worst. Regiments have their records which they justly value. Some set so high a value upon them that there is little fear of their ever being sullied by misfortune. Of these the Artillery have always been counted, and surely the country should on its part see to it that no such acknowledgment of glory won by the blood of brave men is ever withheld. For the days are coming when England will be hard set to keep what her army and navy have won for her.

When General Pollock arrived on the 16th he did not relieve Jalálábád. The garrison had done that for itself, and for a time there was no enemy to fight. He could only congratulate Sir Robert Sale.

* G.G.O., Jan. 9th, 1843.

MAJOR-GENERAL POLLOCK'S RELIEVING FORCE.

The first intimation received in India of the disasters in Afghanistan was from Captain F. Mackeson, Political Agent at Peshawar, forwarding a letter from Captain Burn dated Gandamak, 5th November, stating that the troops at Kabul were shut up in the Bala Hissár. This was followed by another from Sir Robert Sale, dated the 11th, stating that he was about to fall back upon and secure Jalálabád. Nothing had been heard from Sir W. MacNaghten since the 26th of October. At Captain Mackeson's urgent request, the 4th Company 6th Battalion, under orders to relieve the 2nd, the 30th, 53rd, 60th, and 64th N.I., were sent on to Peshawar. Lieut-Colonel C. F. Wild, commanding at Ferozepore, was appointed to command as Brigadier. He had the confidence of his superiors. The Artillery had no guns. To get any, Delhi being the nearest magazine, he found he would have to borrow from the Sikhs. Sale was calling for a siege train. Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, demurred, saying it looked like wanting to reconquer the country.* Sale was writing urgent letters for Wild's advance †. The latter saw the impossibility of the task, but could not say so either as a soldier or without discrediting the native portion of the force to which he belonged. The Commander-in-Chief was on his way up country, and as yet 400 miles from the Sutlej. It was the day of slow daks, not of telegraphic communication. The Native Infantry had been hurried up to Peshawar in consequence of Mackeson's pressing letters. The Field Battery at Ferozepore was not yet horsed. So far Kaye's statement that the discredit of not having sent guns with Wild did not attach to the Commander-in-Chief ‡ holds good. But Sir Jasper Nicolls should not have allowed Wild to advance until some guns, as well as

1841.

Red. 1862.

P.P., Nos. 88, 89.

To officer commanding at Peshawar, December 26, Jan. 3. To Brigadier Wild, Jan. 10 and 11. P.P., Nos. 101, 111, 122, and 123.

† Vol. II, p. 298.

1841. part of the 10th Light Cavalry, then moving up, should have joined. Wild would have waited for them, and for H.M.'s 9th Regiment, also on its way to the front. Sir Jasper's letter on the 6th of February, in reply to Captain Mackeson's remarks, throws the blame on that officer and upon Captain H. M. Lawrence of the Artillery for not having been more precise in their demands. But it was his province to decide on the composition and strength of the force to be employed, not theirs. His objection to the use of Horse Artillery in a pass is not to the length of the fighting and baggage columns, but to the chance that a gun pointed at an enemy on the side of a hill within musket range might be dismounted or overturned, causing delay.* His experience in the Nipal War should have taught him the value of Artillery in mountain warfare. A little further on he remarks on the usefulness of Artillery in making up for the shortness of range of our muskets when opposed to jezails. Mountain Artillery equipped and ready were not; there was therefore little choice left.

January. After much delay and resistance on the part of the Sikhs, four guns were handed over, but these were so rickety that on being tested one broke down. They had to be patched up anyhow, and Brigadier Wild, after representing the difficulties he met with, prepared to advance as lightly equipped as possible. Lieut.-Colonel Mosely marched by night on the 15th with two regiments and got to Ali Masjid, but only about 60 out of 350 bullocks with supplies reached the place. Brigadier Wild advanced on the 19th with the two remaining regiments. The Sikh troops with him mutinied, the guns broke down,† and the Sepoys, disheartened, would not face the enemy. They had to fall back upon Jamrud. Wild was wounded. Lieut.-Colonel Mosely, left without food, had to evacuate

* P.P., No 172.

† One had to be abandoned, in spite of Captain Lawrence's efforts to bring it away.

1842.
January

the fort on the 24th. The Brigadier's despatch of the 28th is painful reading. With even half a British regiment and a battery of ours, there seems to be little doubt that he would have reached Jalálabád. He now could only wait for the troops coming up. Sickness meanwhile fell upon his men, and the hospitals were crowded. Worse than all, disabled fugitives of the Ghazni and Kabul garrisons, some Sepoys, many camp-followers, a large number of



FIELD MARSHAL SIR G. TOLLOCK
(From a photograph by Messrs. Maull and Lesly)

whom had lost fingers or toes from frost-bite, came into Peshawar. Their stories were sufficiently alarming. Emissaries from without and from the Sikh camp told the Hindu Sepoy of the sin it was to cross the Indus, as it had been not so long ago to cross the Karamnása in Bengal; so the regiments became infected with mental as with physical disease, and desertions were numerous.

1842.
February

The command of the force now being formed had been given to Major-General George Pollock, C.B., of the Bengal Artillery, commanding at Agra. He reached Peshawar on the 5th of February and found something very like a mutinous feeling had pervaded the native regiments; sad to say, a few of the officers also. Cool, cautious, with sound sense and judgment, it required such a man to cope with this state of things. That he did so successfully and found his regiments in good moral condition when called upon to advance, was not the least of General Pollock's victories. But there were 1,800 men in hospital on the 7th of February, and he was detained at Peshawar till the beginning of April.

The force was, by G G O February 23rd, brigaded as follows —

Cavalry

Brigadier M. White, 3rd Light Dragoons.

3rd Light Dragoons, 1st and 10th Light and 3rd Irregular Cavalry,* Dets 5th Light Cavalry† and Anderson's Horse †

Infantry

Major-General J. McCaskill, K H, Commanding.

1st Brigade †—Major-General Sir R. Sale, K C B · H.M.
13th L I, 35th N I Sappers and Miners, Ferris' and Burns' Levies

2nd Brigade —Brigadier J. Tulloch, 60th N.I. : H.M 9th Regiment, 26th and 60th N I, 5th Co. Sappers and Miners

3rd Brigade —Brigadier C. F. Wild, 30th N I. · 30th, 53rd, and 64th N I

4th Brigade.—Brigadier T. Monteath, 35th N.I. : H.M.
31st Regiment,* 6th * and 33rd N I.

* Came up afterwards under command of Colonel Bolton, H M.'s 31st; reached Jalálábád the 5th of May. Two *risálas*, 3rd Irregular Cavalry with advanced part of the army

† At Jalálábád.

Artillery.

Bt-Major H. Delafosse, 3rd-1st H A., Commanding.
 3rd Troop 1st Brigade,* 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.,
 2nd Co. 2nd Batt. No. 5 L.F.B., 2nd Co. 6th Batt. (Native)
 No. 6 L.F.B.,† 4th Co 6th Batt. (Native), and Mountain
 Train (Native).

The Dragoons and Captain Alexander's Troop (3-2 H.A.)
 reached Peshawar on the 29th of March. General Pollock,
 since his arrival there, had been visiting the hospitals, en-
 quiring into the wants of all and encouraging the men. A
 spirit of confidence in him thus produced was followed in
 the Sepoy regiments by a readiness to do their best. Bag-
 gage was strictly limited—a camel and two mules
 carrying the General's, a few iron-enamelled articles con-
 stituted his table and toilet equipment. The Sikh troops
 became more amenable and ready to co operate.

The order of march had been laid down and carefully
 studied by commanding officers, and when the army
 marched to Jamrud on the 31st it was as follows, and as
 intended to enter the defile —

LEFT FLANKING COLUMN	ADVANCED GUARD.	RIGHT FLANKING COLUMN.
Major G. Hush.	Brigadier Will	Lt. Col. Taylor, K.H.
2 Cos 9th Regiment	Gren Co 9th Regiment	2 Cos, 9th Regiment
4 Cos. 26th N I.	1 Co 26th N I.	4 Cos 26th N I
200 Jazailchis	3 Cos 30th N I	400 Jazailchis
Lt -Col. Mosely	2 Cos 33rd N I	Major P. C. Anderson
7 Cos. 33rd N.I.	Sappers and Miners.	7 Cos 30th N.I.
3 Cos. 60th N.I	4 Guns 3 2 H A	3 Cos 60th N I
4½ Cos. 64th N.	2 Guns M F.	4 Cos 64th N I.
1½ Cos. 9th Regiment	3 Guns No 5 F B.	Sappers.
		1½ Cos 9th Regiment.
	2 Cos. Commissariat, 53rd N I	
	Irregular Cavalry. Baggage	Squad 1st L C
	REFAR GUARD	
	Major-General McCaskill, K H	
	3 Guns No 5, 10th Light Cavalry, 2 Risalas.	
	Irreg. Cav, 2nd Squad 3rd Dragoons,	
	3 Cos. 60th N.I., 1 Co. 6th N I., 1 Co 9 Regiment	

The rules for guidance of commanding officers were
 plain and explicit. A trumpeter or bugler was attached

* Came up afterwards under command of Colonel Bolton, H.M.'s
 31st; reached Jalalabad the 5th of May

† At Jalalabad.

1842.
 February.
 58 Field Batt.
 2 2 Dep. Div.
 9 Mt. Batt.

March.

1842. to each separate detachment. Whenever any obstacle or
 March. accident occurred, likely to impede or break the continuity of the column, the officer in command nearest to the spot was to cause the halt to be sounded, which was to be repeated by all the rest, the whole halting until the removal of the difficulty enabled the signal for advance to be given.

April. The order for placing the baggage was to be carefully adhered to, an officer from each regiment being appointed to this duty. No private guards were allowed. The parties flanking the rear guard were not to hurry on in advance of it, the officers commanding each to give their most vigilant attention to this, so that the rear might be protected from any fire from the heights. As there were to be intervals between each detachment of about 500 yards, a considerable responsibility devolved upon subordinate commanders *

The army moved off in this order at three o'clock on the morning of the 5th in silence. No drum or bugle gave the enemy notice, so that when the light became clearer the tribes covering the heights saw our flanking parties close upon them. And now hot work began. The nature of the ground on the left enabled Major Huish to carry the summit of the first in skirmishing order without much loss. A smaller hill at the entrance of the pass was carried, and these posts, being made over to Lieut-Colonel Mosely's charge, he descended to clear the heights on the left of the road leading to Ali Masjid.

On the right, Lieut-Colonel Taylor was equally successful, though the ground was more precipitous. Lieutenant Unett, with a squadron of the Dragoons, protected his right as he advanced. Having secured his ground and left Major Anderson in charge, he descended to clear off the enemy on the right of the road. Considerable opposition

* In order to prevent any possible misconception of those orders, General Pollock himself went round to officers commanding to ascertain that they were understood.

was offered, especially at the bridge over a stream, but they were compelled to retreat, and Colonel Taylor occupied a tower and hill about a mile from Ali Masjid. Lieutenant Cumming, of the 9th Regiment, was killed on the heights. Sir Richmond Shakespear, who had volunteered his services, in charge of Mackeson's Jazailchis, was mentioned in Colonel Taylor's report.

1842.
April.

The enemy had some days before thrown up a strong barricade of stones and trees, cemented with earth at the entrance to the pass. As soon as the flanking columns were engaged, the advanced moved up to the barricade. The enemy, finding their rear turned, abandoned this position, and the work of clearing away was actively proceeded with under Lieutenant John Becher. Captain Alexander was sent forward, and placed the guns so as to assist the flanking parties with shrapnel whenever opportunity offered. The heat was very great. In the evening, General Pollock was encamped at Ali Masjid, which was occupied by Captain Ferris' Jazailchis from the left. Not a single baggage animal was lost. Our casualties only amounted to 31 killed and missing, and 104 wounded. Of these, 41 were in the 9th Foot and 37 in the Jazailchi Corps. Brigadier Wild, Captain Ogle, 9th Foot, and Lieutenant Mulcaster were wounded. The enemy's loss was known to have been very large. Except a passage of arms with the Lalpura people at the further outlet of the pass, no further opposition was offered.

On the 16th, General Pollock's force marched into Jalábad. As each corps passed the two regiments drawn out to receive them, they saluted the colours which for five months past had so well represented the British power.

But Pollock had other difficulties besides an enemy to contend with. Lord Ellenborough had landed in Calcutta on the 28th of February, and taken over office from the Earl of Auckland, who on the 15th of that month had sent his orders* to Pollock, that when he had relieved Sale,

* P.P., No. 171.

1842.
April.

he was to retire on Peshawar. Lord Ellenborough, in a letter to Sir Jasper Nicolls of March 15th,* contemplates the possibility of General Pollock striking some signal blow, even advancing on Kabul, at the same time containing restrictive considerations of an opposite kind. This was sent to Pollock. It did not rescind the orders of February 15th. Lord Ellenborough had not made up his own mind, for on the 19th of April he sent orders to Nott to retire on Sukkur,† and the same day wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, saying he considered Pollock's force in a false position, with a long pass and an unreliable nation in its rear, and suggesting that his army should be withdrawn to the east of the Khaibar, from whence any new operations could be undertaken.‡

Sir Jasper, being a soldier, did not follow up such a suggestion. In his reply of the 27th April,§ he says he has not given any instructions to General Pollock, who must be guided by the 5th, 9th, 10th, and 11th paras. of the orders of the 13th of March, and decide whether to advance or retire from Jalálabád. "The General is a clear-headed, good officer, and you have loaded his advance with heavy cautions, but he will stand alone, and as far as I know, treat those around him rather as advisers than agents."

There was another consideration of which Lord Ellenborough took small heed, but which the army had cherished. The widow of the murdered Envoy, the wife of the General who had so gallantly held Jalálabád, and a number of officers and soldiers, their wives and children, were prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khan. Pollock and his officers would not believe that England would suffer them to be left to their fate.

May.

And General Pollock was equal to the occasion. He had not carriage for his whole force; the camels having been only engaged as far as Jalálabád, had mostly gone

* P P, No 200

† *Ib.*, Nos. 261, 262.

‡ *Ib.*, No. 259.

§ *Ib.*, No 284.

back So he halted there till he could make up the number he required. And he wrote to General Nott desiring him not to retire till he should hear further from him ; an order which the gallant old General, though preparing to carry out the other orders he had received from India, gladly obeyed.

1842.
May.

On the 5th of May, Colonel Bolton arrived with the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., under Lieutenant Richardson, H.M. 31st, 6th N.I., and rest of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry.

To accomplish one part of the Governor-General's somewhat obscure orders, Colonel Monteath was sent into the Shinwari Valley, S E of Jalalabad H.M. 31st, the 33rd and 53rd N.I., Captain Ferris' Jazailchis, and Captain Abbott's battery composed the force Several forts in the Golai country were destroyed. At Deh Sarak, a gun and part of the treasure of the ill-fated Kabul garrison were recovered. The only fighting was at Mazima, when Lieutenant McIlveen, of the 31st, was killed. On the 3rd of August Monteath returned to Jalalabad.

June.

July 26th

August.

By this time the letters (July 4th) from Government were received, which permitted Nott to retire by Ghazni and Kabul, and Pollock to combine his movements with those of Nott, on their own responsibility. The excitement which this caused throughout the army was expressed by Sir R. Sale's " Hurrah ! this is good news "*.

On the 20th, Pollock, with an advanced force, marched for Gandamak where the rest were to join, all in the lightest marching order. He had with him —

Artillery

3rd Troop 1st and 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade (four guns),
No. 6 Field Battery,† and Mountain Train.

Engineers

5th Company and Broadfoot's Sappers.

* Letter to General Pollock, August 16th

† Lieutenant C. Douglas was attached to this battery at Jalalabad, there being only one other subaltern, Dawes, with it.

*Cavalry*1842
August

3rd Light Dragoons, 1st, 5th (one squadron), 10th (head-quarters and one squadron) Light Cavalry, and 3rd Irregulars (Tait's).

Infantry.

H.M. 9th, 13th, and 31st Regiments, the 16th, 26th, 33rd, 35th, and 60th N.I., and Mr. Mackeson's Bildars

A detachment was left at Jalálabad with the sick and the superfluous baggage. Two guns of Alexander's Troop were at Fatiabad

August 22nd The force was formed in two divisions, one under Sir R. Sale, the other under General McCaskill. Passing the former, who had been at Fatiabad, General Pollock went on with McCaskill's division to Nimla, where he was joined by Captain H. M. Lawrence, with part of the Sikh contingent which had been moving along the left bank of the Kabul River. At Gandamak, on the 23rd, a strong position for the camp was selected

August 24th The enemy were in force at the villages of Mamu and Kuchli Khel, which were to the left front of the camp some three miles distant. General Pollock attacked in two columns, the right under General McCaskill, the left under Brigadier Tulloch. Captain Abbott's guns were in support. Driven from Mamu Khel, the enemy retired to Kuchli Khel, a fort about a mile in rear and close to the hills. They were dislodged and followed up into the hills as far as could be done with prudence. Colonel Taylor, of the 9th Foot, and Captain Broadfoot greatly distinguished themselves. The camp was then moved down to Mamu Khel until the 30th, when it returned to Gandamak.

September

Here General Pollock waited for the rest of his force under Sale, and for supplies. On the 7th the first division under Sale left for the Surakh-áb, McCaskill with the second the day after. A detachment to preserve the communications was left at Gandamak: two regiments N.I., two squadrons L.C., part of the Sikh contingent, and two guns of Alexander's Troop under Lieutenant G. Larkins.

Sale's division consisted of:—

1842.
September.

Artillery.

Two guns 3rd Troop 1st Brigade, No. 6 Field Battery ;
three guns Mountain Train

Cavalry.

3rd Light Dragoons, one squadron 1st L.C., three risálas
Tait's I C

Infantry

H.M. 9th and 13th Regiments, 6th and 35th N I
Sappers 5th Company, and Broadfoot's, Mackeson's
Bildars.

McCaskill's division consisted of —

Artillery

Two guns, 3rd-1st H.A ; four guns, 3rd-2nd H.A

Cavalry.

Two squadrons 1st Light, three risálas 3rd Irregular.

Infantry

H.M. 31st, wings 33rd and 60th N I ; Sikh Contingent.

The enemy on the 8th occupied the heights commanding the Jagdalak Pass. A deep ravine protected them on the left, where the hills, studded with sungahs, formed an amphitheatre inclining towards the road. Here the troops, halted while the guns opened, were within range of their jezails, and several casualties occurred. The Artillery fire was well directed, but as they still held their ground the General ordered the Infantry to attack. Captain Broadfoot, with his Sappers, was sent against a steep hill on the extreme left of their position. The 9th, under Lieut.-Colonel Taylor, supported by two companies 35th N I., crossed the deep ravines and scaled the hills on their right, where a ruined fort was strongly occupied. Captain Wilkinson, with the 13th, and 110 men of the 26th N.I., attacked a steep conical hill in their left centre, the key of their position. A spirit of emulation pervaded all, and the three attacks were successful. The Ghilzais fled

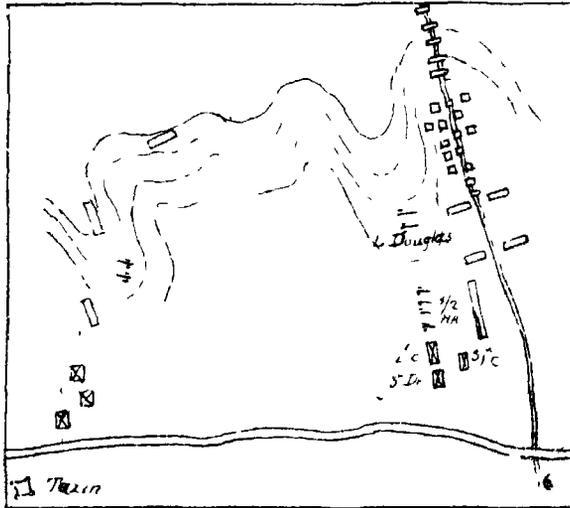
Sept. 8th.

1842.
September.

before our soldiers to higher, and seemingly inaccessible, ground, but from it too they were dislodged.

General Pollock, without stopping, pushed on the same day to Kata Sang. His troops, wearied with the march and fight, required rest—Sale even advised a halt. But he knew the importance of not allowing his enemy time to rally. Had he done so he would have had to fight his way through the Jagdalak Pass, for Akbar Khan was preparing to meet him. Brigadier Tulloch, who commanded the rear guard this day, had plenty to do. Lieutenant Douglas was on it and had his horse shot. The success of this day was won by a single division with a loss of only six killed and 58 wounded.

The second division had some fighting next day over the same ground, and did not reach Kata Sang till the 10th.



ACTION OF REAR GUARD, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1842

The first marched from Seh Baba to Tazin on the 11th, and were there joined by General McCaskill, after a forced march. Akbar Khan was now at Khurd Kabul. While Pollock halted in the Tazin Valley, he moved forward and occupied the heights in his front, determined to make a last stand.

1842.
Sept. 13th.

But he was entirely defeated. The Infantry scaled the heights on either side of the road leading up to the Haft Kotal, and with the bayonet, dreaded by the Afghans more than the bullet, drove them from rock to rock, from hill to hill. Our soldiers had, for the last four days, passed over ground strewn with the ghastly remains of the massacred army—sights that stirred up a desire for stern retribution. The heights of the seven passes, steep as they were, were won.

The rear guard this day was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel F. Richmond. Captain Alexander's Troop was with it, also Lieutenant C Douglas with two guns of No 6 Battery. The road passed up one of the ravines from the valley of the Tazin River. To the south the enemy had posted two guns on a height commanding it perhaps a thousand yards distant. By Douglas' account they were our own. To oppose them he was posted with his two on the spur behind which the road ran, under the shelter of which the baggage was collecting. Here he was joined by Captain H. M. Lawrence, glad to be once again with guns. The latter with his first shot disabled one of ours on the other side.* Large bodies of Cavalry were collecting in the valley, and Captain Alexander's Troop unlimbered in the valley, supported by some Cavalry † The latter, getting a chance in the open ground, charged and broke the enemy, who collected again wherever they could. The fire of the guns, particularly of those on the higher ground, where a better view could be had, kept them at a distance till the baggage had all cleared off. As the rear guard moved on the Afghans kept close behind, and Lieutenant Douglas' guns, masked by the Infantry, remained in rear, with a charge of grape in each, kept home by priming-wire and sponge; but whenever the trails were dropped and the Infantry opened

* From an account by Colonel C. Douglas, who gives a rough sketch of the ground, copied above.

† Captain Unett and a squadron 3rd Dragoons; Major Scott and a squadron 1st L.C.; Captain Tait with a squadron of his (3rd) Irregulars.

1842.
September.

out, the Afghans, taking the hint, got up the hillsides out of the way.*

Akbar Khan had lost the game. He fled to Ghorband, having previously sent the prisoners towards Bamián. On the 15th, Pollock's army was encamped on the racecourse at Kabul, and next day Nott was encamped at Chardeh

The first thing that General Pollock did was to send out, after General Nott had, unfortunately for his reputation, expressed his decided unwillingness to do so, a brigade under Sir Robert Sale to recover the prisoners Sir R. C. Shakespear had gone on with a party of Kuzzilbash Horse to follow them into Bamián. But they had purchased their own release, and he met them returning with their late jailor. The names of those belonging to the Artillery are given in Note D

Sept. 30th.

Nothing now remained to prevent General Pollock from returning with his force and General Nott's to India, except that Amin Ullah Khan had collected a force at Istálaf, with the expressed intention of fighting. Major-General McCaskill was sent with two brigades of Infantry under Brigadiers Tulloch and Stacy, the 3rd Light Dragoons (two squadrons), 1st L.C. (one squadron), and Christie's Horse. The Artillery sent were Captain Blood's Battery (Lieutenant Terry present), Captain Backhouse's Mountain Train (Lieutenant Richardson present), and two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Cornish. The place was taken after a stout resistance, with but little loss to ourselves. Lieutenant Richardson was slightly wounded. Major Pottinger, Bombay Artillery, and Lieutenant R. H. Pollock, the General's A.D.C., were also present.

October.

After this, General Pollock prepared to return. On the 12th of October the march commenced, General Nott's division forming the rear guard. But all cleared out of

* General Pollock mentions the following Artillery officers in his dispatch: Major Delafosse, Captains H. M. Lawrence, Abbott, Alexander, Lane, Backhouse, and Fitzgerald; Lieutenants Sir R. C. Shakespear and R. Pollock. Lieutenant Douglas was mentioned by Lieut.-Colonel Richmond in his report of the rear guard.

Kabul at the same time. Pollock's column was lengthened by a great number of fugitives, some Sepoys, some camp-followers, whom the destruction of Ghazni and Kabul had rendered homeless, and who sought refuge and a return to their own country. It was absolutely refused by Nott, but Pollock, though he greatly felt the inconvenience, saw that the safety of his army would not be risked, and they were allowed some carriage. They would certainly have hampered the rear of the army.

1842.
October.

General Sale, with two brigades, the Mountain Train, and some Cavalry, went by the Gospard Darra Pass on the right of and parallel to that by Khurd Kabul, thereby turning it, so that the rest of the army passed through without a shot being fired. After this, however, while the leading divisions passed on without difficulty, General Pollock's rear was often fired on, and General Nott's brigades, not so observant at first of the necessary precautions, suffered in consequence. Captain Leeson, commanding the rear guard, had a running fight nearly the whole of the 15th. Lieutenant Terry with his guns did good service.

October 14th

October 15th.

From Tazin to Seh Baba, the rear divisions were still engaged. Traversing the Jagdalak Pass was a difficult matter. Pollock's rear here and the guns had their hands full. Brigadier Stacy's division in Nott's force had Leslie's and Turner's troops of H.A. with it, and was hotly engaged. Major Simmons, 41st Regiment, with the rear guard, was delayed in camp, having to burst the two 18-pounders brought from Kandahar. The Somnath gates were nearly lost this day. They were the source of the greatest difficulty owing to the value placed upon them by Lord Ellenborough and the unwieldy nature of the load, and the unnecessary cause of very much money and some bad language being expended in bringing them to India. The first division, under Sir R. Sale, reached Jalalabad on the 22nd; General McCaskill's on the 23rd, and General Nott's on the 24th.

October 16th.

October 18th.

October 19th.

Here a halt was made for four days. The fortifications

1842. of Jalálábád were destroyed, and on the 27th General
 October. Pollock's divisions marched for Peshawar. No opposition
 November was offered till Landikhána was reached Brigadier Wild,
 commanding the rear brigade of General McCaskill's divi-
 sion, which marched for Ali Masjid on the 3rd, was de-
 tained on the road with the large gun which had been
 brought away from Jalálábád as a trophy. Failing to get
 it along, Captain Lane, in whose charge it was, had to
 abandon it, being attacked by a large body of Afridis near
 Garhi Lála Beg, so that he had to throw his detachment
 into a fort Lieutenant A. Christie was ordered to join the
 rear guard with a gun and howitzer of the Mountain
 Train, Lieutenant L. Smith remaining with the others in
 advance Darkness had set in, and under its cover large
 numbers of Afridis rushed upon the guns from the bushes
 thickly growing on either side of the road, firing, throwing
 stones, and using their knives. A number of our men were
 killed, Lieutenant Christie, of the Artillery, and Ensign
 Nicholson among the number, and the gun and howitzer
 were lost at the time, but recovered next day.

General Nott's rear guard was attacked on the same
 ground. From Landikhána till clear of the pass there was
 continual skirmishing The General and Wymer's brigade
 Nov. 5th. marched at 6 a m , after them, at a sufficient interval, came
 Leslie's Troop H A., then Captain Anderson with Turner's
 Troop, and then Blood's Field Battery Captain Leslie got
 to the top of the ascent without difficulty, but the other
 two, especially the heavier one, required assistance. In a
 ravine, on the right, lay the unfortunate "kazi," the Jalála-
 bád trophy gun There was no time to think of such trifles,
 so at Brigadier Stacy's desire, Major Sotheby undertook
 to have it burst. The other trophy gun, "Zabar Jang"
 (weighty in war), which Nott had brought from Ghazni,
 had died at Kabul of the same disease. Small as his divi-
 sion was, Brigadier Stacy managed, by posting parties at
 intervals through the defile, to enable the baggage to keep
 Nov. 6th. moving on during the night. Next day Brigadier Stacy's

division continued its march. Major Brown, 41st Regiment, commanded the rear guard. Constant attacks were made on the line of picquets. The fort of Ali Masjid was blown up about noon, and shortly after Lieutenant W. S. Terry went with a party to select a spot for a gun to keep the enemy in check. On this duty he was severely wounded, and died three days afterwards at Peshawar. He was an officer of considerable promise. By the strong line of posts the passage of the baggage and stores was secured, and when the rear guard had cleared the eastern end of the defile, the last act in the evacuation of Afghanistan was accomplished.

1842.
Nov. 6th.

An army of reserve had been concentrated upon the Sutlej as a measure of precaution against any movement or measure of an unfriendly nature on the part of the Sikh army. The Governor-General at its head on the 17th of December received the victorious troops, "the illustrious garrison" first of all, with special honours, and a week of feasting* closed the war, begun so inauspiciously three years before.

December.

A list of the honours conferred upon the Artillery officers is given in the appendix to this chapter. Medals were conferred, one for the defence of Kalát-i-Ghulzai, one for Jalálabád, and one for the operations in Afghanistan in 1842. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were in 1843 voted to Major-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., as well as to Sir W. Nott, G.C.B., Sir John McCaskill, K.C.B., Sir R. H. Sale, G.C.B., and General England, but in the debate in the Upper House it was the Leader of the Opposition, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who brought to notice the essential services rendered to his country by Sir

* The 35th N.I., as a parting compliment to H.M. 13th Light Infantry, with which they had been so closely associated, obtained permission to entertain them at a banquet. The native officers superintended all the arrangements, regardless of the strict limitations of caste. Eatables and stronger liquids than water were supplied plentifully, as well as doohies for the conveyance to their tents of any who might find it inconvenient to walk.

1842.
December.

George Pollock, which the Duke of Wellington passed by almost without comment. The feeling of the great Duke towards Pollock sufficiently appears in his correspondence with Lord Ellenborough, and the groundlessness of his criticisms may be seen by comparing them with the measures adopted by Pollock both going and returning,* or by one who knows what the Afghan hills are like.

Sir George Pollock was, five years after, granted a pension of £1,000 a year by the Court of Directors.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders.
Records India Office.
Army Lists
Kaye's "War in Afghanistan"
Correspondence, &c, General Abbott
Stacy's "Narrative."
"Nott's Brigade in Afghanistan"
Lieutenant Eyre's "Journal"
"Life of Field-Marshal Sir G Pollock."
Greenwood's "Narrative"
Letters from various officers
Papers laid before Parliament (P P)

APPENDIX.

- A. Names of Officers, Bengal Artillery, 1842.
- B. Names of Officers, Bombay Artillery, 1842.
- C. Regimental Order Defence of Kalát-i-Ghilzai.
- D. List of Prisoners in Akbar Khan's Hands.
- E. Honours conferred upon Artillery Officers.

* This refers to the Duke's letter to Lord Ellenborough dated February 4th, 1843, more particularly the part commencing "I confess I do not admire the retreat" ("Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough," p. 345). The Duke seems to have been influenced by Lord Ellenborough's various criticisms both upon Pollock and Nott. The latter was spoken of at first very slightly, afterwards in terms of high praise.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan during the year 1842.

Major-Genl.	George Pollock, C.B		Comdg Troops West of Indus
Major	Frederick S. Sotheby	2nd Batt	Comdg. Arty Genl. Nott's Column
Bt.-Major	Henry Delafosse	3rd Tp 1st Bde.	Comdg. Arty Bengal Column
Captain	Thomas Nicholl	1st Tp 1st Bde.	killed in retreat at Jagdalak.
"	Augustus Abbott	1st Tp 1st Bde.	Comdg 2nd Co. 6th Batt
"	James Alexander	3rd Tp 2nd Bde	
"	William Anderson	4th Co 2nd Batt	Comdg II A., late Shah Shuja's Comy of Ordnance
"	John T. Lane	Mount Train	
"	Julius B. Backhouse		Political Emp. -- Comdg Sikh Contingent
"	Henry M. Lawrence		
Bt.-Captain	Augustine Fitzgerald	3rd Tp, 2nd Bde.	
"	George Larkins	3rd Tp 2nd Bde.	
"	George H. Macgregor		Political Employ.
"	Robert Waller	1st Tp 1st Bde	Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
Lieutenant	Frederick W. Cornish	3rd Co 2nd Batt.	
"	Llewellyn Smith	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
"	George L. Cooper		1st Troop Shah's H.A.
"	Sir Richmond C. Shakespear, Kt		(Mily Sevy to Genl. Pollock.
"	Robert Walker	4th Co 2nd Batt	
"	Vincent Eyre		Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
"	John L. C. Richardson	3rd Tp 1st Bde	
"	Charles Stewart	1st Tp 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat at Gandamak.
"	Michael Dawes	2nd Co. 6th Batt	
"	Frank Turner	2nd Tp, S. S. H. A	
"	John Abercrombie	3rd Tp 1st Bde	
"	Robert Warburton	Shah's Own Arty *	Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
"	Ernie Kyrle Money	3rd Tp. 1st Bde.	
"	Alexander W. Hawkins	1st Tp 1st Bde.	2nd Troop Shah's H.A.
"	Charles Douglas ..	2nd Co. 2nd Batt	Was attached to 2nd Co 6th Batt
"	Charles A. Greene	Mount Train	Killed in retreat at Jagdalak.
"	Thomas Brougham	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	

* Lieut. Warburton was appointed to the charge of some guns under this title. Took command, 23rd August, 1839.

NOTE A—*continued*

Lieutenant	Alexander Christie	4th Co 6th Batt.	Killed 3rd Nov. in action near Ali Masjid.
"	Alexander Robertson	4th Co. 6th Batt	
"	Robert H Pollock		A.D.C. to General Pollock.
Asst.-Surg.	Alexander Bryce, M D	1st Tp 1st Bde H A.	Killed in retreat at Tazin.
"	Richard W Faithful	3rd Tp 2nd Bde. H A	Medical Store Keeper with the Troops
"	Duncan McRae	3rd Tp 1st Bde H A	
"	Wm S. Comberbach	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
"	Herbert Coe	3rd Co 2nd Batt	
Vet. Surg.	W P Barrett		

NOTE B

Names of Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in Sind and Afghanistan during the year 1842

Bt.-Major	John Lloyd		Comdg Arty. in Sind.
Captain	James Sinclair		Comy Ordnance, Sind.
"	John T Leslie	1st Troop	
"	Francis J Pontardent		Political Employ
"	Henry Stamford		Comy. of Ordnance, Sukkur.
"	William T Whittle	2nd Co 2nd Batt	
"	Clements Blood	3rd Co 1st Batt ;	
Bt.-Captain	George Hutt	3rd Co Col	On sick leave.
Lieutenant	Henry Gibberne	3rd Co, Col	Doing duty from Survey Dept.
"	Edred Pottinger, C B		Political Employ
"	A F Rowan	1st Troop	
"	Edward S Blake	Det Col	Home on sick leave, 19th August, 1842.
"	Edward Welland	2nd Co 2nd Batt	Died at Sukkur, 27th Dec.
"	Thos. C. Pownoll	1st Troop	
"	George A Pruen	3rd Co 1st Batt	
"	David Erskine		Brigade Major Arty. in Sind.
"	Walter S Terry	3rd Co 1st Batt	Died at Peshawar, 9th Nov., 1842, of wound in action at Ali Masjid, 6th <i>idem</i> .
"	A B Kemball		
"	Reginald T Brett	1st Troop.	Doing duty from 4th Troop.
"	Charles B Fuller	Col ..	Sind.
"	John Worgan	.. Col. ...	Sind.
Second-Lieut	Edward Wray	.. 2nd Co, 2nd Batt	Transferred to 4th Troop.
"	John S Petrie	.. 2nd Co, 2nd Batt.	
"	J C. Smith	.. 1st Troop	
Asst.-Surg	R T C Baxter	.. 1st Troop	

NOTE C

ARTILLERY REGIMENTAL ORDERS,

20th July, 1842.

The Commandant has much pleasure in publishing the following extract from Lieutenant Walker's report of the good conduct of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion under his command in the defence of Kelat-i-Ghilzie —

"The attack was made about half past three a.m. The two main bodies were directed against two points of the fort, at one of which I had two 6-pounder guns, and at the other one 6 pounder. The enemy succeeded in planting their scaling-ladders and crossing the ditch by them, and at one time were in great force at the top of the hill, when the Europeans were obliged to resort to their small arms, and the enemy were by them and the Sepoys shot and bayoneted one after the other in numbers. Where every man of the detachment did his duty to the utmost it might seem not to require individual mention, but I deem it my duty to specify the names of the men at the three guns which had the luck of bearing the brunt of the engagement, as also the names of Staff-Sergeant A Sweeny, Corporal D McDonald, Magazine Sergeant, and Bombardier W Keelty, laboratory man.

1842.
May 21st.

CORPORALS		
W. Pitchey.	| F Bennet	| R C Middleton
GUNNERS		
J. Napier.	| B Kell	| W Hughes
W. Brown	| W Clear	| D Reddin.
T. Smith	| I Bryan.	| T Martin
M. Bradley	| W. Evans	| J McDonald
	| J Smith	

(with 3 Natives and 13 Privates, Gun Lascar Detail not entered here).

"(Signed) ROBERT WALKER, Lieutenant,
"Commanding Artillery, Kelat-i-Ghilzie."

NOTE D

List of Prisoners belonging to the Artillery released on the 21st September, 1842

Brevet-Major Eldred Pottinger (Bombay).
 Brevet-Captain R. Waller, H.A., wife and two children.
 Lieutenant V. Eyre, wife and one child
 Lieutenant R. Warburton
 Conductor Thos. B. Ryley, wife and three children.
 Sergeant Wade and wife.
 Sergeant M. McNee, H.A.
 Sergeant Cleland, H.A.
 Gunner A. Hearn, H.A.
 Gunner Kean, H.A.
 Gunner Dalton, H.A.

NOTE E

Honours conferred upon Artillery Officers for Services in the Afghan War, 1839-1842

BENGAL ARTILLERY.

G.G.O., 24th March, 1840 Major Pew, Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel.
 G.G.O., 24th Dec., 1842 { Captain Abbott, Brevet-Major and C.B.
 Captain MacGregor, Local Major and C.B.
 Captain Backhouse, Brevet-Major.
 G.G.O., 25th Jan., 1843. Major-General Pollock, C.B., G.C.B.*
 G.G.O., 21st Feb., 1843 { Majors Sotheby and Delafosse, C.B. |
 Captain Anderson, Brevet Major and C.B.
 Major Backhouse, C.B.
 Captains Lane and Lawrence, Brevet-Major.

BOMBAY ARTILLERY.

G.G.O., 24th March, 1840. { Lieut.-Colonel T. Stevenson, C.B.
 Captains Lloyd and Coghlan, Brevet-Major.
 Lieut. E. Pottinger, Local Major and C.B.
 G.G.O., 21st Feb., 1843. Captains Leslie and Blood, Brevet-Major.

CHAPTER IV.

GWALIOR CAMPAIGN.

DIFFICULTIES WITH GWALIOR—Army of Exercise Formed—Left Wing—Constitution of Force—Right Wing Advance to Hingonah—Move towards Chaunda—Movement of Cavalry on the Left—Attack of centre on Maharajpur—Of Right Brigade—Cavalry and Horse Artillery attack Chaudah and Shikarpur—Enemy driven across the River—Remarks—Conduct of Infantry—Heavy Casualty Roll—Advance of Left Wing—Battle of Paniar—Honours and Rewards

THE state of affairs at Gwalior in the year 1843 was very disturbed. The army had acquired a dangerously predominant power during the reign of the young Maharaja Jankoji Rao Sindiah, who died February 7th. His widow, but thirteen years old, adopted as successor a boy of eight. The M^ama Sahib, maternal uncle of Jankoji, was appointed Regent with the support of our Resident at Gwalior, but the child-widow was under the influence of a party hostile to him, of which the D^ada Kh^as^agiw^ala was leader. A series of Court intrigues followed. The army wished to be paramount, and was massed about Gwalior. Disturbances and fighting followed. The Regent and British Resident were obliged to leave, and several British officers were dismissed Sindiah's service. Unwilling as he was to interfere, the Governor-General was constrained to provide for the security of our territory.

Sir Hugh Gough had lately succeeded Sir Jasper Nicolls as Commander-in-Chief. A force was assembled at Agra in November under his personal command, called "The Army of Exercise." Shortly after, another, called "The Left Wing" was formed. The corps composing it, from Mirzapur, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and the south of

1843.

1843. Bandelkhand, concentrated at Jhānsi towards the latter part of December.

The whole force was thus constituted :—

Artillery.

Brigadier G. E. Gowan, Commanding

Captain J. H. Macdonald, D.A.A G, Captain L. F. Day,
Commissary of Ordnance

Horse Artillery Brigadier E. Biddulph, Lieutenant E. G. Austin, Brigade-Major

52 Fd. Batt.	2nd Troop	2nd Brigade,	Captain C. Grant.
2-2 Dep. Div	3rd "	" "	Major V. Alexander.
L., R.H.A.	1st Troop	3rd Brigade,	Captain Brind
57 Fd. Batt.	2nd "	" "	Major J T. Lane
S., R.H.A.	3rd "	" "	Captain G. Campbell
	Foot Artillery	Brigadier J Tennant,	Captain A. Huish,
	Brigade-Major		
21 Fd. Batt.	1st Co. 1st Batt.	No 10 H F.B,	Major T Sanders.
10 Fd. Batt.	2nd " 1st "	Reserve *	
8 Co. S. Div	1st " 3rd "	Reserve *	
23 Fd. Batt	2nd " 3rd "	Reserve *	
2 Mt. Batt.	1st " 4th "	No 17 H.F.B,	Captain B Browne.
4 Mt. Batt.	2nd " 4th "	Reserve,	Lieut H D'O Baillic.
6 Mt. Batt.	3rd " 4th "	Reserve.	
6 Co. E Div.	4th " 4th "	Reserve,	Lieut. H S Leathes
	6th " 6th "	No 16 L F B,	Lieut W. Olpherts.
	5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Cos	6th Batt Native Reserve.	

Engineers

Major E. J. Smith, 1st, 3rd, and 4th Cos. Sappers.

Cavalry.

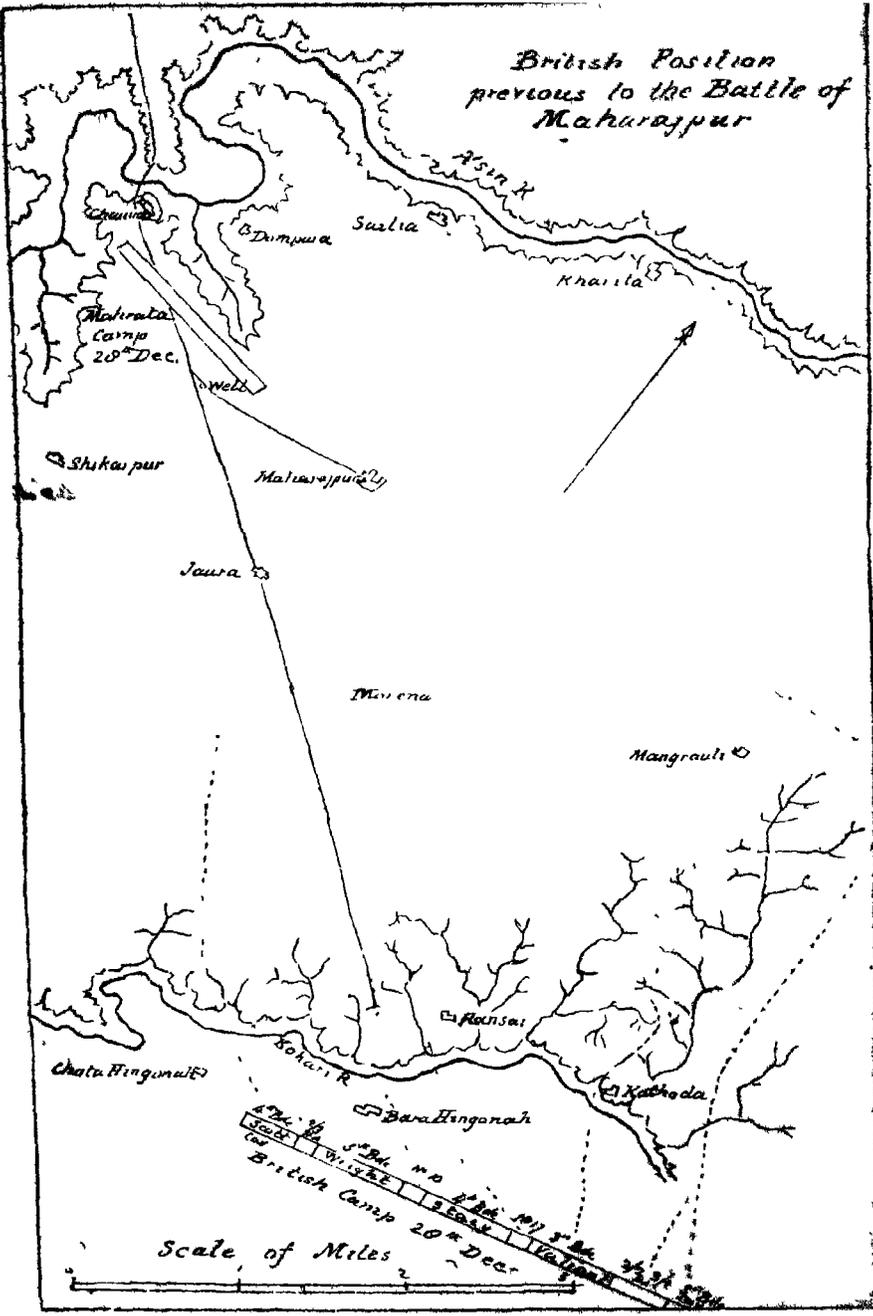
Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, K C.B, K.H., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier A. Campbell, K.H.: two squadrons 9th Lancers, two squadrons 5th, two squadrons 11th L.C., wing 2nd I.C.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier D Harriott. 8th L.C., 8th I.C., Cavalry Bandelkhand Legion.

* Sent back to Agra from Dholpur with siege-train.

British Position
previous to the Battle of
Maharajpur



3rd Brigade.—Brigadier C. R. Cureton : 16th Lancers, 1st L.C., 4th L.C. 1843.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier J. Scott : Body Guard, 4th and 10th L.C.

Infantry.

1ST DIVISION : Major-General J. Grey, C.B., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier W. A. Yates : 3rd Buffs, 39th and 51st N.I., Bandelkhand Legion.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier R. Blackall H.M. 50th, 50th and 58th N.I.

2ND DIVISION : Major-General Dennis, Commanding

3rd Brigade.—Major-General T. Valiant, K.H. ; 2nd and 16th N.I. *1843*

4th Brigade.—Brigadier L. R. Stacy, C.B. 14th, 31st, and 43rd N.I.

3RD DIVISION : Major-General J. H. Littler, Commanding.

5th Brigade.—Brigadier T. Wright H.M., 39th, 35th,* and 56th N.I.

6th Brigade.—Brigadier S. D. Riley 62nd and 70th N.I., Kalát-i-Ghilzai Regiment.

The left wing consisted of the 1st and 2nd Brigades of Cavalry, and General Grey's division of Infantry, and Brind's and Campbell's Troops of H.A., and Lieutenant W. Olpherts' Field Battery. December.

The right wing left Agra on the 16th, and crossed the River Chambal on the 21st. The Gwalior Durbar gave up the Dáda, who had been worsted in a fight with the army, but till the army was under control there was no security that tranquillity would be maintained. However, most of the siege-train, with some reserve companies, were sent back to Agra, there to wait for orders. Six 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, and the reserve companies of the 4th Battalion went with the army to Hingonah on the Kohári River, where the Governor-General waited for an interview

* Left at Agra.

1843.
December.

with the heads of the Gwalior State, which did not come off.

While there, it was known that the Mahráta army had moved forward to Chaunda on the Ásín River. The Commander-in-Chief, with the Quarter-Master-General, reconnoitred as far as the village of Maharájpur, but it was only occupied by a picquet of the Mahráta Infantry. There had been no declaration of war, but the attitude of the two armies was equivalent to one. From the Chief's dispatch it would appear that his intention was to have made a threatening movement with his left and a direct attack upon the centre, while General Valiant, with Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry and Horse Artillery, turned their left. The Gwalior army, however, did not mean to fight with the river and its intricate ravines immediately behind them. They advanced to Maharájpur on the 28th and there entrenched themselves. A line of vedettes and patrols three miles in advance of the Kohári River would have been of use here.

On the 28th orders were issued for an advance, preparatory to an attack upon Chaunda. It was believed to be the Commander-in-Chief's intention to encamp at or near Maharajpur. The army was directed to move in three columns —

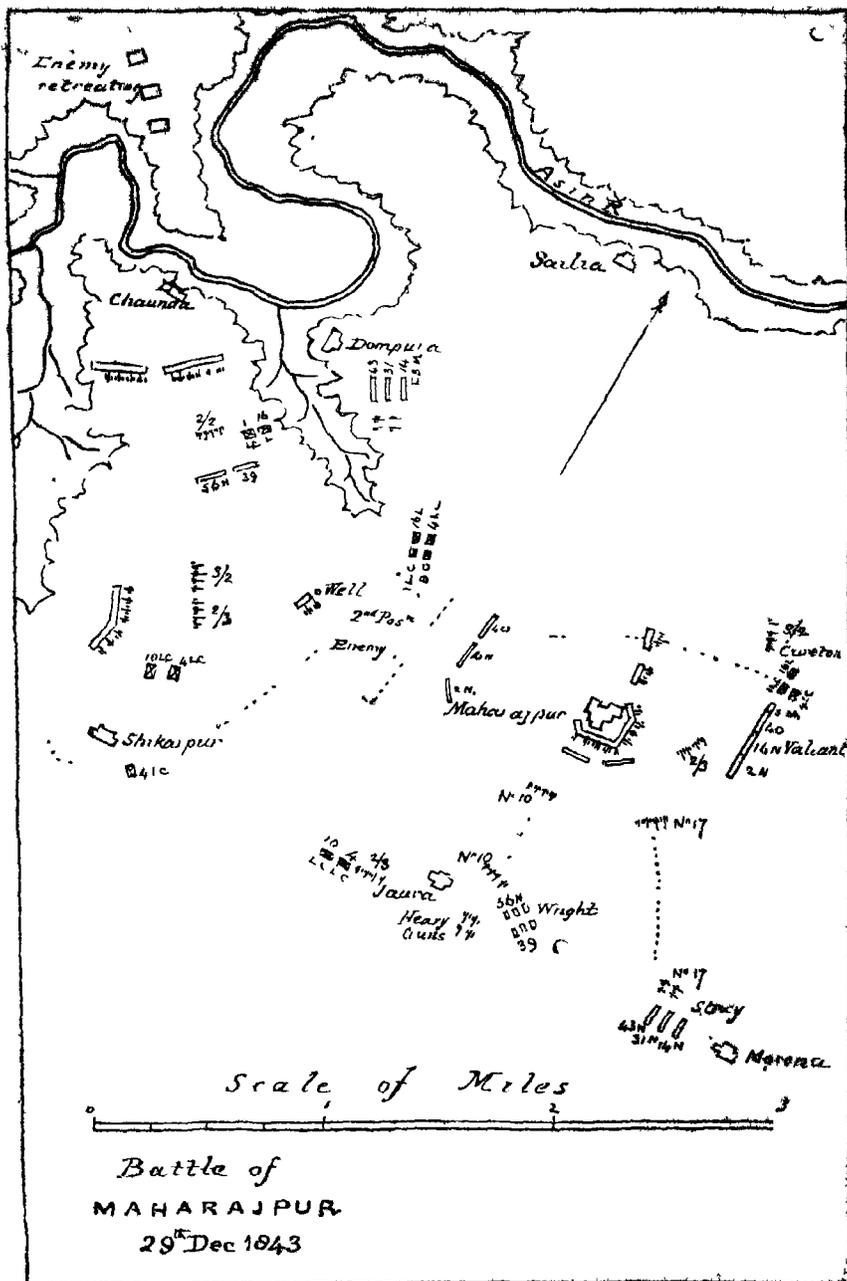
Brigadier Scott's Cavalry with Lane's Troop on the left of the village of Jaura, Brigadier Wright with Sanders' Field Battery on its right, Brigadier Stacy with Browne's Field Battery on Morena. Half an hour before daybreak

General Valiant's brigade, crossing the Kohári nearly in its front in the direction of Mangrauli, had to pass over a considerable distance much intersected with ravines. At daybreak.

Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry, with Grant's and Alexander's Troops, on Mangrauli. They had to make a detour to the right to avoid the ravines. At daybreak.

Dec. 29th.

The 6th Brigade of Infantry, with four risálas of Irregular



Cavalry, were kept in rear to protect the parks and commissariat. No mention is made of the heavy guns or the reserve companies with them. Apparently they were left to make their own arrangements, and they followed up the road by Chota Hingonah.

The Cavalry, with Lane's Troop on the left, got to Jaura without hindrance. Lieutenant R. G. Simeon, 10th L.C., going on to reconnoitre, was fired upon from a battery at a well on the road to Chaunda. The sun, being only just above the horizon, was in the eyes of our men, making it difficult to see in the direction of the enemy, who had the visual advantage. Captain Lane took his Troop forward and came into action, but suffered so severely from the weight of metal against him that it was thought advisable to lumber up and retire. One of his trumpeters had both legs taken off by a shot. At this time the attack on the centre had not developed fully.

It was originally intended that Brigadier Stacy should have led the central attack on the expected position at Chaunda, but when the Commander-in-Chief approached Maharájpur the Mahráta guns opening fire showed him where they really were. The 5th Brigade was opposite to the enemy's batteries,* and Stacy, coming up from Morena, was a little in rear to the right. Staff-officers were sent to bring up the Field Batteries. It was yet early, and the heavy guns were not far behind. Had they been placed in position and given a chance the casualty roll at the end of the day would have been much smaller. Captain Frend, A D C., came up first with Captain Browne's battery, which was thus the earliest in action.† Captain Sanders, with No 10, arrived immediately afterwards, and for some time a hot fire was kept up. The weight and number of the Mahráta guns behind their entrenchments exceeded those of the batteries

* C.-in-C.'s Dispatch, January 4th.

† Colonel Frend, from whom I have received two valuable accounts of this action.

1843.
Dec. 29th.

1843
Dec. 29th.

attacking. Round and grape (and by some accounts chain) shot tore through our ranks, so Sir Hugh Gough, ever impatient of delay, ordered forward General Littler with his one* brigade of two regiments. He signalled to General Valiant, still at some distance on the right, to co-operate. Littler gave the word to Brigadier Wright, whose regiments advanced in double column of subdivisions, deploying at 100 yards, but not firing till about 50† yards off, when they delivered a volley, and rushed in upon the guns. The Mahráta gunners made a desperate resistance, fighting hand-to-hand, before they gave way. From the tops of houses and from trees a matchlock-fire was kept up, inflicting severe loss on us.

The 4th Brigade, headed by Major-General Dennis and Brigadier Stacy, is said to have followed up the attack. It did so afterwards, but from the very small number of casualties in it,‡ the remark on the official plan, "kept in reserve," is correct in fact. Had the Chief waited a little it would have been a support.

General Valiant's Brigade was moving up from Mangrauli when the batteries opened upon Maharájpur. As he approached, shot from the guns on that side of the village passed over their heads and line was formed, the 40th Regiment on the right, then the 16th and 2nd N.I. They advanced under a heavy fire from the guns both on that side of the village and to the south of it, and, there being no cover, suffered severely. On getting to close quarters they fired a volley and charged with the bayonet. The 39th and 56th N.I. had effected an entrance on their side, and the village was soon cleared and set fire to, after which the 3rd Brigade captured the guns outside which had been firing on them as they advanced.

Sir J. Thackwell with the Horse Artillery and Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry having a long detour to make, did not

* His other brigade was on rear guard.

† One account says 60; another 40. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

‡ 14th N.I., two wounded, 31st N.I., none; 43rd N.I., one killed, four wounded

arrive at Mangrauli till after the Infantry had gone on, but, quickening their pace, they came up with them about half-past eight o'clock. Moving forward, Captains Grant and Alexander became engaged with the Mahráta batteries in their front. At first the two Troops were acting independently of each other, but the 3rd Troop, finding itself at too long a range, received permission to join the 2nd Troop, and their united fire at 500 yards drove the enemy from their guns. Following them up, they came within the range of batteries, some at Chaunda, more about Shikarpur. Captain Alexander was sent against the latter. One of them was soon after charged and captured by Brigadier Scott's Cavalry,* which then followed up the enemy's Horse, sweeping round the village

1843.
December.

Dec 29th

Captain Grant, sent against the batteries at Chaunda, unlimbered at 600 yards, and for a time was fighting double the number of guns, so well placed and sheltered, that even on horseback nothing more than the muzzles could be seen. His losses here were very great, and an ammunition wagon was blown up. Once and again the enemy abandoned their guns, but the Troop having no support beyond a few men of the 1st L.C., they returned again. At last, however, General Littler came up with Wright's Brigade in rear of the Troop, where, being under a heavy fire as might have been expected, they lay down 300 yards behind them. Grant's ammunition was now becoming exhausted, and Brigadier Gowan sent Captain Macdonald to

* Brigadier Gowan in his dispatch says "Stormed and taken by the Infantry" But he, at the time, was some distance off, near Grant's Troop. Colonel Dumbleton, in a letter giving very full details, says: "We turned to the east, and charged down on a battery of some twelve guns, about the position the 10th and 4th are shown on your map; no enemy are here shown, which is erroneous, as there were two batteries, well supported by Cavalry. We should have been exterminated, but they had not time to lower their guns, and shot over us. Then we made a long sweep round Shikarpore, etc" The map I sent Colonel Dumbleton was a copy of the official lithographed one, which is, in the main, correct. As to the actual capture of the guns, Cavalry very rarely have the opportunity or means of taking them away, and if not spiked, they might have been used again till taken again by General Valiant's Brigade, as related below.

1843.
Dec. 29th.

request General Littler to move up and support the guns. This was done at once; the remains of the two gallant regiments forming line took ground to the left, and when clear of the guns wheeled up. Another cheer, a last charge, and the guns were ours. No regiment that day left so many on the field as the 39th, Major Straubenzee led it out of action fewer by 216 officers and men than had mustered that morning on parade. The 56th N I, though their casualties were not nearly as great, had done well.

The 3rd Brigade under General Valiant, after passing Maharájpur, moved towards Shikarpur, taking in succession three * entrenched positions of the enemy. Captain Alexander's Troop, which had worked on in this direction, was joined by Captain Lane's. Captain Sanders' battery also came into action against the batteries north-east of Maharájpur. Brigadier Stacy's brigade, with Captain Browne's battery, passed up to the village of Dompura, but it was not seriously engaged here. The Mahráta army, driven from its guns, were retreating across the Ásin River, and our brigades wisely refrained from following them into the intricate ravines which bordered the stream.

Sir Hugh Gough's tactics at Maharájpur were not to be commended. Besides the fact of his not having been aware of the enemy's position, the neglect of not using his heavy guns was inexcusable. They only got as far as Jaura, where they fired one shot. The wave of battle had swept onward and they got no chance. Brigadier Tennant, a most capable and scientific officer, felt it very much. The Commander-in-Chief inserts in his dispatch a lame apology, that the Infantry were too quick for them. The experience of all Artillerymen tells them that it could have been rather the other way. This is said advisedly, with practical experience of it. Sádi's lines were applicable to Sir Hugh Gough as soon as the music of war began:—

* So in C.-in-C.'s dispatch. They are not marked on any of the plans.

“An nah man básham kih roz-i-jang bíní pusht-i-man
An manam kándar miyán-i-khák o khun bíní sirin.”*

1843.
Dec. 29th.

He, with his own and the Governor-General's Staff, were foremost throughout. Major-General Churchill lost both legs by a shot and died after the surgical operation. Colonel Somerset and Lieut-Colonel E. Sanders, Deputy Secretary to Government Military Department, who had served with distinction in the Afghan War, were killed, and Captain G. Frend, A.D.C., lost an arm

The conduct of the Infantry regiments was admirable. The casualties in the 5th Brigade have been mentioned; in the 3rd those in H.M. 40th amounted to 184, in the 16th Grenadier N.I. to 180, and in the 2nd Grenadier N.I. to 41. Upon these two brigades the brunt of the fighting fell. The 4th and 10th Cavalry had 47 men and 63 horses killed and wounded. Those in the Artillery are given in the Appendix. Considering how much our light field-guns were overmatched in weight of metal and number of guns, they might have been greater. The number captured from the enemy amounted to 49, from 18-pounders down to 3-pounders. Lieutenant Leathes rode forward in front of the heavy guns, when a round shot took off his head.

OPERATIONS OF THE LEFT WING.

December.

The Left Wing arrived at Bar ke Serai on the morning of the 28th. Gwalior was not quite 20 miles further. Seven miles from camp a ridge of hills intervened, and here, close to Antri, a Mahráta force of some 12,000 men, under Colonel Sikandar, of Sindiah's army, prepared to dispute the pass. Sir John Grey knew that we were treating with the Durbar, and he was under orders not to force a battle. The position was a strong one. Next morning, therefore, he changed direction to the left, marched to Himmatgarh, and thence through a narrow valley, much intersected with ravines, to Paniár, a distance of 16 miles.

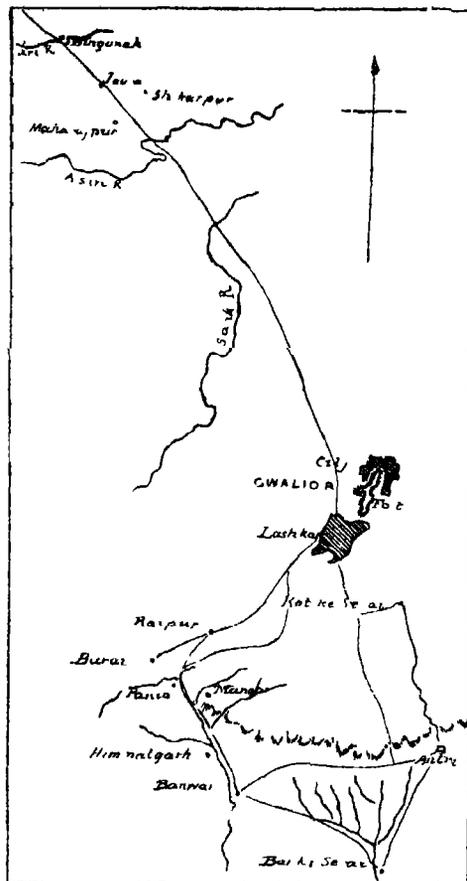
Dec. 29th.

* I am not one whose back you shall see in the day of battle,
I am one whose head you shall see in the midst of dust and blood.
—Gulistan.

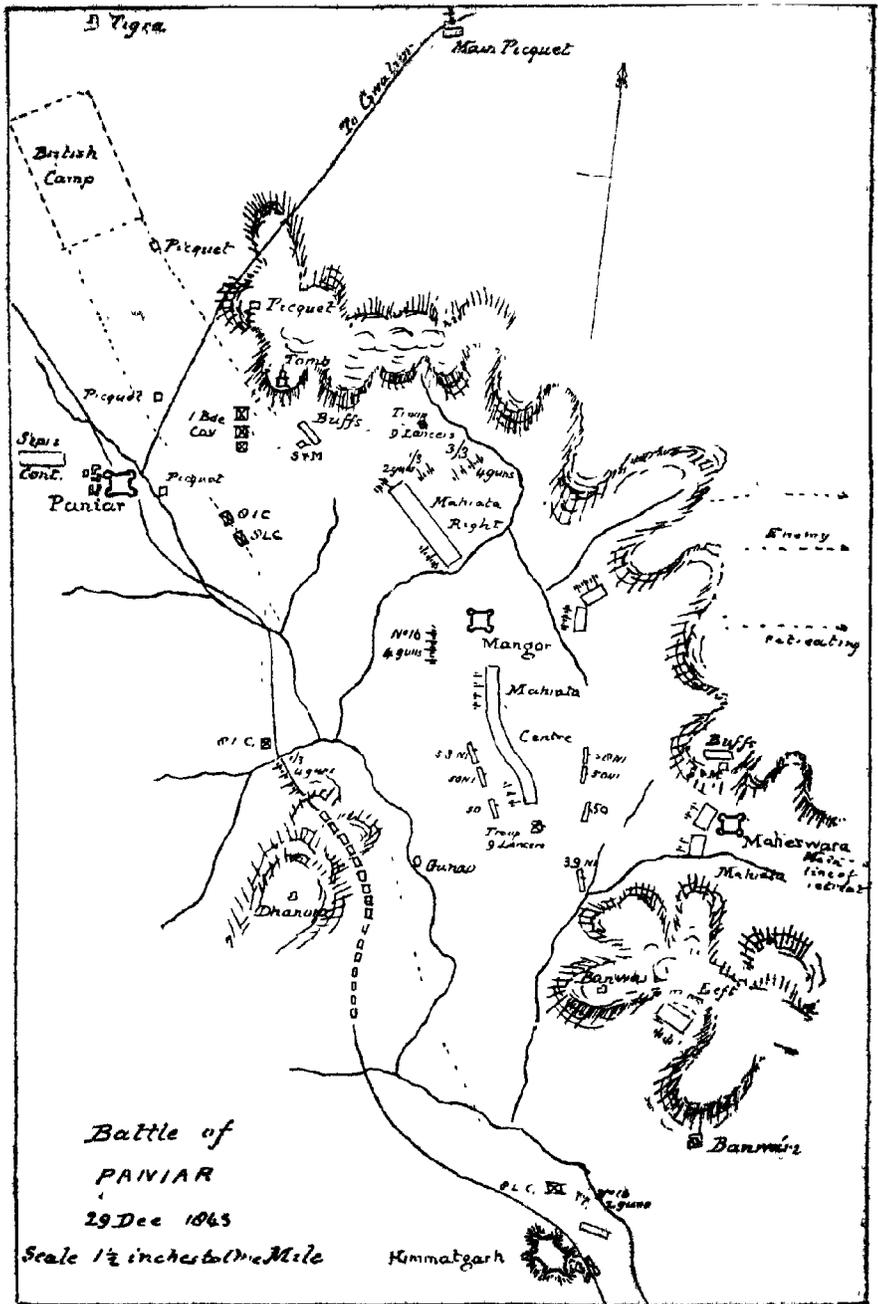
1843.
Dec. 29th.

In making this flank movement, the 39th N.I., a squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Captain F. Brind's Troop of H.A., covered the main column on the right. Captain G. Campbell, with four guns of his Troop, were on the advanced guard, and the remaining two, under Bt-Captain Humfrays, in rear.

The main body got to their ground beyond Paniár near mid-day, and camp was marked out. Tents were arriving and being pitched; breakfasts, baths, or slumber were in near prospect for those whose duties did not call them to other employments. The line of baggage, for this campaign was conducted in the



most luxurious style, some nine miles in length, was still wending its tortuous course along the valley, when a little after noon a message was received in camp that the rear guard were engaged. Brigadier Harriott was at once dispatched with all the available Cavalry. Lieutenant C. V. Cox turned out at once with two guns, followed shortly



Battle of
 PANIGARH
 29 Dec 1865

Scale 1/2 inch to 1 mile

Kimmatgarh

by Captain Brind with two more, on some high ground near Dhanora, a small village S.S.W. of Mangor. The enemy had come across from Antri through the hills and took up a position on the heights overlooking the valley. The fort of Mangor was nearly in their centre, and from thence they now were opening fire. As soon as the fire of Captain Brind's guns had sufficiently silenced those opposed to him, the 3rd Buffs, with a company of Sappers, was directed against them. Ravines made the ground difficult for Cavalry. It was the General's intention to have delayed this attack until he had brought a force to bear upon the centre and left of the Mahráta position. The Buffs, however, advanced on their right, forcing it back from one height to another, finally capturing 11 guns and a standard.

1843.
Dec. 29th.

Major Geddes was sent with Captain Campbell, four of his, and two of the 1st Troop guns, against a large battery in rear of their line and fort Mangor. Our batteries were very short of officers, as the list in the Appendix shows Brigadier Biddulph,* in his dispatch of the 31st, says:— "Having only two officers with these six guns, Major Geddes and Captain Campbell, I directed Captain Austin, Major of Brigade, to assist in the battery." Lieutenant Bouchier and two of the 3rd Troop guns were left with the advanced picquet about half way towards the camp, on a height which overlooked both it and the road leading to Gwalior.

After an hour's firing the guns opposed to Major Geddes were silenced, the enemy were retreating towards Gwalior, and at dark the guns returned to camp.

Lieutenant W. Olpherts, with his two howitzers and two 9-pounder guns, took up a position near Mangor, which enabled him to enfilade the battery opposed to Major Geddes and Campbell's guns, and thus rendered material aid in silencing them.

* Brigadier Biddulph was with this battery, as the guns opposed to them formed the main point of the enemy's position.

1843.
Dec. 29th.

Meanwhile H.M. 50th Regiment, a wing of the 39th, a wing of the 50th, and the 51st N.I. had commenced operating on the left of the hostile line. Behind it, at the village of Maheswára, were the left flanking guns of the enemy. Colonel Anderson, K H, of the 50th Regiment, commanded this attack, which was completely successful at all points.

Lieutenant Tombs, with two guns, had been detailed for the important duty of the rear guard, and was engaged for a short time with a detached party of the enemy threatening the rear

The captured guns, 24 in number, were secured during the night and following day, and the troops returned after dark to camp, leaving the heights lately occupied by the enemy to the Sipri contingent of the Gwalior army, under Brigadier Orlando Stubbs, which had arrived that morning and was present in the action, although as yet it had not been actively engaged. A 9-pounder field battery was attached to this force, commanded by Lieutenant John H. Smyth. The wounded were collected and sent into camp together with any guns not before secured. Desultory firing occurred during the night, and at daybreak a heavy fire was opened upon the contingent from some heights to the north-east, but after some well-directed rounds from the guns, the contingent cleared the hills, and the Mahráta force finally withdrew

December.

This action only cost the Artillery one gunner and one horse of the 3rd Troop killed. The casualties of the three regiments of Infantry most engaged, the Buffs, 71; the 50th, 42; and the 39th N I, 62, compare favourably with the returns from Maharájpur. The ground was more unfavourable for our Artillery, yet its effect in reducing the casualties in the assault was marked.

Two days after General Sir J. Grey received orders to join the right wing; the Maharani tendered her submission, and the army was broken up after a campaign which was comprised almost within the space of one week.

The Governor-General conferred a donation of six months' batta upon the troops employed, likewise a medal in the shape of a bronze star, which his Grace the Iron Duke was said to have disapproved of as too much of a decoration, though the anomaly, if any, has since been repeated. The following honours were conferred on Artillery officers :—

1843.
December

Colonels Gowan and Biddulph, C B.

Majors Geddes, Sanders, Alexander, Lane, Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel.

Captains Browne, Grant, Brind, Campbell, and Macdonald, Brevet-Major.

A force was raised in the Gwalior State, officered from the British Army instead of the Sipri force, called the "Gwalior Contingent" It contained four batteries of Artillery, the command of which was conferred upon Lieutenants V. Eyre, R Warburton, J. H. Smyth, and A. W. Hawkins. Brevet-Captain Frank Turner was Brigade-Major.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders

Muster Rolls.

Army Lists.

India Office Records.

Thornton's "History of India."

Letters from various officers employed

APPENDIX.

- A. Officers of Bengal Artillery at Maharájpur.
- B. Return of killed and wounded, Maharájpur.
- C. Officers of Bengal Artillery at Pániár.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery present with the right-wing of the army at the Battle of Maharajpur.

Lieut.-Col.	G. E. Gowan	.	Comdg. Artillery.
"	J. Tennant	.	Comdg. Foot Artly.
"	J. J. Farrington	4th Batt	
Major	G. G. Denniss	2nd Batt	Comdg. 6th Batt.
"	T. Sanders	1st Co. 1st Batt	No. 10, Horse Field Battery.
Captain	B. Brown	2nd Co. 4th Batt	Comdg. 1st Co. and No. 17 Horse Field Battery.
"	C. Grant	2nd Troop 2nd Bde	
Bt.-Major	J. Alexander	3rd Troop 2nd Bde	Commy Ordnance.
Captain	E. F. Day		Asst.-Adjt.-Gen Arty Adjutant
Bt.-Major	J. T. Lane	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	
Bt.-Captain	J. H. Mac Donald		Adjutant.
"	A. Fitzgerald	2nd Bde. II A	Brigade-Major
"	C. E. Mills	2nd Troop 3rd Bde	Adjutant
"	J. Whitefoord	4th Batt	
"	A. Huish		
Lieutenant	W. R. Warner	6th Batt	Doing duty with 3rd Troop 2nd Bde.
"	G. H. Clifford	2nd Troop 2nd Bde.	Killed in Action.
"	G. Mour	2nd Troop 3rd Bde	
"	P. Christie	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	Doing duty with 1st Co. 4th Batt.
"	A. Wintle		Doing duty with 1st Co. 4th Batt.
"	H. S. Leathes	4th Co. 4th Batt.	
"	H. D'O. Baillie	2nd Co. 4th Batt	
Second-Lieut	F. F. Remington	5th Co. 4th Batt	
"	G. Holland	2nd Co. 4th Batt	
"	H. Le G. Bruce	1st Co. 1st Batt	
"	D. MacNeill	4th Co. 4th Batt	
"	H. H. Maxwell	4th Co. 4th Batt	
"	G. Maister		Doing duty with 2nd Co. 4th Batt.
"	G. Milligan	1st Co. 1st Batt.	
"	J. R. Sladen	1st Co. 1st Batt	

NOTE B.

Return of killed and wounded with the Army of Exercise at Maharájpur, 29th December, 1843.

	KILLED					WOUNDED							MISSING				
	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters.	Syces.	Horses	Non-Commissioned Officers	Farriers.	Rough Riders.	Gunners	Gun Lascars.		Syces	Horses	Ordnance Drivers	Tent Lascars.	Horses.	
										Havildars	Privates.						
2nd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.				2	6	1		1	4	1	1	2	2				3
3rd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.			1	1	4				3	1		0	1				1
2nd Troop 3rd Bde H.A.					15	2	1		3				7		1		
1st Co 1st Batt and No 10 L.F.B.	1				4				4			1					1
1st Co 4th Batt and No 17 L.F.B.														1			
4th Co 4th Batt	1																
	1	1	1	3	27	3	1	1	19	1	2	9	12	1	1		7

Lieutenant H S Leathes killed Rough-rider since dead Captain Grant's and Lieutenant Christie's chargers wounded. Ammunition wagons blown up, 1 in 2-2, 1 in 2-3 H.A. Wheels disabled by the enemy's fire, 2 in 2-2; 1 in 3-2; 2 in 2-3 H.A., 1 in No. 10, 1 in No 17 Field Batteries.

NOTE C.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery present with the left wing of the army at the Battle of Paniar

Lieut.-Col	E. Biddulph			Comdg. Arty., Left Wing
Major	W. Geddes	..	3rd Bde. II A	
Captain	F. Brind	..	1st Troop 3rd Bde	
"	G. Campbell	..	3rd Troop 3rd Bde	
Bt.-Captain	A. Humfrays	..	3rd Troop 3rd Bde	
"	E. G. Austin	..	...	Brigade-Major.
Lieutenant	J. H. Smyth	..	...	Comdg Field Battery, Sipri Contingent.
"	C. V. Cox	..	1st Troop 3rd Bde	
"	G. Bouchier	..	3rd Troop 3rd Bde	
"	W. Olpherts	..	6th Co. 6th Batt	No. 16 B.F.B.
Second-Lieut.	H. Tombs	..	3rd Co 5th Batt.	Doing duty with 6th Co. 6th Batt.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST SIKH WAR.

DISURBED FEELING IN THE SIKH ARMY—Ferozepore—Sikhs cross the Sutlej and threaten Ferozepore—Troops moved up—Battle of Mudki—Artillery Officers Killed—Move on Ferozeshah—Order of Brigading—Arrangements for Attack—Advance of Littler's Division—Its repulse—Attack by Main Body—Major Todd Killed—Entrenchments Forced—But not Held—Position of the Army on the night of the 21st—Renewal of Attack morning of the 22nd—Its Success—Appearance of Sikh army from Investment of Ferozepore—Failure of Ammunition—Critical position of the British Army—Sikhs draw off—Artillery and Cavalry ordered to Ferozepore—Captain Egerton's Death—Move towards Sohraon—New Brigading—Sir Harry Smith detached towards Ludhiána—Action at Badhwal—Battle of Alwal—Siege train joins—Battle of Sohraon—Peace—Expedition against Kangra

1845. WHEN Sir Henry Hardinge came to India as Governor-General in August, 1844, he found the north-west frontier in a very unprotected state. Since the death of Ranjit Singh (June 27th, 1839), no one in the Punjab, either as Sovereign or Prime Minister, had been able to control the Khalsa. His three successors had died by violence in the space of four years, and the Maharaja now was a child whose mother had not the moral qualifications necessary to make her respected. The army had seen British soldiers marching across the Punjab to Afghanistan and back with unconcealed disgust, which roused the feeling of hatred towards Hindustan which had existed ever since a Sikh Guru had given his head, but not his secret, to the Delhi Emperor * It was known to our political agents that there was little inducement required to kindle the flames of war.

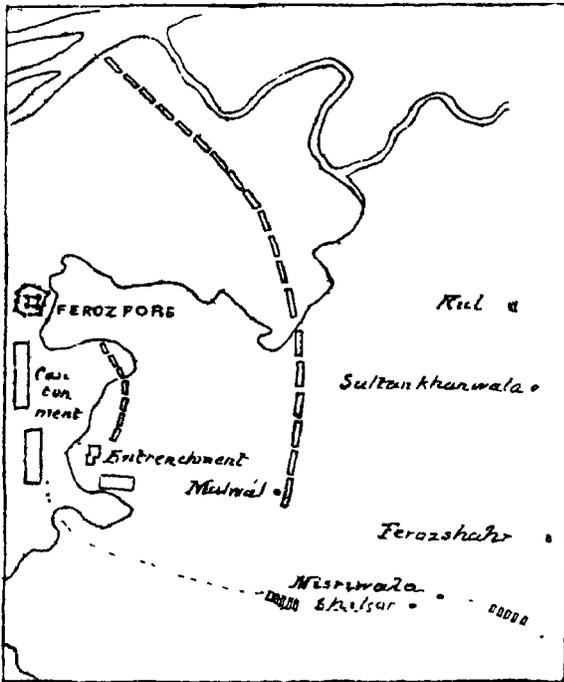
Ludhiána had been our frontier fort since 1806, a can-

* Tegh Bahadur, ninth Guru, put to death in 1675 by Aurangzeb. The manner of his death, legendary, but serious fact to a Sikh, is referred to.

tonment since 1809. Karnál, distant 11 marches, was its nearest support till 1843, when Umballa, distant eight marches, took its place.

1845.

Ferozepore was made a cantonment in 1838, and a brigade command in 1842. Here there was a depôt for ordnance stores, kept at first in one of the town gateways bricked up, till Lord Ellenborough constructed for their



SIR H. ARMY BLORE FEROZEPORI

protection some earthworks, afterwards improved into a fort.

Lord Hardinge at once perceived the danger that was threatening. Quietly and cautiously, additional troops were moved up to Ludhiána, Ferozepore, Umballa, and Meerut. In the latter part of 1845 the garrison of Ferozepore consisted of two Troops, a Field Battery and a Reserve

1845. Company of Artillery; two regiments of Cavalry, one of H.M.'s and seven of native Infantry. In addition, the 27th N.I. from Moradabad and the 63rd N.I. on its way to Sind were there. The station was commanded by Major-General Sir J. H. Littler, K.C.B., who had, as an ensign, in 1804 drawn out his company at Fatehgarh to dispute the way with Holkar's army, and in 1843 had led the front attack at Maharajpur.

December

The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej between Hari ki Patan and Kasur on the 11th of December, and moved towards Ferozepore. General Littler immediately left the 63rd and 27th N.I. with the Reserve Artillery to guard cantonments, entrenchment, and city, and with all the rest moved across the Nullah behind the bazaar on the 13th. On the 15th he advanced two miles to the south-west. The Sikh army, reported 60,000 strong, with 120 guns, was in sight.* There, drawn up each morning of the 15th and 16th in front of his camp, he awaited them, and his determined attitude doubtless caused them to hesitate before they attacked. On the night of the 17th, part of the army moved off to meet the Commander-in-Chief's force, now close at hand.

The Governor-General had come to Umballa early in the month. As soon as it was known that the Sikhs were in motion for the Sutlej, each regiment and battery under orders marched forward. We were not taken unawares. Nothing but careful anticipation could have placed an army in line at Mudki, a week after the Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej.

Coming up by detachments as they did there was not much time for arrangement. Consequently the G.O. giving a list of the regiments and batteries constituting the "Army of the Sutlej" enumerates in the brigades of Cavalry and Infantry some corps which did not arrive till some time afterwards.

* The numbers opposed to us were magnified, even in some of the dispatches. But the fighting qualities of the Sikh were undervalued, and the serious difficulties we encountered were ascribed to the first more than to the last.

1845.
December.

Sir H. Hardinge's camp was at Serai Lashkar on the 12th. He rode into Ludhiána that day and inspected Wheeler's Brigade. On the 13th it was known there that the Sikhs were on the left bank of the Sutlej at Hari ki Patan. Prince Waldemar of Prussia, travelling under the name of Count Ravensberg, was at Ludhiána, and with Counts Groben and Oriola of his suite dined in the evening at the Horse Artillery Mess. The orders for the march had been issued that day. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade had suffered so severely from a type of fever just before prevalent at Ludhiána that only four guns were taken, and the sick were left in hospital. At first it was contemplated leaving the whole Troop behind, but Captain Pringle O'Hanlon, D.Q.M.G., came to the mess at 8 o'clock to say they were to march at daybreak, and that the 1st Troop was to go. Captain Delafosse and his subaltern, Lieutenant Tombs, mounted a pony waiting outside and rode down to the barracks with the good news.

The first march to Bassián was 28 miles. Here large stores of grain which had been collected by Major G. Broadfoot were secured. At Wadni, a large walled town, on the 16th, the Governor shut the gates and refused supplies, but a line of 6-pounders in position made him open them. "These are the Political Agents," said the gunner, as they reversed and unlimbered. The Artillery from Umballa, with the main force, joined this day, and Brigadier G. Brooke assumed command of the whole arm.

After a short march on the 17th, the army had a long and tedious one of 21 miles to Mudki on the 18th, and camp was marked out, the Horse Artillery together in the centre. When the horses had been seen to, the officers assembled in front of Major Brind's Shamiána and were taking a little hasty refreshment, when some Syces were seen running up from stables crying out "Tyári ka hukm hai," "Order to get ready." The horses were traced in, and in a very short time the batteries were all on the move.

1845.
Dec. 18th.

Major Broadfoot had gone on to reconnoitre, and came back at a gallop with intelligence that the Sikh army was advancing. The Governor-General had himself given orders to turn out. All thoughts of hunger and weariness vanished. As the line advanced, a dense cloud of dust rising above the jungle in front, and obscuring the bright sky of an Indian winter, told of the enemy. It was now about three o'clock, the country was level, covered with bush (jau) jungle, here and there open spaces, and dotted with sandy hillocks. Lieutenant Moir, with the two guns of the 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, from the Governor-General's escort, was attached to Captain Dashwood's four. The Horse Artillery, flanked by the Cavalry, went forward at a brisk pace, the field batteries coming on after. At about a mile and half, the guns came into action, and those on the Sikh side promptly replied. The Field Batteries soon came up on the flank, and 42 guns were at work.

Both Brigadier Brookes' report and the Commander-in-Chief's dispatch say that after the guns had been in action some time the fire of the enemy lessened considerably, and the Chief, to enable the Infantry to "complete" their "dispositions," *z e*, to come up, directed the Cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to endeavour to turn the enemy's left, while Brigadier Mactier threatened their right. The 3rd Light Dragoons, Body Guard, 5th and part of the 4th Light Cavalry supported by Captain Swinley's Troop, on getting to the Sikh left, had a somewhat clearer field. The 3rd Dragoons, leading, charged along the rear, scattering the Cavalry of Sirdar Lal Singh, and gaining the sobriquet of "the Mudkiwalas," another chaplet of glory for this distinguished regiment. It had two officers, 58 men, and 104 horses killed, three officers, 32 men, and 23 horses wounded. The Body Guard (only two troops) had one officer and six men killed, two officers and 17 men wounded. The 5th had 49 casualties, including two European and one native officer. Brigadier Mactier, with the rest of the 4th Light and the 9th Irregular Cavalry, was



SIR GEORGE BROOKE, G. C. B.
(From a photograph by Messrs. Maull and Fox.)

supported by Captain Dashwood's, Lieutenant Moir's, and Captain Garbett's guns under Lieutenant-Colonel Geddes. On reaching an open space on the Sikh right, the guns came into action. As they halted a one-armed Akáli came from behind a bush in their front, and, flourishing a tulwár, defied the whole line. A Drill-Corporal rode at him, but the agile footman was too active, and severely wounded his adversary. A trumpeter of the native troop went for him with a pistol, and the brave fanatic fell, ignobly perishing at last by the hand of a Syce. This being a threatening movement, the Cavalry charges were not so decisive.

1845.
Dec. 18th.

No. 7 Field Battery had been moved somewhat to the right after the line of guns had ceased fire, and were in front of the 50th Foot, which passed through its intervals *entering the jungle*. No. 9 supported Captain Todd's Troop in the centre. The Infantry advanced in a different order from that laid down in the official plan. The 2nd Grenadiers were the first to come under fire, and got into some disorder. Major Somerset, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, galloping back, brought up the 31st Foot on the left of it.* The enemy's fire was now telling upon our line. It was at this period that Major (now Field-Marshal Sir Patrick) Grant was wounded. Captain Dashwood and Lieutenant Moir were brought from the left to support the centre. This was the severest part of the action. Captain Dashwood and Lieutenant Pollock were both badly, and as it proved fatally, wounded. Lieutenants Wheelwright, Cox, and Bowie also were wounded. The regiments of Sir H. Smith's division on the right suffered most. Sir John McCaskill, leading the left division, was killed, and Sir Robert Sale, Quarter-Master-General H.M.'s Troops, had his thigh smashed by a grape shot, the wound proving mortal.

* The reader must not expect very much accuracy in plans of actions. That of Mudki is based on the official plan, which is utterly wrong in the position of most of the corps. The position of 2nd N.I. and 31st Foot, as above stated, is on the authority of the late General C. Hamilton, who commanded the former regiment in this war.

1845.
Dec. 18th

As No. 7 Battery was making its way through the jungle towards our left, a Sikh concealed in a bush shot Captain Trower in the back. Lieutenant Atlay, to whom he was talking at the time, had him carried to the rear, and assumed command of the battery. Farrier-Sergeant Green rode towards the Sikh, but was also shot by him, who had time to reload. Captain Trower died the same night. The enemy were now retiring before our line, which steadily advanced. It was becoming dark, and the dust of the conflict obscured the feeble light of the stars. They retired on Ferozeshah.* The Artillery bivouacked by their guns.

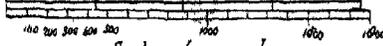
Dec. 19th.

Next day we buried our dead. Standing by the grave where Jasper Trower's body was laid was D'Arcy Todd, who only the day before he left Umbaila had heard the solemn service repeated over his wife's. Kaye, and those who then exchanged with him a silent hand grasp, sympathised with him in his great sorrow. Had they known that two days later they would have been themselves grieving for the loss of a loved brother-officer, one of the most gallant spirits in our army, prolific of noble sons, how much more deeply would they not have been moved. On the same day Lieutenant Robert Pollock died, greatly regretted. He had been badly wounded in the knee by a musket ball. Exposure to the night air in a wagon, followed by amputation, proved too much for his system. His services on his father's staff in the last Afghan War have been already mentioned.

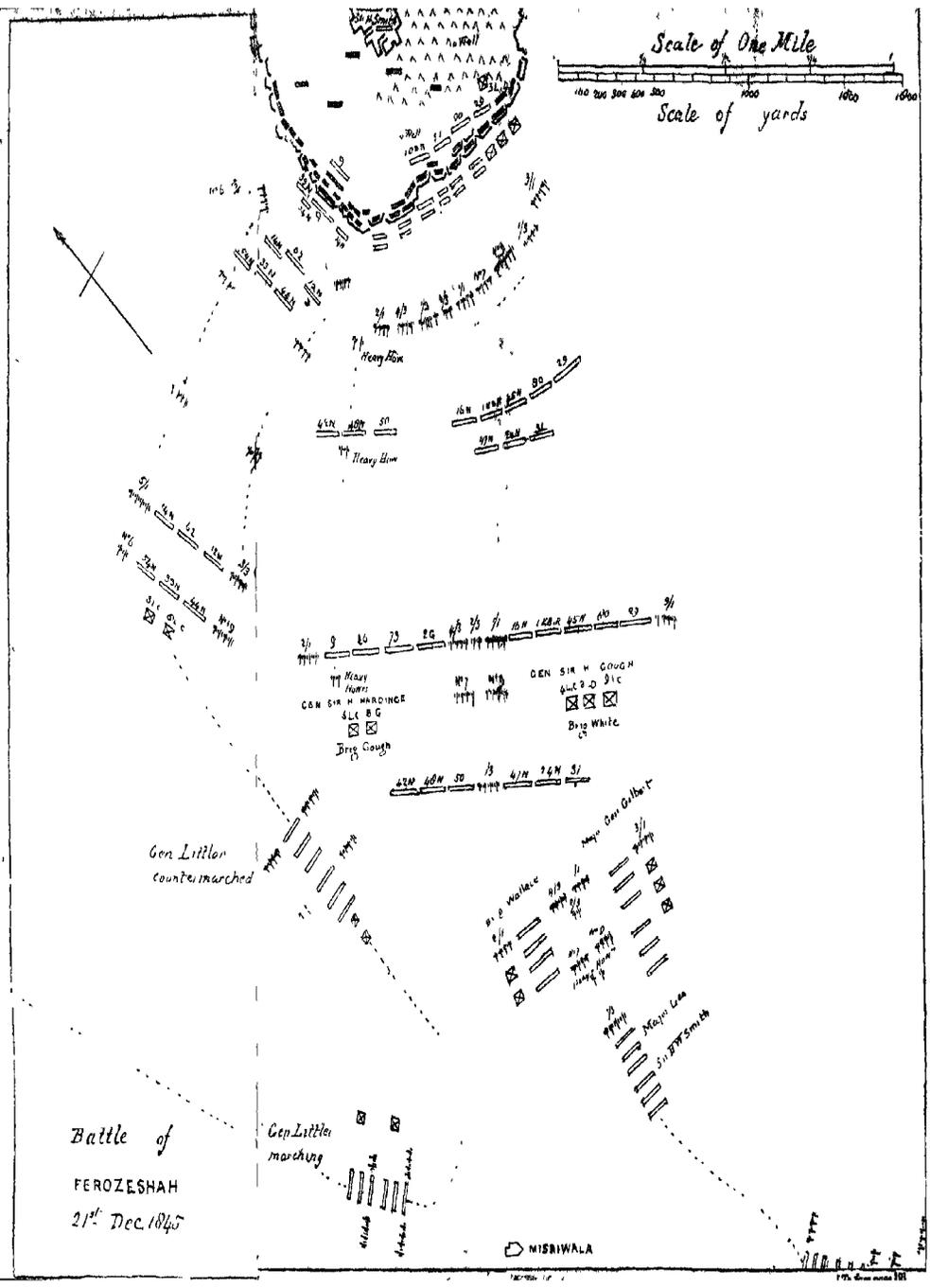
Captain Dashwood's case was apparently not so serious. He had been wounded by grape both in the arm and foot, the last being most serious. His officers dined in his tent as usual the night before they marched. The doctor pronounced amputation necessary, but at his earnest entreaty deferred it. Next day mortification had set in. On hearing that his case was hopeless, he, with the aid of his bearer, got to his table and wrote a last letter to his wife. And

* The common spelling, Firozshahr is more correct.

Scale of One Mile



Scale of yards



Battle of
FEROZESHAH
21st Dec. 1845

Gen Little
countermarched

Gen Little
marching

MISRIWALA

so he died. Captain C. E. Mills was placed temporarily in command of his Troop.

1845.
Dec. 19th.

On the evening of the 19th, H.M. 29th and the 1st Bengal European Regiment arrived in camp. Lieut.-Colonel G. G. Denniss and Captain W. K. Warner, with the 2nd and 4th Companies 4th Battalion, two 18-pounder guns, and two 8-inch howitzers, also joined. Next day orders were out for the march towards Ferzeshah. General Littler was ordered to join with his division. The sick and wounded were left at Mudki, Lieutenant Blunt in charge of the Artillery details. The same evening the Governor-General offered his services in a military capacity to Sir Hugh Gough—an offer accepted with the greatest pleasure.

Dec. 20th.

Early in the morning the army marched, a troop of Horse Artillery on either flank, the other guns massed in the centre; flanking parties thrown out. Sir John Littler left two regiments, half of No 6 H.F.B. under Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh,* the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion under Lieutenant Angelo, and some Sappers to hold the town and cantonments. Captain G. Campbell (3-3 H.A.), Captain E. F. Day (5-1 H.A.), Lieutenant A. G. Austen with half No. 6 Battery, and Captain J. Fordyce, No 19 Bullock Battery, marched under Lieut.-Colonel E. Huthwaite. He left his picquets standing, so that Sirdar Tej Singh, who with a considerable force was still investing the place, did not know he had gone. A little after noon he met the Commander-in-Chief near Misriwala, marching by the right, and, counter-marching, moved forward by the left to occupy the position assigned to him †

Dec 21st.

The enemy's entrenchments formed an irregular oblong figure a little over a mile in length by about three-quarters in breadth, the longer sides facing nearly east and west.

* Captain F. B. Boileau did not join till next month

† It is difficult to ascertain the exact position of regiments in brigade, and of the brigades themselves. No two witnesses have exactly coincided. It seems certain that the left brigade was not in line with the right, as the official plan shows, but more retired. It supported the right.

1845.
Dec. 21st.

The works had been hastily thrown up and did not offer any serious obstacle insurmountable by either Cavalry or Infantry. The order of brigading of the army now was :—

1ST DIVISION : Major-General Sir H. Smith.

1st Brigade.— * 31st Regiment,
24th N.I., 47th N.I.

2nd Brigade—Brigadier H. M. Wheeler : 50th Regiment,
42nd N.I., 48th N.I

2ND DIVISION : Major-General W. R. Gilbert.

3rd Brigade.—Brigadier C. C. Taylor, C.B : 29th Regiment,
45th N.I.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier J. MacLaren 1st European
Regiment, 2nd N.I., 16th N.I

3RD DIVISION : Brigadier Wallace.

5th Brigade.— * 9th Regiment,
26th N.I., 73rd N.I.

6th Brigade—Brigadier Wilkinson 80th Regiment.

4TH DIVISION Major-General Sir J. H. Littler.

7th Brigade—Brigadier T. Reed : 62nd Regiment, 12th
N.I., 14th N.I.

8th Brigade.—Brigadier Hon T. Ashburnham : 33rd
N.I., 44th N.I., 54th N.I.

To General Littler's division was assigned the attack on the western face, Captain Campbell's Troop, supported by Lieutenant Austen's three guns, covering the right, Captain Day on the left. Captain Fordyce, with the Bullock Battery was moved about under various counter-orders and hardly came into action.

The main body was in two wings separated by the 1st Troop 1st Brigade (Captain Mills), Lieutenant Moir's two guns, and the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, Nos. 7 and 9 Batteries in their rear. The right wing was flanked by the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade (Captain Swinley). The 3rd Brigade with the 80th Regiment was on the right ; the 4th Brigade on the left. The 2nd Grenadiers N.I. was placed with the left wing to equalise both. The Commander-in-Chief was

* Names not given in G.O.

with the right wing. The left wing consisted of the 2nd Grenadiers and 5th Brigade, flanked on the left by the 2nd-1st H.A. It was under the immediate superintendence of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Hardinge.

1845.
Dec. 21st.

The Cavalry were in rear of the flanks. The 1st Brigade under Brigadier White, 3rd Light Dragoons, 4th L.C., and 9th I.C. attached to the right wing. The 2nd Brigade under Brigadier J. B. Gough, Body Guard and 5th L.C. to the left wing.

The Ferozapore division had less distance to travel over before reaching its ground, but it was 3 o'clock before it moved forward to attack, and little daylight was left on this, the shortest day of the year. The right brigade led, supported by the left, the 62nd a little in advance.

Captains Campbell and Day with their Troops went rapidly forward to cover the advance, opening a cross-fire at intermediate distances, at first with round shot, then with grape, till about 200 yards from the enemy, where they kept it up till the Infantry got too close*. The Sikh batteries on this side were powerful and difficult to enfilade. A longer bombardment, in fact, was required. So their fire on the advancing Infantry was very destructive, and the 62nd Regiment lost very heavily. At 150 yards, Brigadier Reed gave the order to charge. It was commenced "with such determined gallantry and spirit that the result seemed certain"†. But owing to one of those fatalities which sometimes occur in the battlefield, and of which modern warfare furnishes instances, there was a little hesitation in the 62nd, and, it was said, an order to retire at the most critical moment. They did so, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of General Littler and his Staff, the whole got out of gun-shot range, leaving the path of their retreat strewn with the bodies of those who fell under the redoubled fire of the Sikh guns.‡

* Huthwaite, Campbell, Day. † Gen Littler's dispatch.

‡ An unpleasant correspondence took place in consequence of General Littler having, in his dispatch, used the words "an immediate panic and hesitation in H.M. 62nd Foot." Major Short, commanding

1845.
Dec. 21st.

This retirement left the two Horse Artillery troops some 500 yards apart from each other, alone and unsupported, close to the Sikh position. Even their Cavalry escorts in rear followed the retiring regiments, and they were there-



GENERAL SIR EDWARD HUTHWAITE, K.C.B.

fore in peril. Suddenly the Sikh fire ceased, and then Lieut.-Colonel Huthwaite ordered them to limber up and retire at a walk, which they did. The right of the retir-

the regiment, remonstrated, and the Commander-in-Chief, having visited the spot and seen the numbers of the bodies of those who had fallen, exonerated them. The casualties amounted to seven officers, 82 men killed; 10 officers and 165 men wounded. An eye-witness, Lieutenant P. G. Scot, 12th N.I., relates a remarkable instance of the courage of the men we had to fight. He was at the time on that flank of his regiment and close to the 62nd. (Colonel Scot died lately. When sending his account of what took place he gave the writer permission to publish it under his name.) Ensign Kelly, a fine spirited

ing regiments met Brigadier Wallace's division coming up to attack the batteries adjoining those from which Reed's brigade had been repulsed. Part of the 14th N.I. with their colours joined the 9th Regiment and 26th N.I., which were ordered to renew the attack in the same place. Captain G Campbell, with the 3rd-3rd Horse Artillery, was again called upon to cover it, which he did, advancing as before to close quarters.

1845
Dec 21st.

The attack on the southern face by the main body was opened by the two 8-inch howitzers at 1,600 yards, advancing to 500 and 400 yards. The two field batteries under Lieutenant Atlay, No. 7, and Captain Horsford, No. 9, were sent forward on the right, and the three centre troops of H.A. moved direct to their front, Captain Swinley and Major Todd on the right and left conforming. Moving rapidly forward, there were not at first many

officer of the 62nd, who had been promoted from the ranks, was in advance of the line, followed by two sergeants and three privates. With his sword held aloft, a good position for waving, but not for defence, he had one foot on a low sandy ridge, part of the entrenchment, when a tall Sikh, with a long beard, sprang out from behind a tree. His tulwar, descending on Kelly's shoulder, cut deep into his chest. The officer fell on his face. The same Sikh and another then attacked the two sergeants as they got to the spot where Kelly had fallen and cut both down. One of the privates, turning round to make for the line, was followed by the Sikh who had first attacked Kelly and killed within a few yards of his comrades' bayonets. This is said to have occurred on the right of the regiment. That two Sikhs cut down four men one after another is quite credible, all might have occurred within a minute. That it may have caused a panic among those near is also quite possible. But shoulder to shoulder, two British soldiers with fixed bayonets ought to be a match for two tulwars. The relation of this may not be without its use.

There is no doubt that the 62nd Regiment lost more men in retiring than would have fallen in charging home over a very few yards. General Littler's recollection of Maharajpur must have told him so. It was said that a distinguished General Officer at the commencement of that battle, when he unexpectedly found himself under the fire of the Mahratta Artillery, remarked, "The best way out of it is to capture those guns."

It is also worthy of notice that though the Horse Artillery, still within musket range of the entrenchment, were doing what they could to keep down the Sikh fire, the latter was entirely directed on the retreating brigade, chiefly on the 62nd, leaving our guns unnoticed (General G. Campbell).

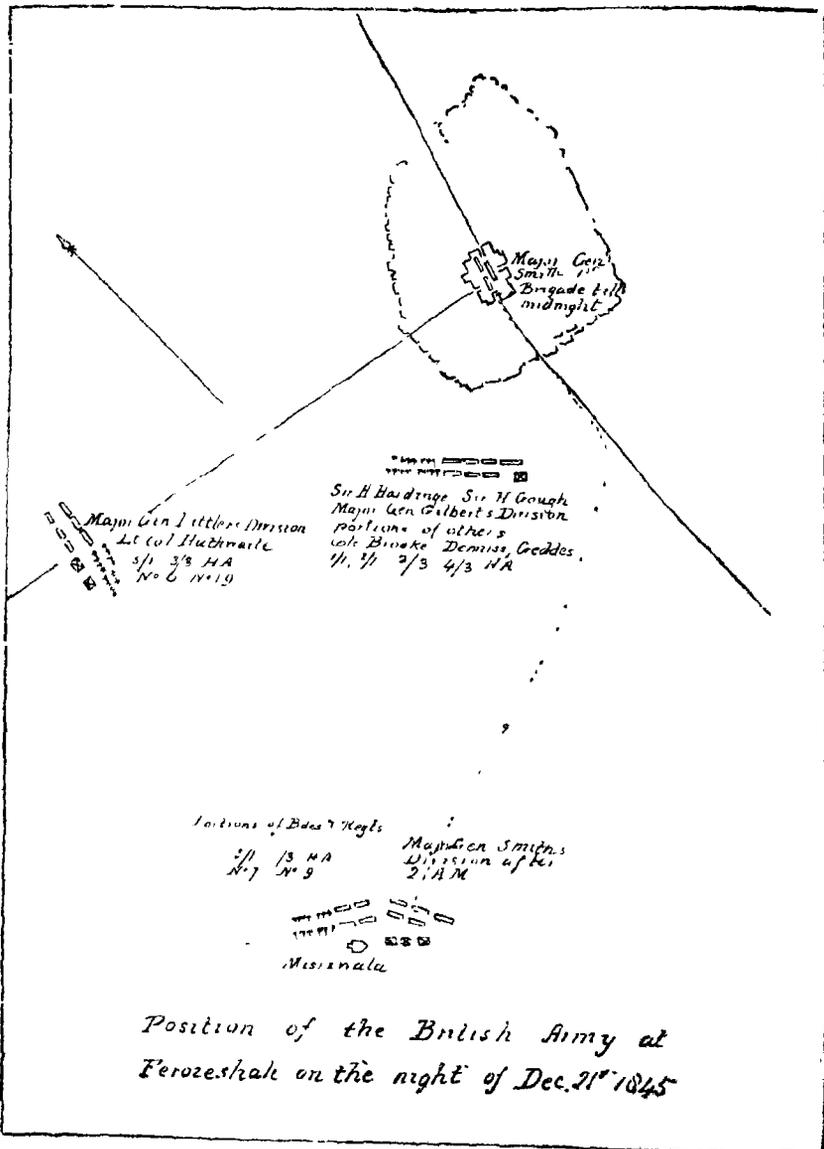
1845.
Dec. 21st.

casualties, the Sikh guns being laid for greater ranges, but on the left, shortly after the 2nd-1st had come into action, a round shot carried off the head of its commander. The character and services of D'Arcy Todd have been before related, and it is unnecessary to say how deeply his loss was felt throughout the regiment. The senior lieutenant, W. A. Mackinnon, commanded the Troop till Captain Waller was posted to it, January 31st

The shrapnel of the two 8-inch howitzers were well delivered, but it was soon masked by the advancing troops. As will be seen by the plan, all that could be effected by the Artillery was done. Bearing on the southern face 42 light and two heavy pieces were in action, but the advantage in weight of metal was greatly in favour of the Sikhs, their fire was very severe, and the casualties numerous. The batteries were all close in when the infantry passed through them to attack. There was not much of daylight now left. Brigadier Brooke, finding his ammunition in danger owing to powder which the Sikhs purposely or carelessly left on the ground, withdrew his guns a little. Several explosions took place, and some wagons were blown up, causing a separation of the guns.

The infantry, meanwhile, were in deadly conflict. The 9th Regiment on the left, supported by the Native Infantry, made good their footing inside, but with ever greater loss than the 62nd had to record. Their Colonel was killed; Brigadier Wallace also fell leading on his men. The regiments of General Gilbert's division, with those of Sir Harry Smith's, carried the batteries before them.* His first brigade got possession of the village of Ferozeshah, and held it for several hours. Many casualties occurred from the ex-

* The casualties of the European regiments, always the largest, may be taken as the measure of the resistance. The killed and wounded (on both days) as given in the dispatches were. The 9th Regiment, 273; the 62nd, 260, the 1st European Infantry, 204; the 29th, 188, the 31st, 142; the 50th, 124; the 80th, 81. The 14th N.I., only a part of which was in the second attack on the south-west corner, had 84. The Sikhs directed their fire chiefly on the European regiments (Colonel Sandeman).



plosion of Sikh powder lying about or concealed. The 3rd Light Dragoons, *semper primum*, came up on the right, and charged over the earthworks, nowhere very high, but an enemy more difficult to overcome even than sharp-edged sabres baffled them. Tents were there, stretching their pegged ropes in every direction, forming an entanglement they could not get through. Slowly they came back, by fours and fives, as men that would not be driven, with them young Captain Hardinge, the Governor-General's son, riding a dragoon horse, his own having been killed.

1845.
Dec. 21st.

Darkness had now set in. The entrenchments were still swarming with the enemy. The position was untenable, and all save the 1st Brigade were withdrawn. Regiments had got mixed up, and it was difficult to regain their formation. Gilbert's division bivouacked for the night about three hundred yards from the entrenchment. The 31st Regiment and detachments of others formed there. Most of the Cavalry and a large portion of Brigadier Wallace's division went towards Misriwala, and General Littler with most of his retired in a westerly direction to a spot which must have been a mile from where the headquarters lay.* The lurid glare of the tents within the entrenchment which had been set on fire was reflected on the bayonets of our sentries near, and added a picturesque horror to the scene.

Little rest was given to the weary and hungry soldiers so close to the enemy, who kept up a galling fire upon them. The Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough, anxious as they were and in great peril, were not disheartened. Sir Henry Hardinge, finding the fire of one

* The Artillery with headquarters were Colonels Brooke, Denniss, and Geddes; Captains Garbett's, Mills', and Lieutenant Moir's guns and the heavy howitzers; Captain Warner, Commissary of Ordnance. At Misriwala, Major Brind's, Captains Swinley's, Horsford's, and Lieutenant Atlay's guns. With General Littler, Colonel Huthwaite, Major Campbell's, Captains Day's and Fordyce's and Lieutenant Austen's guns. Lieutenant Mackinnon, with the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade, was somewhere in the vicinity of headquarters, but separated from the rest.

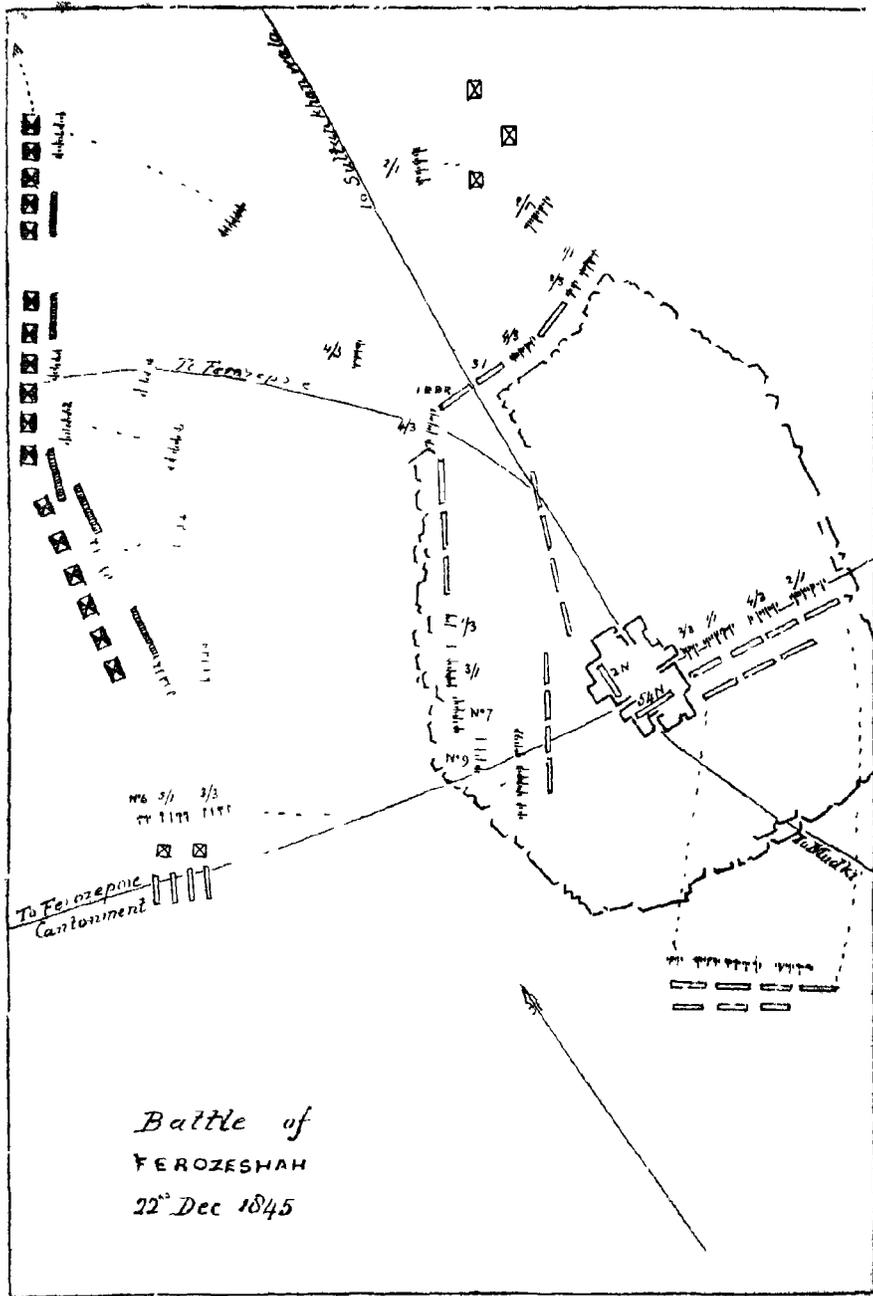
1845
Dec. 21st

gun in particular very annoying, sent the 80th and 1st European Regiments to stop it, and they charged in to the entrenchment again and spiked it. Captain Mills more than once turned out with his and another troop to be on the alert. As the night wore on the Commander-in-Chief reduced the disorderly mass of regiments into line in readiness to renew the attack, and as the Sikh fire lessened the troops got what rest the bitterly cold night allowed them. Sir Henry Smith, however, had been so harassed by constant attacks that he withdrew the 1st Brigade, and extricating himself from the entrenchment, went to Misriwala, guided by the watch-fires there, and passing close to where lay the two Chief Commanders of the army and their men who could not indulge in any such luxury, and were shrouded in darkness.

Dec. 22nd

As soon as the welcome sun appeared Sir Hugh Gough formed for the attack. The regiments already in line advanced covered by the guns, the fire of which did not last long. They moved on in line with the Infantry, crossing the earthworks without difficulty, a proof that they were not so formidable as had been imagined. Our men swept through the position, passing to the right of the village, and changed front then to the left, driving the Sikhs out. We captured a large number of guns, though they had carried off many. The line then halted, and the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief with their Staff rode down it, enthusiastically cheered as they passed.

After a short rest, the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade was ordered out with a reconnoitring party under the Quarter-Master-General. They had hardly mounted, when a dense cloud of dust obscuring the northern sky warned us of a coming foe. A greater danger than winning an entrenched position had still to be faced before we could be on even terms with the Khalsa. Sirdars Lal and Tej Singh, who had been left before Ferozepore with a large force, were at hand. There were some 30,000, with, it was said, 70 guns, chiefly Cavalry (some reports said all) which had taken little part



in the work of the previous day. This, though really the most anxious time of the whole two days, has received but scanty notice in the dispatch of the Commander-in-Chief. There were circumstances which, at the time, rendered a disclosure of the whole truth inconvenient. One of these was our batteries had very little ammunition left, even in the spare wagons, and there was no fresh supply on the field. During the night, what was in the spare wagons was transferred to those most in need.

The Artillery at this time were in three distinct bodies. Lieut.-Colonel Huthwaite on the left, with Major Campbell's and Captain Day's Troops and Austen's half battery. In the centre, Major Brind with his own and Captain Swinley's Troops and the two field batteries of Lieutenant Atlay and Captain Horsford. On the right, Lieut.-Colonel Geddes had Captain Mills' Troop with Moir's two guns, Lieutenant Mackinnon's and Captain Garbett's Troops.

Colonel Huthwaite, moving through the jungly ground on the left, suddenly came on a part of Sirdar Tej Singh's force, and at once opened fire, to which the Sikhs replied. At this time Major Campbell's senior subaltern, P. C. Lambert, was killed. He finally fell back, as the enemy seemed to be enveloping him, and they had no support at hand.

Major Brind, with both Troops, afterwards joined by the field batteries, advanced beyond the entrenchment, and engaged the enemy on the left front, but after a time being enfiladed by some of their heavier guns, had to retire upon the village, where the supports were posted.

Colonel Geddes in the same way had to sustain a very heavy fire for some time, but his ammunition was failing, and this, with want of support, compelled him to fall back upon the Infantry, which had formed a hollow square on the right front of the entrenchment, and were then lying down. "For the first time," wrote one of the Horse Artillery officers, "I found my back exposed to the enemy's round shot."

1845.
Dec. 22nd.

1845.
Dec. 22nd.

By this time most of the ammunition wagons were almost empty. Three guns of the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade were formed in the angle of the square. A Staff Officer told Lieutenant Kaye, commanding them, that he could get some ammunition from Sikh wagons near the village. He sent at once, and though the sizes rendered it difficult, he managed to get fifty rounds of shot which were of essential service just then.

The Sikh line still advanced, and for some time replied to the fire of these guns and Major Brind's, but after a time they appeared to be moving away to the right. By a little after two p.m., our guns were entirely silent. Sir Hugh Gough brought the whole of the Artillery and Cavalry to the right and moved them to the rear round the village. A report was brought that the enemy were advancing, and the Cavalry, forming line, advanced, but it was a false alarm. They were leaving the field.

At this juncture an order was brought by the 1st Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Army to Brigadier Harriott for the Cavalry and Horse Artillery and field batteries to proceed to Ferozepore. It is useless now to enquire who originated the idea. But it was carried out. The enemy saw the move, though now at some distance, and is said to have hastened their retreat, mistaking its object. In the evening they had reached the cantonments, refilled their limbers and wagons, and fed their tired cattle. The only Artillerymen left on the field were Brigadier Brooke, Colonel Denniss, and Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell, D.A.Q.M.G. The last was sent by Brigadier Brooke to recall them, but too late.* The result of an attack by the Sikhs then could not have been doubtful. But the Sirdars had no mind to fight.

* It is hardly necessary to say that both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were not aware of this till they had gone. It is due also to Brigadier Harriott, Colonels Geddes and Huthwaite to state from whom the order came to them. Captain Pillans, Commissary of Ordnance must have also been on the field, as he went into Ferozepore next morning with Lord Hardinge.

Earlier in the day Captain J. F. Egerton, while conveying an order, was attacked at a village we had occupied during the night, and very severely wounded in the back and both hands. He died a month afterwards. Sir John Littler, in his dispatch, speaks highly of "his conspicuous zeal and activity."

1845
Dec 22nd.

The Artillery casualties amounted to 118 killed,* 20 missing, and 75 wounded (Note C). In all we lost 694 killed and 1,729 wounded, including Lascars and Syces. The loss in horses was very great, no less than 323 in the Artillery, killed, wounded, and missing. Several died in harness unwounded.

As soon as the Artillery had replenished their empty boxes and fed men and horses they returned, reaching Ferozeshah at ten a.m. next day. The wounded were sent to Ferozepore, the captured ordnance sent to the same place, and the dead buried. There were 68 guns, three howitzers, and two mortars, some highly ornamented and with long Persian inscriptions on them.

Dec 23rd.

On the 24th, headquarters moved to Sultan-Khan-wala, and on the 27th to Araft (Hurruf in dispatches). Major-General Smith's division was in advance at Malwál. The Sikhs were in force on the opposite bank of the Sutlej, occupying a position some five miles in extent, with the village of Sobraon in rear of their centre. Further reinforcements were on their way up from the provinces—

December.

* The following anecdote may not be deemed misplaced. Those who knew the kindly nature of General George Campbell will not be surprised at the fidelity shown by a servant of his. When the action commenced, he told his Syce, an old servant, to remain in the rear as he was not wanted. He replied, "How can I leave you? If anything were to happen to you, how could I return to the Mem Sahib and say I had not been with you?" So he followed his master. Soon after, a shot smashed both legs. Lying on his back, he unslung the telescope he was carrying, saying, "Sahib, Sahib, durbin le lo." The poor fellow was carefully placed on a wagon, but his sufferings did not last long, as it was blown up. I am indebted for this, as for many interesting facts, to the late General E. Kaye.

† There are two villages of this name, one about four and a half miles east of Ferozepore. The one meant is four miles south-east of the Nagar Ford.

1845.
December.

the headquarters of the 2nd Brigade H.A., with Colonel G. E. Gowan, C.B, and Lieut.-Colonel E. Biddulph, and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Troops under Captain J. Turton, Major C. Grant, and Lieut.-Colonel J. Alexander; the 3rd Company 3rd Battalion, Captain E. P. Master, head-quarters 4th Battalion, with the 1st,* 2nd, and 4th Companies, head-quarters and 1st Companies 6th Battalion, and a siege-train of six 10-inch and five 8-inch howitzers from Delhi. The Ferozepore Magazine had supplied four 18-pounder guns, besides the two heavy howitzers, one of which had been rendered useless at Ferozeshah.

1846
January

In the new brigading of the army (January 1st) the Artillery arrangements were: Colonel Gowan to command, Captain E. Christie, D.A.A.G., Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell, D.A.Q.M.G., 1st Division H.A., Brigadier G. Brooke, Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, Brigade-Major, 2nd Division H.A., Brigadier E. Biddulph, Captain E. G. Austin, Brigade-Major Foot Artillery, Brigadier G. G. Dennis, Lieutenant E. Kaye, Brigade-Major.

Information was received that the Sikhs had made a raid in the direction of Ludhiána, where some of the houses and barracks were burned.

While the Chief was waiting the arrival of the siege guns and reinforcements, the Sikhs were constructing earthworks on our side of the river to cover a ford in their centre, and brought over some field guns. Sir Hugh Gough, resenting this, ordered out some heavy guns, which fired a few long shots with increased charges, which damaged one of the pieces and seriously injured a gunner. Sir H. Hardinge, coming out from Ferozepore, pointed out to him the advisability of allowing the Sikhs to take up a position with a wide river in their rear.

News was now received that Sirdar Ranjor Singh Majithia had crossed the Sutlej with a large force at Phillour, near Ludhiána. It was supposed to be his object to inter-

* To this Company, under Captain R. Waller, an elephant battery of twelve iron 9-pounders, reamed up to 12, was attached.

cept the siege-train. A writer* well acquainted with the Punjab calls him "one of the greatest boobies" in it, and thinks he sought only to plunder Ludhiána. However, Sir H. Smith, who had been sent with the 1st Brigade, ~~Brind's~~ and Alexander's Troops H.A.,* and No 6 Field Battery, to Dharmkot, was ordered on to Ludhiána, and Wheeler, with the 2nd Brigade Infantry and Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry, was sent after him. He was to be further reinforced by the Shekawati Brigade,† which was at Bassián, by H.M. 53rd, and by Brigadier Godby, commanding at Ludhiána. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. came along with Brigadier Cureton—commanded now by Lieutenant J. Mill, as Captain C. E. Mills had reverted to his appointment on the Governor-General's Staff.

1846.
January.

Sir Henry Smith, leaving Sobraon, heard late on the 20th that Ranjor Singh had advanced to Badhowál. On arriving within two miles of it, he found himself intercepted by "the booby," and endeavoured to avoid the trap by making a detour to his right. The accompanying sketch shows the position and the tactical error committed. Almost as a matter of course Ranjor Singh came down on the rear of the Column and captured as much as he could of the baggage. Covered by his Cavalry and guns, Sir H. Smith retired in echelon of battalions, and so reached Ludhiána.

Jan. 21st.

Ranjor Singh, who had entrenched himself at Badhowál, suddenly abandoned it on the night of the 22nd, and retired to Talwandi on the Sutlej. Brigadiers ~~Wheeler and Cureton~~ joined on the 26th, and orders were given to march early on the 28th. The Cavalry were divided into two Brigades. 1st Brigadier McDowell, C.B., 16th Lancers, 3rd L.C., and 4th I.C. 2nd: Brigadier R. A. Stedman, Body Guard, 1st and 5th L.C., and Shekawati Horse. The Infantry in four Brigades. 1st Brigadier G. Hicks, H.M. 31st, 24th, and 47th N.I. 2nd Brigadier

Jan. 22nd

Jan 28th.

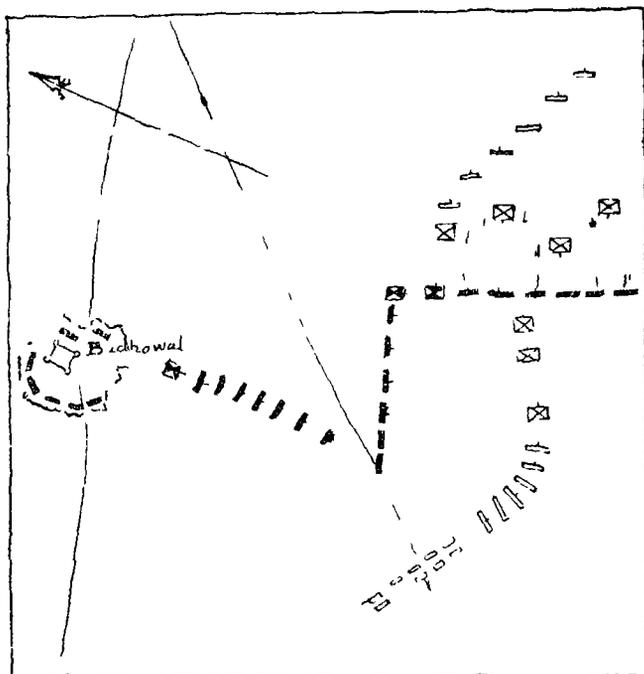
* *Calcutta Review*, Article VI., Vol VI for 1846.

† A native contingent commanded by Major H. Forster. 600 Infantry, 400 Cavalry, and four guns.

1846
Jan. 28th

H. M. Wheeler, C.B., H.M. 50th, 48thth N.I., and Sirmur Battalion. 3rd: Brigadier Wilson, H.M. 53rd, 30th N.I. 4th: Brigadier G. Godby, 36th N.I., Nasiri Battalion, Sappers, and Shekawati Infantry.

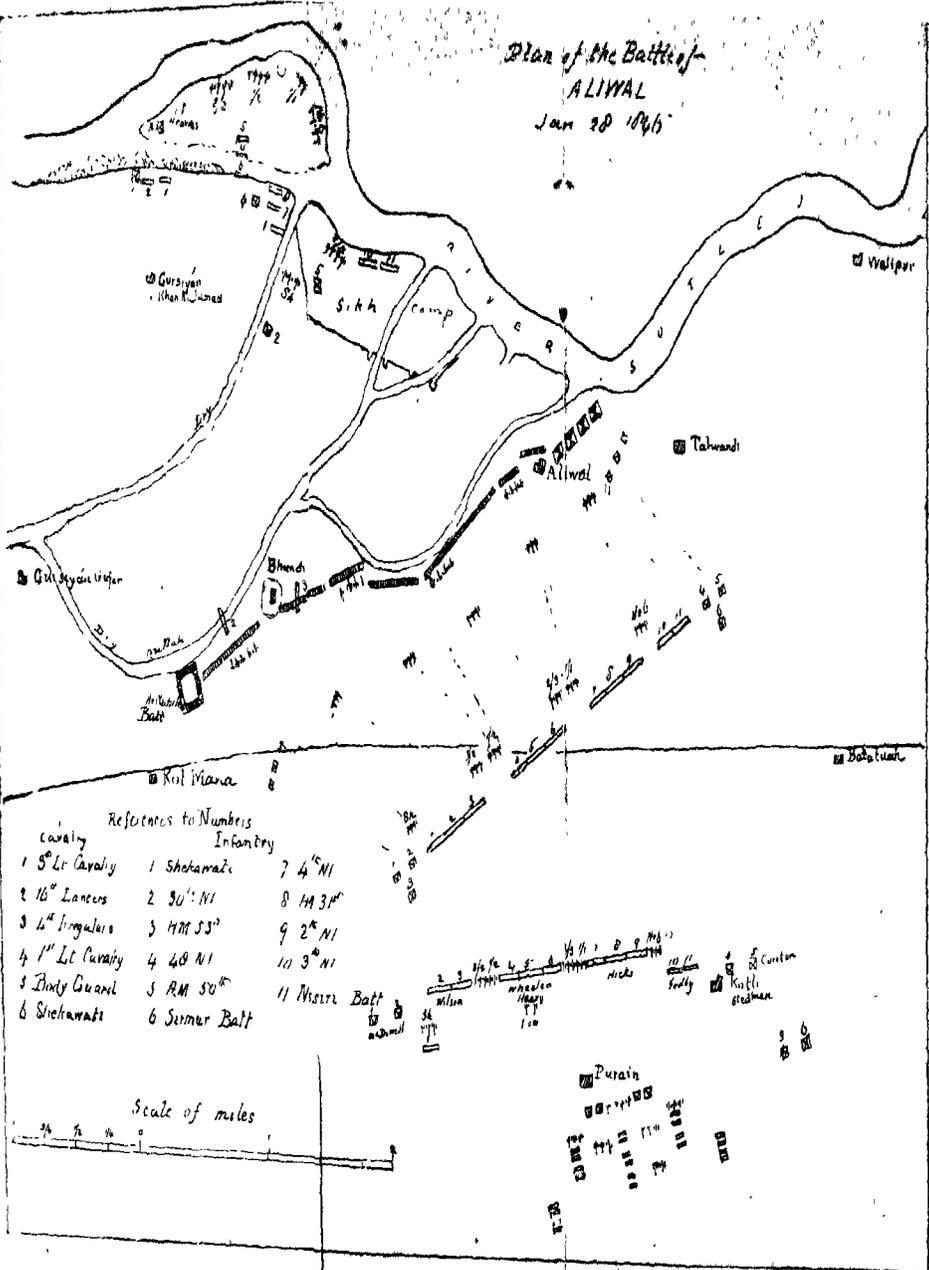
The Cavalry, with two troops of H.A. in the intervals of Brigades, covered the advance. From the village of Purain the Sikh army was observed on a ridge, of which the village



ACTION OF BADIHOWÁL.

of Aliwal seemed the centre. The ground was open and favourable to manœuvre over, and the Infantry Columns deploying had the appearance and precision of a field day. Brigadier Godby's Brigade was in echelon on the right, the Shekawati Infantry to the left rear of the whole line. At ten o'clock the action commenced by a cannonade from the whole of the enemy's line. Perceiving that by doing

Plan of the Battle of
 ALIWAL
 Jan 28 1846



- References to Numbers
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| cavalry | Infantry | |
| 1 5 th Lt Cavalry | 1 Shekharati | 7 4 th NI |
| 2 16 th Lancers | 2 90 th NI | 8 14 th 3 rd |
| 3 14 th Irregulars | 3 170 th SS rd | 9 2 nd NI |
| 4 1 st Lt Cavalry | 4 48 th NI | 10 3 rd NI |
| 5 2ndy Guard | 5 RM 50 th | 11 Misr Batt |
| 6 Shekharati | 6 Simer Batt | |

Scale of miles

so he could act with better effect on their left and centre, Sir H. Smith brought up his right with the view of carrying the village of Aliwal Brigadier Godby's Brigade was brought up, and with it and that of Brigadier Hicks the village was won. The Cavalry on the right, under Brigadier Cureton, charged the enemy's horse on that flank and drove them in upon the Infantry. Brigadier Wheeler, in the centre, advanced, capturing the position and guns in his front. Brigadier Wilson, opposed to the Ayin troops, commonly called Avitabile's, found the village of Bhundri strongly held. It covered the ford in rear. The 16th Lancers twice charged. Captain Bere led a squadron against a square, rode through it twice forwards and back again. Major Smith and Captain Pearson, of the same regiment, led another charge. H.M. 53rd Regiment carried Bhundri, and the 30th N.I.,* wheeling to its left, drove the Avitabile Corps towards the river and under the fire of the Horse Artillery on the left

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All these attacks were covered by the guns, the Artillery being on both flanks and in the centre. When the line took ground to its right the enemy had got our range, and the fire became very hot. There was a short halt, during which the Infantry were ordered to lie down on both sides of Colonel Alexander's and Captain Turton's Troops. The former was directed to detach two guns, under Lieutenant Le G. Bruce, to support the 16th Lancers on left. As the line advanced, gun after gun was captured. Avitabile's battalions behaved splendidly. Turton's and Alexander's Troops galloped right into them, driving them into the dry nullah beyond Bhundri, but a gun of the 3rd Troop, brought to the bend in it, with a few rounds of grape drove them into the open ground, where they were charged and dispersed.†

* This regiment was highly spoken of by the General in his dispatch.

† In a private letter to Lieut.-Colonel Alexander, Sir H. Smith wrote: "I see at this moment yours and Turton's Troops unlimbering near the nullah, where I again unkenelled a pack of Avitabile's to the murderous fire of your glorious guns. My best regards to your whole Troop."

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Every gun the enemy had fell into our hands. Driven across the Sutlej while the guns lined the banks, their loss was very severe. Ours, too, was heavy, for the Sikhs fought well. Sir H. Smith gave the Artillery high praise for their conduct, while he did not forget the other arms. "Our guns literally being constantly ahead of everything. . . . Our guns and gunners, officers and men, may be equalled, but cannot be excelled by any Artillery in the world." There was, in fact, no check in the advance of the whole line. The number of guns captured was 66, many of them highly chased and ornamented; two were seen across the river, which the enemy were leaving behind. These, and one left in the river, were spiked by Lieutenant J. G. Holmes, Irregular Cavalry, and Gunner Thomas Scott, 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., who rode across the stream for the purpose.

Major Lawrenson in his report to Captain Lugard, A.A.G., 1st Division, mentions, with the names of the officers commanding batteries, those of Brevet-Captain W. Barr, Acting-Adjutant of the 2nd Brigade, who accompanied the 1st Troop as subaltern, and the Riding-Master, Mr R. McAuliffe,* who acted as his Staff Officer; and in his report to regimental headquarters, Sergt.-Major Simon Budd, who also attended upon him and conveyed orders. Lieutenant H. Tombs, Acting-Aide-de-Camp to the General, was likewise mentioned by him. The Artillery casualties are given in the Appendix to this chapter.

February

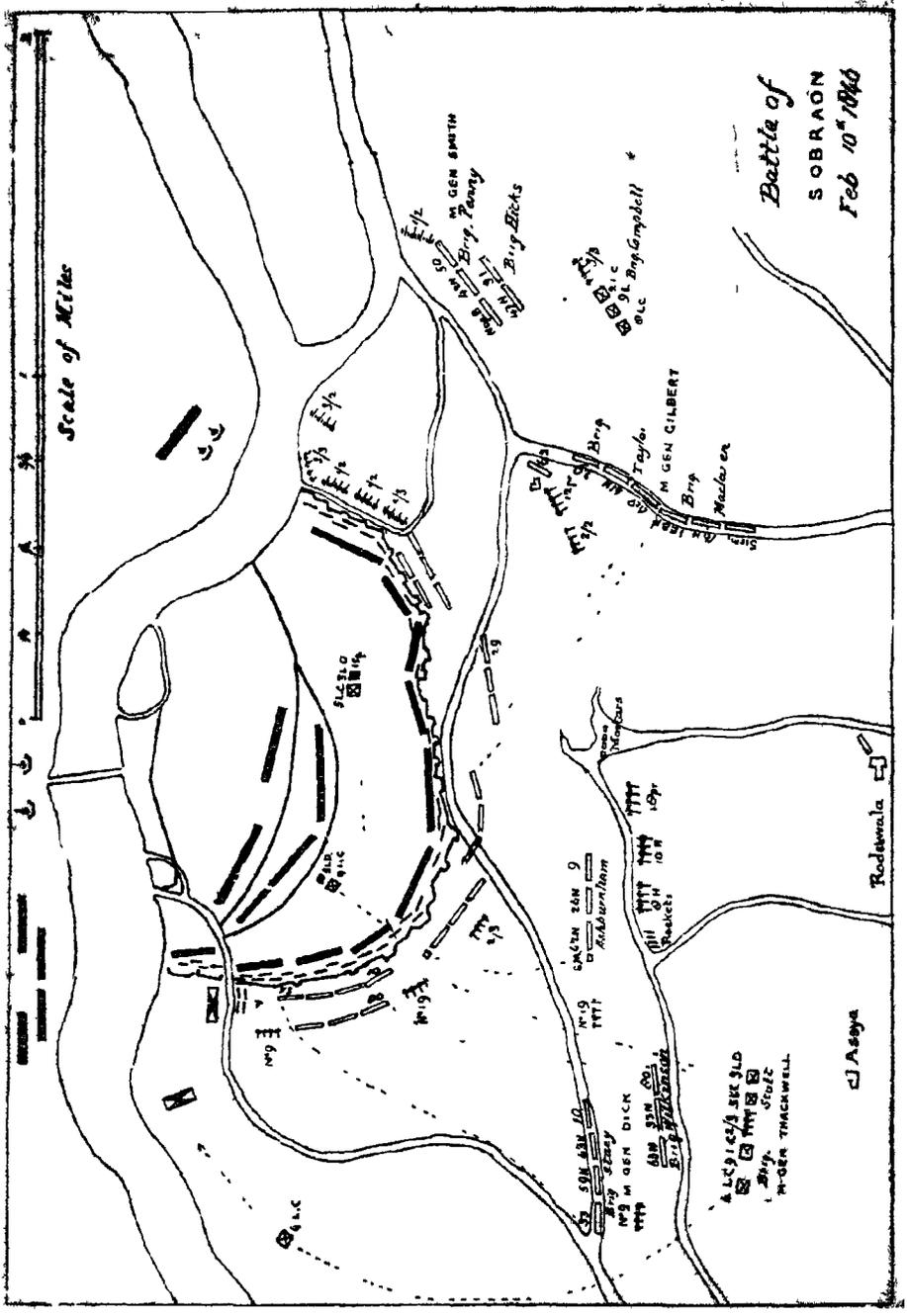
Sir H. Smith, after dismantling some of the small forts about, rejoined army headquarters on the 8th of February. The first portion of the siege-train with a supply of reserve ammunition reached on the 7th and 8th along with a troop of H.A. and four reserve companies under Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Wood.†

* Mr. McAuliffe had been appointed Riding-Master to the Horse Artillery in October, 1815.

† 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, 3rd and 4th Companies 3rd Battalion 1st Company 4th, and 1st Company 6th Battalions.

Scale of Miles

Battle of SOBRAON Feb 10th 1846



Preparations were at once made for attacking the Sikh position at Sobraon. It was to be conducted as follows: The heavy ordnance were to open upon the entrenchment and prepare for the assault, which was to be made on the centre and both flanks. Sir Robert Dick's division on the left was to advance and storm the western corner. General Gilbert's division in the centre, and Sir H. Smith's on the right were to attack simultaneously, but rather with a view to divert the enemy's attention from the real attack of Sir R. Dick. Brigadier Cureton, with his brigade of Cavalry, was directed to watch the Hari ki Patan, about a mile in rear of Sir H. Smith, and threaten from that quarter.

The Sikh entrenchments occupied a bend in the river Sutlej extending a mile and a half along the bank with a depth of a mile. Inside the main line of parapet were a series of shelter trenches for musketry. They had learned that a single line of earthworks was of no avail against our fire or the assault of our Infantry. A second line of parapet ran diagonally across the interior, with two others behind it in front of the bridge of boats. Outside the ground was hard and open, intersected with numerous dry channels, some of considerable width.

The first proposal of the Artillerymen was to place the heavy guns near the enemy's works, so as to enfilade them throughout, but as this would have involved shoulders and traverses to protect our batteries from being enfiladed in turn, objections were made and upheld by the Engineer officers. So it was decided to place them in such positions in front as might enable them to bear upon various points, and thus cover the advance.

The number of men in the reserve companies was not sufficient to man them all, consequently the officers and men of the 2nd Troop (now commanded by Captain Waller), 3rd and 5th Troops 1st Brigade, and 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, were ordered to leave horses and guns in camp and assist in the batteries.*

* The 2nd and 3rd Troops 1st Brigade were with the 8-inch howitzers, though, strangely enough, Captains Swinley and Barr,

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Brigadier Ashburnham commanded an advanced post at the village of Rodawálá, in front of which the heavy batteries were to be placed. The heavy pieces moved out of camp about 10 p.m. on the 9th, but on reaching Rodawálá, the 62nd Regiment had not arrived, and Brigadier Ashburnham, from some misconception or non-receipt of orders, was not ready. The enemy were supposed to be at Chota Sobraon, and would have to be dislodged. The day was nearly breaking before they advanced, and the posts selected by the Engineers were reached before the sun rose.

Feb. 10th

A heavy mist concealed the entrenchments from view and us from the Sikhs, who slumbered unconsciously, while the shouts and objurgations which Hindu bullock-drivers deem it necessary to indulge in before they can reverse their long teams and come into action, would, it was feared, effectually prevent anything like a surprise. But all the batteries were in position before the lower stratum of mist had cleared away.

The batteries were placed on the southern side of one of the channels before mentioned. They were arranged thus. Colonel Geddes had a Rocket Battery on the left, close to the edge of the ravine. To its right, a little further from the ravine, Colonel Huthwaite had a battery of eight 8-inch howitzers, and next to him Colonel Denniss one of six 10-inch howitzers, Brigadier Brooke superintended these two. Further to the right Major Lawrenson had a battery of five 18-pounder guns. To the right front of this, sheltered in a broad part of the same ravine which here formed an angle, Colonel Wood had a battery of six 8-inch and five 5½-inch mortars. Brigadier Biddulph had the superintendence of the mortars and guns. More than three-quarters of a mile to the right, in front of the line by which General Gilbert's division was marching up,

Lieutenants Mackinnon and Atlay were with the 18-pounders; the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade was in the 10-inch howitzer battery. Captains Day and Waller were with the 12-pounder reamers brought up from Delhi.

Captain Day had the battery of twelve iron 12-pounder reamed up guns, which, as before mentioned, were drawn by elephants. On the left of this battery Major Grant, with the 2nd-2nd H.A.* (four field howitzers and two guns), took up a position.

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All was still as the sun first appeared above the mist, when a single shell from Grant's Troop was sent into the Sikh entrenchments.

It cælo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum The shouts of many voices, beating of drums, and bugle sounds were borne through the morning air, while the howitzers and 12-pounder guns in turn sent their demand for surrender. The other batteries took it up, and the Sikhs, not slow to reply, filled the atmosphere with sound, so that the mists, shaken by the reverberation, fled away. The elephants in the 12-pounder limbers, frightened by the noise, bolted, and were not stopped till they had got half way back to camp. Just after the fire commenced, a Sikh horseman rode out from the right of the entrenchment, and cantered along outside to the left.

The outer line of the entrenchment was a good earth-work, giving plenty of cover to the guns. The fire of our heavy batteries, well directed as it was, did not enfilade, and at 1,300 yards could not do much more than search the interior of the position, when it should have been mainly instrumental in clearing it. The siege-train, too, had only just arrived, and the amount of ammunition prepared on the 9th was hardly sufficient. Consequently, when Sir R. Dick's division was ordered forward, the fire of these batteries had begun to slacken just when they should have been most effective †. For this the Artillery were not responsible.

* This battery had been nearly two years before, as an experiment, armed with the heavier metal of 9-pounder guns and 24-pounder howitzers. For this day's work two of the guns were replaced by howitzers.

† That the practice was good appears from the following extract of

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Brigadier Stacy with the 7th Brigade (to which the 53rd Regiment, lately arrived, had been added) on the left, was the first ordered to advance, supported on either flank by Captains Fordyce and Horsford with 7th and 9th Batteries. Brigadier Wilkinson with the 6th Brigade followed. Colonel Lane's Troop, with the Cavalry in rear, also advanced. Brigadier Ashburnham and the 5th Brigade came up somewhat further to the right. The three batteries went forward at a gallop, and opened at 300 yards. The Sikhs, apprehending the main assault would come from General Gilbert's and Smith's divisions, had collected the largest part of their force on that side, but the fire of the guns was well and effectively maintained. When the Infantry got close in, their guns could not be sufficiently depressed from the faulty construction of the sills of the embrasures, but the defences, well constructed of earth and fascine-work, were difficult to force, and the resistance to Stacy's attack was so formidable that the first attempt was not immediately successful. There was a temporary check. Again they pressed forward, the 6th Brigade following close after, neither firing. The 10th Regiment, led by Colonel Franks, gained great praise for their conduct on this occasion. Both brigades forced their way in almost together. The Sappers cut an opening in the parapet, through which the 3rd Light Dragoons coming up, followed by the 5th L.C., made their way in single file, forming up inside, and then charging in different directions. The number of shelter-trenches in the interior made united action very difficult. A squadron of the 3rd L.D., under

a letter from the late Colonel W. S. Row, 33rd N I, 25th March, 1873; to me —

"In the evening I visited the interior of the entrenchments, and found that on the front, immediately facing the heavy guns and Rocket Battery, the destruction had been very great. Numerous tumbrils had been blown up, and several square places in the interior, surrounded by ditches, having been apparently occupied by the enemy in dense masses, presented an appearance of charred and burnt bodies heaped one upon another."

The cotton mirzai, commonly worn, taking fire and smouldering, charred the bodies—a common occurrence, and not a pleasant sight.

Captain Cookes, with the 5th L.C., were ordered to create a diversion in favour of Sir H. Smith on the right, who had met with such opposition that his advance had been checked. Lieutenant E. Roche, 3rd Dragoons, D.A.Q.M.G. of the Cavalry Division, accompanied this charge, and saved the life of Captain J. W. Ryley, Adjutant 5th L.C., killing a Sikh chieftain, who attacked him from behind. The 4th L.C. from the left had come up nearer the river where the enemy's Horse were, to the extreme right of the Sikh outworks, where they entered, and, charging down, assisted in clearing them. Sir Robert Dick was mortally wounded close to the entrenchment. All accounts have given high praise to the three batteries on this flank. A body of Horse which had come down on one flank and obliged the 53rd to form square, was dispersed by Captain Horsford's. M. Mouton, a Frenchman, who commanded it, in disgust threw down his sword, and vowed he would not serve any more with them. Captain Horsford's battery was loudly cheered by the Infantry, particularly by the 10th Foot.

Brigadier Ashburnham's brigade supported these attacks further to the right.

The divisions of Generals Gilbert and Sir H. Smith came up under very heavy fire, both of artillery and musketry. Far away on the left the former could see the glittering bayonets of Dick's brigades, but there was no time to look anywhere except to the front, where the ramparts seemed impassable. Twice the regiments fell back baffled, twice again they advanced, and at last effected an entrance. But the loss, considering the time they were under fire, was very heavy. Brigadier Maclaren, who had done very good service in Afghanistan, was dangerously wounded in the knee. Brigadier C. C. Taylor, 29th Regiment, of whom Sir Hugh Gough says that no one held in his estimation a higher place for gallantry and skill, fell "in close encounter with the enemy, covered with honourable wounds." The casualties in the 3rd Brigade (Taylor's) amounted to 63 killed, 339 wounded; in the 4th (Maclaren's) to 55 killed, 440

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wounded, the work of little more than half-an-hour. Those of the native regiments came nearer to those of the European ones than in any previous engagement

Sir Harry Smith's two brigades in the same way were not at first successful. The struggle, though not prolonged, was severe. On the right the 1st-2nd H.A., and on the left the 3rd-3rd H.A., under Major G. Campbell, covered the advance, though 6-pounder guns could not open the way through the earthworks or silence the guns behind them. But while Sir R. Dick's brigades, a mile away on the left, were making havoc with the enemy inside, this, and General Gilbert's division, were crowning the works. Already the Sikhs were beginning to retreat over the bridge of boats, and Captain Turton at the extremity of the defences, where a view of the interior could be obtained, was playing upon their disordered masses. Major Campbell with his Troop went to Turton's right, and unlimbered on the edge of the river. Three of his guns were directed against a battery on the opposite bank which enfiladed them, a shot from which killed Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful of the 1st Troop about this time. It was silenced. Major Campbell, as he ever did in action, was carrying out his motto, "Fiat Via V1." His other three guns joined Turton's in playing upon the bridge of boats,* and the crowds of Sikhs pressing over it. Their fire broke it down.

The guns were soon reinforced. Lieut.-Colonel Alexander came up from the Hari ford, which he, with Cureton's Cavalry, had been watching. The Governor-General, with prescient foresight, had sent Captain C. E. Mills to camp for the guns of the Horse Artillery serving in the heavy batteries, and he made the Syccs hook in the teams, mount, and come up at a trot. Lieutenant Atlay brought up Captain Day's Troop. The gunners were soon in their ac-

* In the plan the position of the bridge on the curve of the river may not be quite correct. The former was in full view of both Turton's and Campbell's guns. General Campbell in a letter places it nearer.

customed saddles. There was no grass under their feet, but they left the dust behind, and ere long were in action on the bank of the river. It was no longer a battle, it was simply carnage. The river had risen seven inches during the night, but the Sikhs, refusing to yield, plunged into it, and as shot and shell tore through them, their bodies were carried down the stream. The Artillerymen did not like the work, but the Sikhs had to be taught a lesson, and were hard to instruct. At eleven o'clock that morning not a living Sikh remained on the British side of the river.

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The casualties among the Artillery in this action were very small, 7 killed, 45 wounded, Major C. Grant among the latter. The Infantry had 313 killed, 1,954 wounded. The Cavalry, 6 killed, 42 wounded. The Engineers, 2 killed, 20 wounded. The Sikh loss was estimated at more than 8,000, and 67 pieces of ordnance fell into our hands.

This ended the campaign. On the 14th the British Army was at Kasur, where the Governor-General received Golab Singh on the part of the Sikh Government. On the 18th, the young Maharaja tendered his submission to him, and on the 20th the Army encamped at Mian Mir.

EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT KANGRA

Under the terms of the Treaty now entered into with the Sikh Government, the country lying between the Sutlej and Biás Rivers, north of Ludhiána, commonly called the Jullundur Doab, became British territory, and a Brigade under General Wheeler was placed there. It included the hills on the north-east, in which the celebrated fortress of Kot Kangra is situated. The Kiladár of this place, trusting to its impregnability, tested in many an instance in days long gone by, relying somewhat on fate, and, like other Kiladárs in history, considering his honour bound up in his charge, declined to surrender at once, saying that unless the Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself appeared before

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the gates, he would not give up the keys. As Ranjit was then beyond the River Styx, and could not come, Brigadier Wheeler was sent instead.

His force consisted of the 2nd, 11th, 41st, 44th, and half the 63rd N.I. Lieut-Colonel H. J. Wood commanded the Artillery, which consisted of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., 1st and 3rd Companies 6th Battalion, and the 2nd Company 7th Battalion. A siege-train of three 18-pounder guns, two 8-inch howitzers, and six mortars were sent. Elephant draft was provided for the larger pieces.

There was nothing remarkable about this expedition except the difficulty of transporting the heavy guns over the rough mountainous country which had to be traversed before the fort was reached on the 25th of May. On the appearance of the force there the Kildár gave up his keys to the shade of Ranjit Singh. Lieutenant W. Olpherts, commanding the Artillery of the Bandelkhand Legion, volunteered for and was employed in this expedition.

The headquarters of the 6th Battalion, with the 1st and 3rd Companies, went to Umballah. The 4th Company was kept there till December, when it was withdrawn with the siege ordnance, Lieutenant Clifford remaining till then in charge of the park.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

- General and Regimental Orders.
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 India Office Records.
Calcutta Review, Vol VI., Article, VI., "Sikh Invasion
 of India"
 Correspondence, etc., of the Late Gen. Sir G Brooke,
 K.C.B
 M.S. relation of the war by the late Col. E Kaye, C.B.
 Letters from various Officers of Artillery and of regi-
 ments engaged.
 Letters in *Calcutta Englishman and Friend of India*.

APPENDIX

- A. List of Officers of Artillery who served.
- B. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Mudki
- C. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Ferozeshah
- D. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Alwal.
- E. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Sobraon.
- F. Note on Casualties among matériel and failure of
 ammunition at Ferozeshah

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the first Sikh War.

	Mudki	Ferozeshah.	Badrinawal	Alwal	Sobraon	Kangra.	
1ST BRIGADE H. A.	p	p			p		
Lieut.-Colonel G Brookc	p	p			p	..	
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel W. Geddes		p			p		
Bt.-Captain M. Mackenzie	p	p			p		Bde-Major 1st Div. * H.A., wounded at Ferozeshah.
Surgeon T. E Dempster	p	p			p		
Assist-Surgeon D McKae	p	p			p		
Assist-Surgeon W F Mactier	p	p			p		
Vety.-Surgeon P B. F. Green	p	p			p		
Riding-Master P Ashton	p	p			p		
Sergt-Major S Douglas	p	p			p		Provost-Marshal F., R.H.A.
1st Troop.	p	p		p			Died 22nd December of wounds received at Mudki.
Captain F. Dashwood	p						
Captain C E Mills	p	p		p			Doing duty at first with 4th Troop 3rd Bde.
Lieutenant J. Mills	p	p		p			
Lieutenant W C Hutchinson	p	p		p			
Lieutenant H. Tombs	p	p		p			
Asst.-Surg. F. Anderson, M.D	p	p		p			
2nd Troop							56th Field Battery.
Captain E. D'A Todd	p	p					Killed at Ferozeshah.
Captain R. Waller					p		From 1-4 G.O. 31st Jan
Lieutenant C. A. Wheelwright	p	p			p		Wounded at Mudki
Lieutenant W A Mackinnon	p	p			p		
3rd Troop	p	p			p		58th Field Battery.
Captain G. H. Swinley	p	p			p		
Lieutenant R. H. Pollock	p		..				Died 19th December of wounds received at Mudki.
Lieutenant R. M. Paton					p		From 1st Troop 3rd Brigade.
Lieutenant C. V. Bowie	p	p					Wounded at Mudki.
Lieutenant E Atlay	..	.			p	p	From 3-4 G.O. 30th Dec. T., R.H.A.
5th Troop.	...	p	..		p		
Captain E F Day	..	p	.		p		
Lieutenant C W. Timbrell	...	p	.		p		
Lieutenant E. B Johnson	..	p	...		p		
Lieutenant W. C. Russell	..	p	..		p		
Assist.-Surgeon G. Rac	..	p	..		p	...	

NOTE A—continued.

	Mudki.	Ferozeshah.	Badhawal	Al.wal.	Sobraon	Kangra.	
2ND BRIGADE, II A							
Colonel G E. Gowan, C.B.	.	.		.	P		
Lieut.-Colonel E. Biddulph	.			P	P	..	
Major G S Lawrenson	.			P	P		
Bt.-Captain E. G. Austin	.			P	P		Brigade-Major 2nd Div. H A.
Surgeon G Craige	..	..			P		
Assist.-Surgeon F. Douglas	..	..			P		
Riding-Master R. McAuliffe			..	P	P		
Sergeant-Major S. Budd			P	P	P		Baggage-Master. A., R.H.A.
1st Troop.				P	P		
Captain J. Turton			✓	P	P		
Lieutenant R R Bruce	.			✓	✓		
Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful	.			✓	P		Killed at Sobraon.
2nd Troop	..	..			P		52nd Field Battery Wounded at Sobraon
Bt.-Major C Grant	.				P		
Lieutenant P. Christie					P		
Lieutenant A. P. Simons					P		
Lieutenant S. W. Stokes	.				P		
3rd Troop.			P	P	P		2nd Batt 2nd Dep. Div R A.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J Alexander			P	P	P	..	
Bt.-Captain W. Barr.			P	P	P		Acting Adjt. 2nd Bde H A.
Lieutenant G Voyle	✓		P	P	P		
Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce	.	..	P	P	P		
3RD BRIGADE II A							
Lieut.-Colonel E. Huthwaite		P			P		
Lieutenant J Abercrombie		P	..		P		Adjutant
Surgeon J. Graham, M D					P		Dépôt Hospital Ferozeshah Dong duty
Assist.-Surg. R S O Thring					P		
Vet.-Surgeon D. Cullmore					P		
Riding-Master C Connolly	..				P		
1st Troop.	P	P			P		I., R.H.A.
Bt.-Major F. Brind	P	P			P		
Bt.-Major H. M. Lawrence					P		Political Employ.
Lieutenant C. V. Cox	P	P			P		Wounded at Mudki
Lieutenant A. Wintle					P		
Lieutenant R. M. Paton							Wounded at Ferozeshah —To 3rd Troop 1st Bde. II A.
Asst.-Surgeon H. W. Rumley	P	P		..	P		
2nd Troop.	... d'v.	P div		✓	P	✓	57th Field Battery.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J. T. Lane	..			✓	P	✓	
Lieutenant G. Moir	..			✓	P	✓	
Lieutenant E. A. C. D'Oyly	..			✓	P	✓	
Lieutenant H. T. T. Pattenson	...	...	...	✓	P	✓	

NOTE A—continued.

	Mooli	Ferozeshah.	Badhowal	Alival.	Sobraon	Kangra.	
<i>3rd Troop</i>	.	p			p		<i>S, R.H.A</i>
Bt.-Major G. Campbell	.	p		..	p		
Lieutenant P. C Lambert	.	p	.	..			Killed at Ferozeshah.
Lieutenant A. G Austen					p	...	From 2-7 G.O, 31 Dec.
Lieutenant F F Remington	..	p	.	.	p	...	
Lieutenant D McNeill	..	p			p	.	
<i>4th Troop</i>	..	p		.	p		<i>K-C, R H A Reduced '79</i>
Captain H Garbett	p	p			p	..	
Lieutenant E. Kaye	p	p			p		
Lieutenant H H Maxwell	p	p	.	..	p	.	Dep -Asst Qr.-Mr -Gen.
<i>2nd Company, 2nd Battalion.</i>		*		..	p		<i>9th Mountain Battery.</i>
Lieutenant G H Clifford						p	
Lieutenant J A Angelo				.	p		<i>14th Co, Southern Div.</i>
<i>3rd Company, 3rd Battalion</i>				.	p		
Captain E P Master		..		.	p		
Lieutenant D. J F Newall				.	p		Doing duty from 2-3
Lieutenant W. K Fooks			..		p		Doing duty from 3 5
<i>4th Company, 3rd Battalion</i>					p		<i>36th Field Battery</i>
Captain J. Anderson					p		Doing duty from 3-1
Lieutenant S C Woodcock					p		
2nd-Lieutenant W Miller					p		Doing duty from 6-8.
<i>4TH BATTALION</i>							
Lieut -Colonel G G Dennis		p			p		
Bt.-Captain W. K Warner		p			p		Adjt -Commy Ordnce.
Surgeon J. Steel M D		p			p	.	Field Surgeon
Assist -Surgeon E Edlin		p			p		In medical charge
<i>1st Company, 12-pr. Battery</i>			..		p		<i>2nd Mountain Battery.</i>
Captain A. Fitzgerald	..		.			p	
Lieutenant H Francis				.	p		Doing duty with 4-4.
Lieutenant H Montgomery				..	p	..	Doing duty from 1-2.
2nd-Lieutenant W F Cox					p	..	Doing duty from 2-1.
<i>2nd Company</i>					p	...	<i>4th Mountain Battery</i>
Bt -Major G H Macgregor							Political Employ--Doing duty F.A B.O.. 17th Feb.
Lieutenant H R Courtenay					p		
Lieutenant A Bunny	..			.	p		
2nd-Lieutenant C Dempster	..				p		Joined 11th Feb.
<i>3rd Company, No 7 H.F.B.</i>	p	p		...	p		<i>6th Mountain Battery</i>
Captain Jasper Trower	p	...					Died 18th Dec of wound.
Captain J. Fordyce		.	.		p	..	
Lieutenant E Atlay	p	p			p		To 3-1 H.A.
Lieutenant A Pearson	p	p	.		p	.	
2nd-Lieutenant E Harrison		..			p		Joined 9th Feb.
<i>4th Company.</i>							<i>6th Co., Eastern Div.</i>
Captain J. Brind ...		..					Doing duty, Batt. Ord., 12th Feb.
Lieutenant G. Milligan			..	..	p	.	Doing duty from 1-1 Batt. Ord., 25th Jan.

* A detail with heavy howitzers, but no officer except Captain Warner.

NOTE A—continued.

	Mudki.	Ferozeshah.	Bachawal	Atwal	Sobraon	Kangra.	
<i>4th Company</i> —continued							
Lieutenant G. A. Renny	p		Doing duty, Batt Ord, 26th Jan
Lieutenant C. H. Cookes	Doing duty Fd. Army Ord., 14th Feb
2nd-Lieutenant M. E. Currie	p		Joined 8th February. —
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Frith			Doing duty Fd. Army Ord., 27th Feb
6TH BATTALION.							
Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Wood	p	p	Adjutant.
Lieutenant T. Brougham	p	p	
Surgeon G. G. Brown, M.D	p		
Asst -Surgeon St. G. W. Tucker	p	.	Doing duty
<i>1st Company</i>							
Lieutenant H. M. Conran	p	..	<i>18th Co., Southern Div</i>
2nd-Lieutenant W. Stewart	p	.	Doing duty Arty Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd Lieutenant T. Haydon	p	.	Doing duty Arty Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieut. E. W. E. Walker	p	Doing duty Arty Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieutenant W. H. Parish	p	Doing duty Arty Div. Ord., 16th Jan
2nd-Lieutenant G. Baillie	p	Doing duty Arty Div. Ord., 16th Jan
<i>2nd Company, No 9 H.F.B.</i>							
Captain R. Horsford ..	p	p	.	.	.	.	<i>59th Field Battery</i>
Lieutenant T. E. Kennion ..	p	p	.	.	p	..	
<i>3rd Company.</i>							
Lieutenant J. C. Griffiths	p	p	<i>60th Field Battery</i>
2nd-Lieutenant L. Machell	p	
2nd-Lieutenant J. F. Gilmore	p	.	Doing duty from 2-6 G O, 21st Jan
<i>4th Company, No 19 F.B</i>							
Captain J. Fordyce	<i>Reduced 1871.</i>
Captain E. Christie	p	..	.	..	To 3-4 G.O., 29th Dec
Lieutenant G. Holland	p	.	p	.	From 2-1 G O., 29th Dec
Lieutenant H. J. B. Macleod	p	..	p	.	
Lieutenant C. Cookworthy	p	.	
<i>2nd Company 7th Battalion, No. 6 H.F.B.</i>							
Captain F. B. Boileau	3 guns	..	..	..	..	<i>Native Reduced 1862</i>
Captain A. Fitzgerald	p	p	.	.	
Lieutenant A. G. Austen	p	..	p	..	Doing duty To 3 3 H.A., G.O., 31st Jan
Lieutenant C. S. Dundas	p	p	..	..
Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh	p	p	..	p	

Officers unattached to any Troop or Company in the field.—
 Captain W. S. Pillans, Commissary of Ordnance at Ferozepore
 Captain J. F. Egerton, D.A.Q.M.G. Ferozepore force. Died 23rd January
 of wounds received at Ferozeshah.

NOTE B

Return of Casualties, Mudki, 18th December, 1846

	KILLED						WOUNDED.							
	Officers.	Non Com. Officers	Rank and File	Syce Drivers	Syces and Grass cutters	Horses	Officers.	Native Officers	Non Com. Officers	Rank and File.	Lascars	Syce Drivers.	Syces and Grass cutters.	Horses.
1st Brigade H A. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Troops 3rd Brigade H A 1st, 2nd and 4th Troops 3rd Company 4th Batt } No. 7 Horse Battery } 2nd Company 6th Batt } No. 9 Horse Battery }	1	1	7			24	3		2	10	2	10	1	18
	1	1	4	1	5	1	1	1	9	9		6	2	2
			2	2		5			3		2			3
Total	2	4	11	3	5	45	4	1	2	7	11	12	7	25

Officers killed — Captain Jasper Trower, 34 F.A., Lieutenant R. H. Pollock, 2-1 H A, died 19th December

Officers wounded — Captain F. Dashwood, severely—died 22nd December, Lieutenants C. V. Cox, 1-3 H A, C. A. Wheelwright, 2-1 H.A.; C. V. Bowie, 2-1 H.A.

NOTE C

Return of Casualties, Ferozeshah, 21st and 22nd December 1845

	KILLED							WOUNDED							MISSING						
	Officers	Native Officers	Non-Com Officers	Rank and File	Iskars	Syce Drivers	Syces	Horses	Officers	Native Officers	Warrant Offrs	Non-Com Officers	Rank and File	Lancers	Syce Drivers	Syces	Horses	Non-Com Officers	Trumpeters	Rank and File	Horses
Div and Bde. Staff									2												1
1st Bde H A	1			7	3			35				4	28	3			37	1		2	76
3rd Bde H A.	1		1	14			2	70	1			3	18	3			18			1	29
3rd Co 4th Batt, No 7 L F B				2				2	1				1				16				5
2nd Co. 6th Batt, No 9 L.F B				1		1		10				1					3			4	16
4th Co. 6th Batt, No 19 L F B				1	1	2							1								
2nd Co 7th Batt No 6 L F B				1		1								1			1			10	3
2nd and 4th Cos 4th Batt,		2									2	2	13						2		
Total	2	2	1	26	4	4	2	118	4		2	10	01	7	2	2	75	1	2	17	130

Officers killed — Captain E. D'A. Todd, 2-1 H A , 21st December ; Lieutenant P. C Lambert, 3-3 H.A , 23rd December

Officers wounded — Brevet Captains W K. Wainer, Commissary of Ordnance, and Murray Mackenzie, Brigade Major , Lieutenants R. M. Paton, 1-3 H.A , and E. Atlay, 3 4 F.A , slightly.

NOTE D.

Return of Casualties, Ahwal, 28th January, 1846.

	KILLED				Sergeants	Corporals	WOUNDED				MISSING	
	Gunners	Gun Lascars	Privates of Go landaz	Horses			Gunners	Privates of Go landaz	Officers charg.rs	Horses	Privates of Go landaz	Syces	Horses
1st Troop 1st Bde H.A.	1			2	1	1	1					
1st Troop 2nd Bde H.A.		1		8			5					
3rd Troop 2nd Bde H.A.				8			2		4			
2nd Troop 3rd Bde H.A.				1			1		4			
2nd Co 7th Batt & No. 6 H.F.B.			1	1				3		1	4	
Total	1	1	1	30	1	1	9	3	1	8	4	12

NOTE E

Return of Casualties, Sobraon, 10th February, 1846

	Officers	KILLED				Officers	N.C. Officers	WOUNDED					Horses Missing
		Rank and File	Syces Drivers	Horses	Rank and File			Lascars	Syces and Grasscutters	Horses			
1st Brigade H.A.	...	1	1					1				..	
2nd Brigade H.A.	1	2		14	1	..	15			2	20	..	
3rd Brigade H.A.							5					..	
2nd Co 2nd Batt								1		..	..	..
3rd Batt							3	2				..	
4th Batt			2	3			5	2	3		2	5	
6th Batt.							4				1	..	
Total	1	3	3	17	1	1	33	5	5		23	5	

Officer killed.—Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful, 1-2 H.A.

Officer wounded.—Brevet-Major C. Grant, 2-2 H.A.

NOTE F

CASUALTIES AMONG MATÉRIEL AND FAILURE OF AMMUNITION
AT THE BATTLE OF FIKOZESHAH

The explosion of some of the wagons was due to the powder which the Sikhs had stored away in small magazines excavated in the ground within the entrenchments, besides what was plentifully scattered about inside and out, and some of these acted as mines among the Infantry. Brigadier Brooke reported six wagons blown up, some more were disabled and sent into Ferozepore to be replaced.

Except the wagons thus exploded, he says the greatest and almost only serious damage done to carriages was in wheels, and as a steady upholder of the system of pole draught, the Brigadier alleges "a duplicate occasion of the whole of one side of a team being shot down, yet both were replaced, ready, and moved off when it became necessary to move the battery."

Both the 8-inch howitzers were disabled, a shot smashed the nave of one, causing the wheel to fall in pieces, the capsquares of another were broken. Brigadier Brooke and Captain Warner assign as a reason for the last the want of stability without a platform, but it is not a sufficient one for a single day's work. The greatest elevation required was 10°.

Of exploded wagons, one occurred in Captain Campbell's Troop on the left, one (or two) in Captain Mills' Troop, both of Lieutenant Moir's, a wagon and limber of Captain Garbett's, and two in Captain Horsford's Field Battery, representing a loss of about 500 rounds.

The failure of ammunition in this action was much criticised, and the question of an adequate reserve was forced into notice. The number of rounds carried in limbers and wagons into action was as follows:—

6 pr. gun	96 round shot	16 spherical	16 com case	
9 " "	72 " "	16 " "	8 " "	
12-pr. how	32 com shell	38 " "	8 " "	2 caissons
24 " "	22 " "	32 " "	8 " "	2 " "

or less than Royal Artillery batteries carried. The capacities of

the boxes allowed of more. Two spare wagons were allowed on service to each Battery, giving 96, 80, 66, and 46 additional rounds for each nature of piece ; but these were drawn by bullocks, and could not be kept properly in touch with the first line. The Committee of 1836 had recommended a much larger proportion to be carried with each piece.

Lord Hardinge was too good a soldier, and too practical a character, not to address himself to this question as soon as the war was over, and the result was the addition to every Battery on service of a second line of wagons. It still, however, continued to be drawn by bullocks, a system that afterwards called forth the reprehension of Royal Artillery officers. And Lord Hardinge did not allow his interest in this matter to cease with his tenure of office. More than three years after the writer of this history had fired his farewell salute from the ramparts of Fort William, he was corresponding with Colonel G. Brooke upon the subject, and the information which the latter then procured from different officers relative to the campaign is of the greatest interest and value.

CHAPTER VI

SIEGE OF MULTÁN

STATE OF THE PUNJAB IN 1848—Mulraj Diwan of Multan—Murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson—Rebellion—Operations of Lieutenant Edwardes—General Whish sent with a force by the Resident—Sher Singh's Contingent—Sikh Feeling in the Punjab—Captain Abbott in Hazara—Operations of First Siege—Position of Force—First parallel of Attack—Enemy dislodged from its Front—Defection of Sher Singh—Siege Raised—Position taken up—Preparations for Renewal—Action at Suaj Khund—Junction of Force from Bombay—Renewal of Siege—Plan of Attack—Operations against City and Fort—Principal Magazine blown up—Capture of the City—Batteries on the North east side of Fort—On the South east Side—Breaches reported practicable—Preparations for Assault—Mulraj Capitulates—Remarks

THE year 1848, with the commencement of the Earl of Dalhousie's government, opened in peace, but the seeds of war in the Punjab were near the surface and soon germinated. The Sikh, as he ploughed his field, thought with bitterness that his nation, nominally independent, was under foreign rule, and that the army to which he belonged was overawed by the Feringhi and Hindustani soldiers * The Governor of a district, who farmed the revenue, knew that behind the authority of the Durbar, the National Council, lay the power vested in a British Resident

By the treaty of 1846, the supplementary Articles (11th March) provided that a British force should be left at Lahore for that year, during the reorganisation of the

* The feeling against the Sepoy was more intense. This came out plainly in 1857. Khan Singh Majitha, with whom in 1849 I sometimes spent an hour at his house near Amritsar, where he was living under surveillance, and who boasted to me that he was the last of the Sikhs who had laid down their arms before Sir Walter Gilbert, said to me that one Sikh was equal to three Sepoys, and that the latter were only good for fighting when they had the "gora log" beside them.

1848. army. It was done at the solicitation of the Durbar. Two years after the force was still there; a British Resident was at Lahore with a large staff of assistants. Major G. H. Macgregor, C.B., of the Artillery, was one of them and Captain J. Abbott was employed at first in the delimitation of territorial boundaries, afterwards in the Hazára district north-east of Ráwal Pindi, Major G. St P. Lawrence, of the Cavalry, was at Peshawar, Lieutenants H. B. Edwardes, 1st European Regiment, and Reynell G. Taylor, of the Cavalry, at Bannu beyond the Indus. Lieut.-Colonel H. M. Lawrence, C.B., of the Artillery, the Resident, was on leave home, his place being taken first by his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards by Sir Frederick Currie, both of the Civil Service.

Mulráj had succeeded his father Sáwan Mal, assassinated in September, 1844, as Diwan, or Governor of the Multán district, an important one, and not easily controlled by the Durbar. Sirdar Lal Singh had imposed a heavy nazarána, or succession fine, upon him, which was still a subject of remonstrance when the war broke out. Appeal was made first to Mr. John Lawrence, and he had unwillingly agreed to pay the reduced sum of 18 lakh of rupees, but at the same time tendered his resignation of the province. After Sir F. Currie had taken over office, the resignation was again tendered to the Durbar, who in 1848 appointed one Khan Singh Man to succeed him, and Mr. Vans Agnew, of the Civil Service, with Lieutenant A. W. Anderson, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, were sent down by the Resident to take over the accounts.

The murder of these officers at Multán on the 20th of April was the opening act of a rebellion in which, with few exceptions, all the chief Sirdars were soon implicated. That it was not the premeditated act of Mulráj did not make much difference, for he took no steps to succour or protect the wounded officers, and distinctly made himself *particeps criminis*. So, committed, he threw himself entirely into rebellion, and the reduction of Multán was the

1848.

first object to which the attention of Government and the Commander-in-Chief was directed. The latter was much averse to undertaking active operations till later in the season, when he wished to have given the command to General Sir W R Gilbert, K C.B., and the direction of the Artillery to Lieut-Colonel G Brooke, C B. He proposed to assemble at Ferozepore by November 1st a force of 24,000 men, 50 siege-pieces, 7 horse 6 field batteries and 7 reserve companies of Artillery, 6 companies of Sappers, 3 British and 10 Native regiments of Cavalry, 5 British and 18 native regiments of Infantry*.

Lieutenant Edwardes, Assistant-Commissioner at Bannu, at once organised what force he had, and wrote to the Nawab of Bhawalpur, who assembled his Daudputra feudatories, while the former advanced to meet him. But Mulraj at Shujabad intervened. Edwardes obtained the Resident's permission to act. He crossed the Indus, joined General Van Cortlandt at Dera Ghar Khan, passed the Chenab on the 18th of June at Kineri just as the Bhawalpur force was attacked, and defeated the troops of Mulraj. Advancing, he, on the 1st July, a second time defeated Mulraj at Suddosain, almost under the walls of Multan, and effectually shut him up within them. Lieutenant Lake, of the Engineers, had joined and taken command of the Daudputra force.

Sir Frederick Currie, availing himself of the powers vested in him, then directed Major-General W S Whish, C.B., commanding at Lahore, to arrange for the despatch of a second-class siege-train and march with the moveable column from Lahore and Ferozepore to Multan. He was under the impression that the rebel force had dwindled down to about 4,000 men, and would probably be still smaller. A proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, July 22nd, to the people of the Punjab, and as it was felt that any appearance of divided councils would be injurious, the Commander-in-Chief directed (G.O.C.C., Aug. 4) the

* C-in-C. to Resident Lahore, May 13th, 1848. Papers, p. 166.

1848.
August.

formation of a force under Major-General Whish to co-operate with a force under Raja Sher Singh, who had been sent by the Durbar at Lahore to reduce the rebel.

The force was constituted as follows—

Artillery

Major H Garbett, Commanding, Major E F¹ Day; Lieutenant J Mill, Brigade-Major, Lieutenant W. K. Fooks, Brigade-Quarter-Master, Lieutenant P Christie, Commissary of Ordnance

D-2 Reduced
1862
K-C Reduced
1879.
9 Mt. Batt.
14 Co. S. Div.
36 Fd. Batt.
Red. 1862.

4th Troop 1st Brigade, 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, 3rd and 4th Companies 3rd Battalion, 6th Company 7th Battalion

Engineers.

Bt-Major R Napier, Chief, Bt.-Captain H Siddons, Commanding Sappers and Miners, Lieutenant P Garforth, Brigade-Major, Lieutenant J E Cracroft (69th N.I.), Quarter-Master

1st, 2nd, and 3rd Companies Sappers, 2nd and 3rd Companies Pioneers.

Cavalry

Lieut Colonel H F. Salter, Commanding
11th L.C., 7th I.C., 11th I.C.

Infantry

1st Brigade.—Lieut-Colonel A. Hervey, Commanding: H.M. 10th Regiment, 8th and 52nd N.I.

2nd Brigade.—Lieut-Colonel F Markham, Commanding H.M. 32nd Regiment, 49th, 51st, and 72nd N.I.

Field-Surgeon, Surgeon T. E Dempster, 1st Brigade H.A.

The force marched in two columns, the right took up, on the 18th of August, a position two and a half miles east of Multán, to cover the damming up of the canal, already begun by Lieutenant Glover of the Engineers. The left joined on the 19th. Sher Singh's camp was near Tibbi, where Lieutenant Edwardes' camp had been since

1848.
August.

the battle of Suddosain, about four miles south-west of Multán, and the latter took up a position at Surajkhund, east of the canal, from which he shortly afterwards advanced to a position between the canal and the Kach Bairág gardens, about one and a half miles south of the town. General Whish's camp was further to the right and about two and a half miles east of the town. On the 4th of September Major Day, with the native company and siege-train, arrived. Next day General Whish summoned the town to surrender unconditionally.

The fort of Multán, built on a high natural mound, scarped and reveted with masonry, commanded the town from the north. The difficulty of making a practicable breach constituted its main strength. The bastions of the outer works gave a certain amount of flanking defence and were built of good tough masonry. It contained about fifty pieces of ordnance.

The city was surrounded, except along the side adjoining the fort, by a crenelated wall, old and somewhat unsound, defended in some places by a ditch. Outside the city were extensive suburbs of mud houses.

The Sikh force under Sher Singh was known to be infected with the hostile spirit that pervaded the whole Khalsa army; but it was hoped, even after his father, Chatar Singh, had openly declared against us, that he was more alive to his own interests. Sirdar Chatar Singh was the Názim of Hazára, a district lying between the territories of the Maharája of Kashmir and the River Indus. Captain James Abbott, whose services on the Herat Mission have before been mentioned,* was Political Assistant here. High-minded and chivalrous even to romance, he was well versed in the character of the men he had to deal with; his straightforward nature would not be taken in by the intrigues of the Sirdar, and he detected with a clearer eye than Sir F. Currie the agencies at work. To the last, even after the murder, on the 6th of August,

* Chapter I. note D.

1848
August.

of Colonel Canora, the Commandant of the Sikh Artillery at Haripur, the Acting Resident at Lahore believed that the conduct of Sirdar Chatar Singh was the result of Captain Abbott's suspicion, and his arming the Muhammedan population of Hazára against the Sikhs.

Lord Dalhousie saw better how things were, and wrote that "Captain Abbott's conduct since the commencement of the outbreak had been marked with much vigour and determination." He also quoted Sir F. Currie's own words respecting him, "that he has many excellent qualifications as a public officer, indefatigable application to business, a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest justice in all his investigations, decisions, and proceedings, and a kind and eminently conciliatory manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazára, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact, almost worshipped by the people"

They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharaja Golab Singh was glad to get from under his government on almost any terms.* In truth it was, humanly speaking, a shield of his own forging that saved Abbott from captivity or the fate of Vans Agnew and Anderson at the hands of Chatar Singh.

September

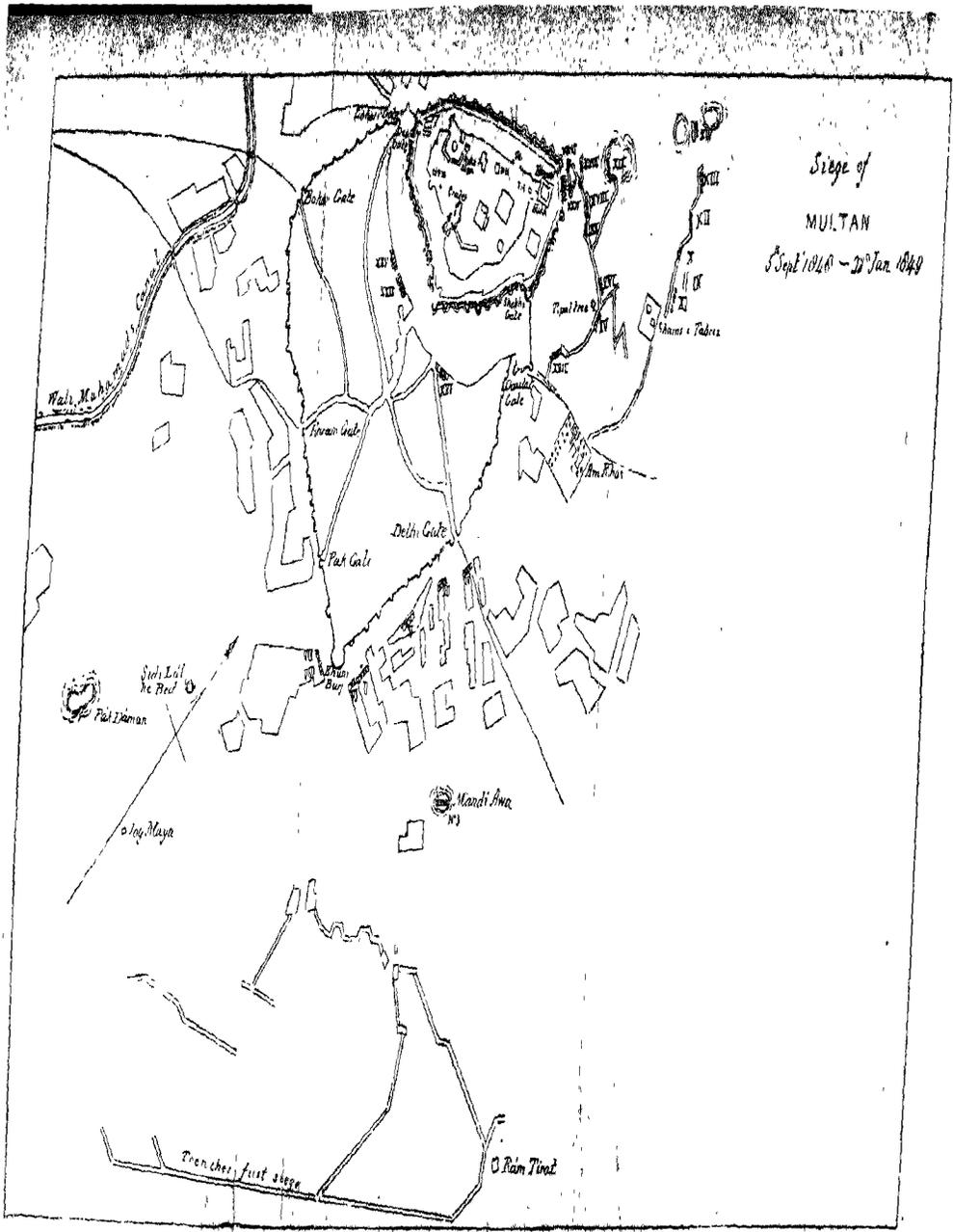
By the end of August there was no doubt of Chatar Singh's intentions, but still Sher Singh appeared to be restraining his soldiers within the bounds of loyalty, and on the 1st of September voluntarily opened fire upon the enemy, while General Whish, with Major Napier, made a close reconnaissance of the north side of the fort, and Lieutenant Edwardes changed his position, and formed his camp, extending from Wali Muhamad's canal to the east of the Jog Máya temple.

* Governor-General to the Secret Committee, September 7th, 1848. Papers, p. 269.

Siege of

MULTAN

5th Sept 1848 - 20th Jan 1849



On the 6th, at a meeting of the Chief Staff, Artillery and Engineer Officers, at the General's tent, plans of attack were discussed. Breaching the Khuni Burj and taking the town in one day, by a *coup de main* was rejected as unadvisable, not only for a risk of failure and the unavoidable loss of life, but because there was no urgent political necessity to justify such a course. Attacking the citadel from the north by regular approaches, which was Major Napier's second plan, was also given up, as the position was too remote from the river, and the change of position might be misconstrued into a retrograde movement. Finally, Lieutenant Lake, of the Engineers, who had been sharing Edwardes' successes and the honours of the first investment of Multan, made a proposition which was agreed to, to run a trench from the right of their camp to Ram Tnat a distance of more than a mile.

1848.
September.

Next morning the two camps were moved into closer proximity, and by daylight the trench was marked out. This first parallel of attack was at a distance of 1,600 yards, a distance necessitated by the nature of the intervening ground*.

On the night of the 9th an attack was made upon some houses and gardens in front of the trenches, but without success. It was renewed on the 12th, by a force under Brigadier Hervey, which had the desired effect of clearing the front of the trenches for about 800 yards. General Whish in his dispatch of the 13th says —

Sept 12th.

"The position was a strong one, and stoutly defended, the conflict terminating only in a series of hand to hand encounters. A troop of Horse Artillery under Captain Mackenzie was brought up at an opportune moment and prevented an accession of numbers to the enemy, who were repulsed with severe loss in about an hour and a half."

Colonel Pattoun, 32nd, Major Montizambert, 10th, and

* "It was a most unusual proceeding . . . but the features of the ground—thick gardens, villages, brick-kilns, jungle and ravines, made it reasonable enough in the eyes of the Engineers" (Major Siddons).

1848. three other officers were killed, three officers of the 10th,
Sept. 12th. four of the 32nd, four of the Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Bunny, Horse Artillery, were wounded

Although a position within battering distance had been thus early gained, the inadequacy of the force for the regular and severe toil of a siege was now plainly seen. The reliefs of workmen were insufficient, there were no guards of the trenches properly so called. The Artillery General had a good adviser in the Chief Engineer. The practicability of maintaining active operations was considered, but
Sept. 14th. the question was decided by the defection of Sher Singh, who moved away with his force closer to Multán, beating the religious drum in the name of the Khalsa. General Whish the same day reported to the Adjutant-General that he had directed the troops to be withdrawn from their advanced positions, and would retire across the canal to Tibbi. His action in doing so has been vindicated, but it brought upon him a storm of adverse criticism.

Sept. 15th. On the 15th, Lieutenant Edwardes, with his force and the Daudputra contingent, took up his old ground at
Sept. 16th. Surajkhund, and next day General Whish encamped two miles west of him, and about three miles south-west of the fort, with his left at the grove of Arabi. Sher Singh, distrusted by Mulráj, remained outside Multan on its northern side till the 9th October, when he withdrew, crossed the Ravi on the 11th and 12th, and proceeded towards Jhang, after which his movements belong to the field operations
October. of this campaign.

The period of inaction which followed was taken up in preparations to renew the siege. Captain Siddons with the Sappers and Pioneers went to Shujabad and prepared an ample supply of gabions and fascines. General Van Cortlandt with his Sappers, and Lieutenant H. B. Lumsden* with the Guides were similarly employed. Mulráj, on his side, was not idle. He improved his defences, and in-

* Son of Colonel T. Lumsden, Bengal Artillery.

creased his followers from without. On the night of the 1st of November he occupied a position on the canal with batteries which raked the allied camp. During the night of 2nd to 4th of November, a battery of two 18-pounders, two howitzers, and four mortars was formed a mile in front of the camp, but as their fire was ineffective, a brigade under Brigadier Markham was formed to attack, and the heavy guns were withdrawn, two Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Bunny being sent instead, along with the Katár Mukhi Regiment of Cortlandt's force, 1,000 Daudputras, and 500 Irregulars, under Lieutenant Pollock. That night, however, all the Purbiyas* of these regiments deserted, and Lieutenants Bunny, Pollock, and Paton, were in a critical position. Markham was therefore directed to make a flank attack from the east side of the canal. His force consisted of —

1848.
Nov. 1st.

Nov 6th

Cavalry

Major Wheler 11th Light, 7th, and 11th Irregulars--
two squadrons each

Horse Artillery.

Captain Anderson's Troop

Infantry

Lieut.-Colonel Franks, C.B. Six companies 10th Regiment, eight of the 8th N.I., eight of the 52nd N I

Lieut.-Colonel Brooke Six companies 32nd Regiment, eight of the 49th, eight of the 51st N I

The rest of the force was held in reserve under Brigadier Hervey.

The attack next morning was completely successful. The enemy, leaving five guns in our hands, were driven from their batteries, which were destroyed. Brigadier Markham handled his force with considerable skill. Lieutenant Bunny, who had two guns at an advanced point, was mentioned by General Whish, and both Brigadier Markham and Major

* Hindu inhabitants of the Dóab between Allahabad and Meerut and Oudh, lying to the east (Purab) of the Punjab.

1848. Wheler named Captain J. Anderson, H.A., in dispatches.
 Nov. 6th. Our loss was trifling compared to that of the enemy. Lieutenant Edwardes heard they had 15,000 men in the field. Colonel J. Cheape, C.B., joined on the 30th as Chief Engineer, with rank of Brigadier.

December A column from Bombay, under command of Brigadier the Hon. H Dundas, C.B., 60th Royal Rifles, arrived on the 21st. It was composed as follows.—

Artillery.

Brigadier J S Leeson

3rd Troop Horse Artillery, Brevet-Major C Blood ;
 2nd Company 1st Battalion, Captain J. B Woosnam ;
 4th Company 2nd Battalion No 5 H.B, Captain B Bailey ;
 1st Company 4th Battalion (Native) No 7 H.B, Captain
 S. Turnbull, 2nd Company 4th Battalion (Native), Lieutenant J Hamilton.

Q., R I.A
 15th Fd. Batt.
 55th Fd. Batt.
 Reduced 1862

Engineers

Major W Scott, Commanding.
 1st and 4th Companies Sappers

Cavalry.

and L C, Scinde Irregular Horse.

Infantry.

1st Battalion 60th Rifles, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, 3rd, 4th, 9th, and 19th Native Infantry

On Christmas Day General Whish had reoccupied his old position, and the Bombay force next day formed on his left. On the 27th the enemy in the suburbs were attacked by four columns. Captain Turnbull and No. 7 Field Battery was with the left, Captain Bailey and No. 5 with the left centre ; Captain Anderson with four guns of his Troop, supported by two 24-pounder howitzers, with the right centre ; and Captain Mackenzie with four guns accompanied the right column. Brigadier Dundas, commanding the left, moved round the left of the first original parallel and drove the enemy successively from the Jog Maya temple

and the mound called the Sidi Lál Ke Bed and the Bághi Bágh. Brigadier Capon advanced upon Rám Tirat, compelled the enemy to evacuate the Mandi Awa, and drove them out of the suburbs into the city. Captain Bailey lost his arm by a round shot at the Mandi,* and died on the 8th. of January. Lieutenant Hill, Bombay Engineers, was severely wounded. The right column occupied without any loss the suburbs and buildings east and north-east of the citadel, including the Am Khás, Shams-i-Tabriz, the fortified village of Wazirábád, Sáwan Mall's tomb, and the brick-kilns with their entrenchments.

1848,
Dec. 27th.

Artillery officers mentioned in various dispatches of this day. Major Leeson, commanding, Lieutenant G G Pearce, Madras Artillery,

General Whish had decided upon attacking the north-east angle of the citadel in regular form. Brigadier Cheape advocated an attack upon the suburbs and town, which was considered too great a risk, but a diversion* on the south-east side was resolved upon. There were, therefore, a right and a left attack, the first fell to the Bengal Gunners, the latter was shared with the Bombay Artillerymen. The numbering of the batteries is that of the Engineers, which included both Bengal and Bombay batteries.

RIGHT ATTACK.—A ravine to the right of Shams-i-Tabriz, occupied the day before, was converted into a battery, No. XI, for six 8-inch mortars, which moved out of park that evening, and opened this morning at 700 yards from the outer walls of the fort. The Infantry posts were loop-holed. At dusk, No. X. for two 24-pounders to destroy the upper defences of the north-east face of the citadel, and No. XII., for two 8- and three 10-inch howitzers to enfilade the face commanding the town, were marked out.

Dec. 28th.

LEFT ATTACK.—No. I, three 10 and four 5½-inch mortars (Bengal) was established during the night on the Mandi Awa. No. II. for six 18-pounders (Bengal) to

* So Brigadier Cheape, in his memorandum terms it; but it was, as he wished it to be, a real attack.

1848.
Dec. 28th. breach the curtain next the Khuni Burj at about 120 yards was traced out, but not completed, material having to be conveyed from a distance. In the morning a heavy match-lock fire prevented more than the reveting of the finished portion. No I opened in the evening, and continued during the night.

Dec. 29th. RIGHT ATTACK.—Nos. X. and XII commenced and completed during the night, as also connecting trenches with Shams-i-Tabriz. They were armed and opened during the day, and trenches widened

LEFT ATTACK—On the previous day, Edwards (now Brevet-Major and C B) and Lake had relieved the Bombay troops of the posts about Sidi Lal Ke Bed, and the latter, closing to the right, had their left posts in the suburbs about the Khuni Burj. No II was completed by midnight, but the first gun was not brought in till daybreak, and a company of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Baugh, were unable, after several attempts, to bring in a second. Several gunners were wounded

Dec. 30th. RIGHT ATTACK.—Magazine for No. XII commenced and completed

LEFT ATTACK—No. II. armed during the night and opened at daybreak. No. V for two 9-pounders was commenced and armed by daybreak among the houses between the Khuni Burj and Delhi gate, to destroy the town wall defences at about 200 yards. Two Bombay 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers were placed behind a high mud-wall opposite the Delhi gate (No. IV), and opened with effect on the gateway. The mud-wall coming down, a sand-bag parapet was put up. Lieutenant Henderson, Bombay Artillery, wounded this day.

At 10 a.m. this day a shell from a mortar laid by Lieutenant Newall in No. XI. Battery fell upon the principal magazine near the southern face of the fort, a mosque which had been appropriated to that purpose, and which blew up, opening an extensive crater in the ground through the inner wall. General Whish in his report compares it to the ex-

position at the siege of Háthrás, March 1st, 1817. When the smoke and dust had cleared away, the enemy resolutely resumed their fire.

1848.
Dec. 30th.

RIGHT ATTACK.—A trench of communication opened between Shams-i-Tabriz and Am Khás garden

Dec. 31st

LEFT ATTACK.—Two 9-pounders (Bombay) No VII were placed among houses on left of No II. to prevent the enemy replacing a disabled gun near the breach at the Khuni Burj. Four 5½-inch mortars (Bombay) also to the left of the breaching battery opened upon the breach. No. III., a sunken* battery for two 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers (Bombay) opposite the Delhi gate, opened this morning on the third curtain from the gateway. 2nd-Lieutenant A. Garnett, Bengal Engineers, wounded

RIGHT ATTACK.—A zigzag trench was pushed forward 270 yards towards a large pipal-tree during the night. No IX. for four 24-pounders was traced out, but the enemy's fire was too heavy to place the guns *en barbette*, and the gunners were withdrawn till an efficient sandbag battery could be constructed

1849
January 1st.

LEFT ATTACK.—A 24-pounder howitzer (Bombay) No VI. placed among the houses left of No II to command the breach, and opened at daybreak, when No VIII. for two 8-inch howitzers to breach the Khuni Burj and enfilade the east wall of the town was traced out and begun. A second howitzer placed close to the one in No VI (Bombay)

The Commanding Engineer at noon reported the Khuni Burj as looking well, though not likely to be a good breach, and recommended the assault, if it was to be made here, should be done at once

RIGHT ATTACK.—No IX completed repairs to batteries during the day.

January 2nd.

LEFT ATTACK.—The fire of the four right guns of No. II. was turned from the curtain on to the Burj itself. No. VIII. armed, but the howitzer-carriages being sprung and

* Where not otherwise stated, the batteries were elevated ones.
Lieutenant Pollard did this without interfering with the direct fire of the left pieces.

1849.
Jan. 2nd

no platform being laid down, it ceased firing. Captain Sidons examined the breach in the early morning, and reported it practicable, though steep. That at the Delhi gate was said to be sufficiently ready for an attempt.

The troops told off for the assault left camp after noon in two columns, the right under Brigadier Markham to attack the Delhi gate, the left under Brigadier Stalker to attack the Khuni Burj. The Bombay Column was completely successful. The leading party crowning the breach found the communication with the Burj interrupted, but with the aid of two ladders procured by Lieutenant Oliphant and his Sappers, they got over a low house into it, driving out the enemy. The other parties forced their way through the town, taking possession of the Pak, Haram and Bohar gates, which were held during the night. Major Scott commanded the Engineers with this column.

That under Markham, on getting to the Delhi gate, found the lower part of the wall previously concealed from view too high for escalade. Captain Smyth, 32nd Foot, with great decision, withdrew the leading companies under cover. This column had to find its way in through the other breach, whence it followed the eastern face of the town to the Delhi gate. The Daulat gate was taken next morning. Major Napier commanded the Engineers here.

Captain Garforth was dangerously, Lieutenants A. Taylor and J. A. Fuller severely wounded, the latter by an explosion of a magazine near the Bohar gate.

Jan 3rd & 4th

Strengthening posts, opening communications, and surveying citadel. The Commanding Engineer established his headquarters at Wazirábád. A Bombay Brigade ordered to the Diwan Bágh, on the north. Major Edwardes at the Shish Mahal and line of the canal. The Artillery fire on right was kept up.

January 5th.

The trench of approach to the large pipal-tree completed. Communication from this point to the Daulat gate made, partly by trench, partly by features of the ground. No. XV. for four $5\frac{1}{2}$ mortars (Bengal) intended to shell the

raoni (covered way) of the eastern face, completed in the hollow to the left of the pipal-tree during the night. Mortar fire kept up.

1849.
January 5th.

The sap was widened into a trench of approach. Sappers and Pioneers moved into the Am Khas garden.

Sap pushed on 500 feet No. XVI. for four 5½ mortars (Bombay) in trench to right of pipal-tree to shell the raoni. No. XVII. for two 8-inch and two 24-pounder howitzers (Bengal) traced out and completed before morning, to enfilade the short north-east face. The light howitzer sap advanced 150 feet during the day. No. XIII for six 8-inch mortars (Bombay) commenced to the right of No. XII.

January 6th.

No. XIII. completed with an epaulement on its right, and communication with the batteries on its left. No. XVIII. for seven 18-pounders (Bombay) to beat down the defences from the Bhawal Hak to the junction with the city-wall, commenced. The two 8-inch howitzers of No. XII. were transferred to No. XVII., one had been sent on the 5th to the park for repairs. The sap towards the north-east angle of the fort was continued 150 feet, but was much interrupted by the gun, directed on its head during the night. Our vertical fire constant.

January 7th

No. XIV. for three 10-inch mortars (Bengal), prepared in a mound to the right of No. XIII, to bear directly on the short north-east face. Lieutenant M C Sankey was severely wounded in the leg by a fragment of a shell in No. XVII. to-day.

No. XVIII. completed, four guns in position at day-break. Constant repairs to batteries, and improvement of trenches necessary. By noon the sap had advanced 150 feet, and a turn was made to bring it nearer to the glacis.

January 8th,

No. XVIII., for 18-pounders, was manned by sailors of the Indian Navy. It opened this morning, but at three p.m. a shell from the citadel exploding, set fire to it, and in spite of every effort, the battery was destroyed. The guns were withdrawn with difficulty, and powder saved.

January 9th.

1849.
January 10th. No. XIX. to breach the north-east front of the citadel was commenced during the night. The two 8-inch howitzers of No. XVII. were changed for 9-pounder field-guns, as the splinters of 8-inch shells endangered the lives of the men working at the sap on that side. No. XXI. for two 18-pounders on the city side against the south-east bastion completed
- January 11th. 2nd-Lieutenant C. Pollard, Engineers, wounded during the night No. XX. sunken battery for two 18-pounders, commenced and finished in the trench to the left of the burnt battery. Four 18-pounders, separated by a traverse, were added on the left, but one of the first two was afterwards removed and replaced by two 8-inch howitzers
- January 12th Prolonging the sap A breaching battery, No. XXII., for four 18-pounders commenced on the south side opposite to the crater formed by the explosion of the 30th of December, which had ruined the upper defences
- January 13th. The working party at the head of the sap was attacked, and work somewhat delayed. No. XIX. breaching battery for nine 24-pounders was completed.
- January 14th No. XXIII. for five 8-inch howitzers (Bengal) commenced, to assist in breaching the curtain at the north-east front commenced. No. XX extended to the left for four more guns The sap had now reached the crest of the glacis at the north-east angle of the fort. A cavalier for a guard of 30 men was constructed here, and the sap continued to the left parallel to and 30 feet from the edge of the ditch The guard in the cavalier were kept on the look-out by occasional discharges of brick-bats from the bastion opposite The breaching battery No. XIX. opened with good effect. At this period of the siege the enemy sent some of our shells back to us.
- January 15th. Widening and repairing trenches and batteries.
- January 16th. No. XXIII. and magazine completed. Position for two 10-inch mortars (Bombay) prepared on the left of No. XVII Three shafts were sunk in the trench opposite to the north-east breach to blow in the counter-scarp. The

breaching battery No. XXII, on the town side (Bengal), was armed, and another, No. XXV, for two 8-inch howitzers to assist it was traced out during the night. The fire of No. XXI. was efficient, that of the enemy's guns everywhere was becoming silent. 1849. January 16th.

No. XXIII armed. A sap commenced from No. XXV across the esplanade to the edge of the ditch opposite the south salient bastion. Mines on the right completed. 2nd-Lieutenant C T Graham, H A, was badly wounded in the breaching battery. He died on the 4th of February. January 17th.

The mines at the north-east angle were exploded at 6.30 this morning. They had been charged each with 900 lbs. of powder, and the descent into the ditch was quite practicable, though the scarp was not completely laid open. Sixty yards of the lodgment on the crest of the glacis were destroyed. Captain Abercrombie, Engineer on duty, considered the breach here practicable. January 18th.

On the city side the sap was carried across the esplanade to within twenty-four feet of the ditch.

Battery No. XXIV for two 24-pounder howitzers and two 9-pounder guns to sweep the breach and its defences at the north-east was commenced in the trench, and completed by daybreak. No. XXVI. for two 8-inch howitzers to breach the rami scarp under the great breach was prepared in the trench on the right of No. XXIV. January 19th.

On the city side the sap was carried forward during the night. 2nd-Lieutenant Gulliver was severely wounded. The practicability of the breach on this side was proved, a horse was seen walking down from the summit of the breach in the inner wall, and then to the bottom of that in the outer wall.

Batteries for Nos. XXIV. and XXVI. armed. The pieces intended for the former were part of the Bombay Field Battery, and were driven at night along the trench close to the battery, where they were unlimbered and the horses with limbers taken back. The 8-inch howitzers of No. XXVI. opened with great effect, as also a 10-inch. January 20th.

1849,
January 20th.

placed so as to breach the south face of the raoni scarp near No. XXV., with a plunging fire and charge of 2 lbs. 8 oz.

January 21st.

The howitzer battery No XXV made a good breach in the raoni scarp Lieutenant J. Thompson, who had behaved throughout with exemplary zeal, while incautiously watching the effect of his fire, was mortally wounded by a matchlock-ball, and died in the evening

Everything was now ready for a storm Mulráj had on the 5th been in communication with Major Edwardes, but an unconditional surrender was demanded Nothing further was heard from him till the 19th, when another message was received from him by General Whish, who in reply fixed the following morning as the time when he expected him to surrender No answer being received, orders were given for the assault on the morning of the 22nd. The fort was a ruin, there was no hope for the survivors of the garrison, who were deserting, and Mulráj gave himself up The garrison, between 3,000 and 4,000, came out, and surrendered their arms as the columns told off for the storm filed through the Daulat gate

The second part of the siege had lasted for 27 days, and its details were carried out strictly in accordance with the scientific principles which experience had laid down. Major Siddons remarks that the Engineers' works were probably too much in advance of the Artillery, which a more active enemy might have taken advantage of. The Artillery practice, he says, was most excellent, and the exertions of officers and men indefatigable. The walls were mostly of mud or of brick and mud, and some parts breached were defective, a mere facing over the old wall; here the solid shot brought down large masses. But in sounder places the shot buried themselves, while the 8- and 10-inch shells acted as small mines, exploding within the earth with better effect.

Major Siddons also remarks upon the valuable service rendered to the gunners by Lieutenant A. Taylor in charge

of the Bengal Engineers' park, in supplying mantlets for the embrasures of 4-inch planks hung upon roughly-squared uprights of palm-tree and fixed to the throats of the embrasures. His mechanical aptitude enabled him to prepare numerous contrivances for facilitating siege operations, and his park was quite a show

1849.
January

As Lieutenant Newall remarks in a memorandum appended to Major Siddons' journal of the siege, the Bengal Artillerymen were so few that the battery duties could not be performed without indenting on the services of the Horse Artillery. The Bombay gunners likewise had to be assisted in their batteries by sailors from the Indus flotilla. Notwithstanding the constant strain of work, both ordnance and carriages stood it well, and the withdrawal of pieces from battery occurred seldomer than might have been expected. The supply of Engineers' stores was most ample, which was due to the foresight of Major R. Napier, and while the siege in its conduct and termination reflected the highest credit on the two ordnance services, no less should be awarded to the Infantry, who worked with indefatigable zeal in the trenches, and to the share which Major Edwardes, General Van Cortlandt, and Lieutenant Lake with their subalterns and men bore in the reduction of the fortress.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS
CHAPTER

General Orders , Muster Rolls , Army Lists.

“Siege of Multán,” by Major H Siddons, Bengal
Engineers , Corps Papers Royal Engineers, 1849-50.
Papers laid before Parliament

M S., Captain D J. F Newall, and letters from various
officers of the Engineers and Artillery

APPENDIX.

- A. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served.
- B. Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served
- C. Lieutenant G G Pearce, Madras Artillery
- D. Officers of the Bengal Engineers
- E. Return of ammunition expended

APPENDIX.
NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served at the Siege of Multán.

Major-Genl W. S. Whish, C B.
Major H. Garbett
Major E. F. Day
Lieutenant P. Christie

4th Troop 1st Brigade H A
Bt Major M. Mackenzie
Lieutenant J. Mill
Lieutenant J. W. Swinhoe
Lieutenant A. Bunny
2nd-Lieutenant C T Graham

2nd Lieut J. Y Worthington
Assistant-Surgeon D McRae

4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A
Captain J. Anderson
Lieutenant G. Muir
Lieutenant F. Alexander
Lieutenant H. Francis
Lieutenant R. Mecham
Asst.-Surg G. F. Thompson,
M D.

2nd Company 2nd Batt.
Captain J. H. Daniel
Lieutenant W. K. Fooks
Lieutenant J. F. Raper
2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Quayle
Asst.-Surgeon G. C. Rankin

3rd Company 3rd Batt.
Captain E. P. Master
Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall
Lieutenant F. R. De Bude
2nd-Lieutenant M. C. Sankey
Asst.-Surg. Haldane Stewart

4th Company 3rd Batt.
Lieutenant W. Miller
Lieutenant J. Thompson
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop
2nd-Lieutenant J. Hunter
2nd-Lieutenant F. C. Simons

Doing Duty
Lieutenant W. Hay*... ..
2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day*... ..

Commanding the Force
Commanding H A.
Commanding F.A.
Commissary of Ordnance.

Reduced 1862.

Brigade Major

Doing duty from 3-3 H.A.
Died 4th of Feb of wounds.

Reduced 1879

9th Mountain Battery

Quartermaster F.A.

Doing duty from 3-2 F.A.
In medical charge F A.

14th Co Southern Division

Adjutant F A

36th Field Battery

Killed in battery, 21st of Jan

From Malwa Contingent Arty.
From 1-1 F A

NOTE B.

Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served at the Siege of Multán.

Major J. S Leeson	Commanding,
Lieut. W. Stevenson . . .	Brigade-Major.
Captain T. W Hicks . . .	Commissary of Ordnance.
2nd-Lieut H T B Berthon	Asst. Field Engineer.

3rd Troop H.A.

Brevet-Major C. Blood
Lieut. G. J. Lightfoot
Lieut. D. McDougall

Q, R.H.A.

2nd-Lieut. A. Blunt
2nd-Lieut. C. E. Cotes

2nd Company 1st Batt.

Lieut. J. B. Woosnam
Lieut. A. Crawford
2nd-Lieut. W. H. Anderson

15th Field Batt.

2nd-Lt. W. H. J. Henderson
2nd-Lieut. J. H. Reid

4th Company 2nd Batt

Captain B. Bailey*
Lieut. J. T. Keir

55th Field Batt.

2nd-Lieut. J. Shekleton
2nd-Lieut. P. D. Marett

1st Company 4th Batt

Captain S. Turnbull
2nd-Lieut. D. G. Anderson

2nd-Lieut. C. E. Allom

2nd Company 4th Batt.

Lieut. J. Hamilton
2nd-Lieut. A. A. Bayly

2nd-Lieut. T. W. Graham
2nd-Lieut. T. B. Heathorn

Asst.-Surg. T. S. Shekleton
Asst.-Surg. F. J. Shinhausen †

Asst.-Surg. F. W. Clay
Asst.-Surg. H. J. Wilmot

NOTE C

Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery, served at the siege of Multán. He had been appointed Assistant Field Engineer under Major Napier. In December, 1848, he was appointed to command the Daudputra Artillery, and served with them throughout the rest of the siege. After this he was sent to assist Lieutenant Reynell Taylor at the siege of Lakki. For some years subsequently he was employed in the Punjab as an Assistant Commissioner

* Died 8th June of wounds in action.

† Proceeded in charge of sick to Bombay.

NOTE D.

Officers of the Bengal Engineers who served at the Siege of Multán.

Colonel	J. Cheape, C B	Brigadier and Chief Chief Engineer, Multán.
Brevet-Major	R. Napier *	
Captain	W. Abercrombie *	Civil Employ, Punjab. Brigade-Major
"	J. R. Western	
"	H. Siddons *	
Lieutenant	J. H. Maxwell *	
"	E. J. Lake *	
"	P. Garforth *	
"	G. W. W. Fulton	
"	A. Taylor *	
"	A. Fraser *	
"	C. S. Paton *	
2nd-Lieut.	T. G. Glover *	
"	H. Hyde	
"	R. Young *	
"	F. C. Grindall *	
"	W. W. H. Greathed *	
"	W. S. Olyphant *	
"	H. W. Gulliver *	
"	C. Pollard *	
"	C. T. Stewart	
"	F. R. Maunsell	
"	A. W. Garnett	
"	D. C. Home	
"	B. M. Hutchinson	

NOTE E.

Expenditure of Ammunition at the Siege of Multán in Letter No. 1161, Calcutta, 6th December, 1865, Adjutant-General to Government of India. From the Records of the Office of Examiner Ordnance Accounts.

<i>Round Shot</i>		<i>Carass.</i>	
24-pounder . .	6,100	8-inch	150
18-pounder . .	7,700	5½-inch .	300
9-pounder . .	267	4½-inch	8
6-pounder	1,250	<i>Common Shell</i>	
		10-inch	4,000
		8-inch	12,086
<i>Case</i>		5½-inch ..	4,208
10-inch . .	200	4½-inch	168
8-inch ...	302	<i>Spherical Case :</i>	
24-pounder ...	737	8-inch	528
18-pounder . .	600	24-pounder	1,014
12-pounder ..	57	18-pounder	854
9-pounder	206	9-pounder .	438
6-pounder ..	275	6-pounder	705

N.B.—The above-mentioned letter does not state whether this return includes Bombay Expenditure or not.

* Served in the first part of the siege.

CHAPTER VII

SECOND SIKH WAR.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—Cavalry Action at Ramnagar—Disposition of Artillery—Battle of Sadulapur—Brigading of the Army—Halt at Helan—Advance to Chihánwala—Battle—Remarks on it—Intrenched positions taken up—Sikhs abandon Rasul—General Whish joins—Allotment of Batteries in the Lane—Battle of Gujarat—Gilbert's pursuit of the Sikhs—Surrender of their Guns and Arms—General Wheeler's force in the Jullundur Doab

1848

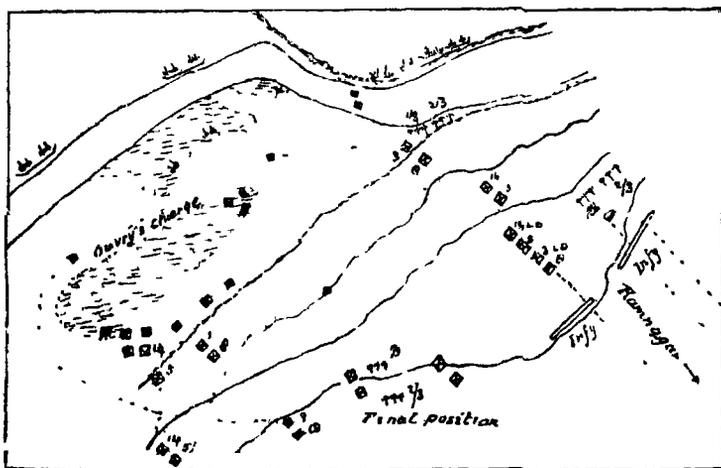
WHILE Sher Singh was encamped under the walls of Multán a declared rebel, and the still untaught warriors of the Khalsa—ji were smelling the battle afar and near, in the Council Chamber of Calcutta the gates of Janus were being opened wide “They want war, and on my honour they shall have it,” said Lord Dalhousie at the Barrackpore banquet. A lesson had soon to be learned, costly to the masters as well as to the scholars. On the 13th of October the first general order appeared forming the “Army of the Punjab.” Its detail was considerably altered after the action at Ramnagar. Troops were moved rapidly up. Brigadier-General Cureton, C.B., crossed the Ravi on the 2nd of November with a small force to cover Lahore, threatened by the marauding troops in front of Sher Singh coming up from Multán. The Sikh regiments from Bannu had signalled their revolt by the murder of their Commandant, Colonel John Holmes, and the Malik Fateh Khán Towána, whom Edwardes had left in charge. The whole Punjab was up in arms. General Cureton's force only consisted of H.M. 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, 5th and 8th, Light Cavalry, 12th Irregulars, the 2nd European Regiment, and 70th N.I. The Artillery consisted of the 1st. and

November.

2nd Troops 3rd (Captain Warner and Lieut.-Colonel Lane), the 4th Troop 2nd Brigade (Captain Duncan) of Horse Artillery, and the 1st Company 1st Battalion, No 10 H.F.B. (Captain E. G. Austin)

1848.
November.

The force advanced to Saháran, about ten miles from Ramnagar, on the Chenáb, where the Sikh army was. Sir Joseph Thackwell, with Pennycuick's and Penny's brigades



ACTION OF RAMNAGAR

of Infantry, were at Nohiwala, about three miles to Curceton's left rear.

Lord Gough left Lahore on the 16th and joined the army. At 3 a.m. on the 22nd he left camp with a strong force to reconnoitre their position. All the above-mentioned regiments and batteries went with him, except Captain Duncan's Troop, replaced by Captain Dawes' Field Battery (No. 17 3rd Company 1st Battalion); and H.M.'s 61st, the 30th and 46th N.I. The rest of the force in camp knew nothing of this until they had gone.

Nov. 22nd,

The Cavalry and Horse Artillery went forward at an increased pace. On approaching Ramnagar the Sikhs were seen retiring towards the river. There was a short expanse

1848.
Nov. 22nd.

of hard ground, and then an abrupt descent into the wide expanse of heavy sand near the river-bed. Down into this went the guns, the horses already feeling the effect of the pace at which they had come along,* and before long Lieut.-Colonel Grant ordered them to come into action. The Sikhs had crossed the river, on the further high bank of which were several batteries armed with guns. Ours at first came into action close to the enclosing bank of the river bed, but a Staff Officer directed Lieutenant Cookes (1st-3rd) to get his guns down, and advance them close to the water's edge, which was done. The other guns followed. Here the ground was naturally soft. The Sikh guns on the high bank were screened from observation, while ours were completely exposed. After several rounds of shot, shell and shrapnel, they were ordered to limber up and retire to a better position. Captain Warner's Battery had lately been placed on an experimental modification of the detachment system, and his spare men having harnessed horses he was able to add to his teams. Moving quickly was impossible, and in surmounting the bank, one of Colonel Lane's guns and two of his wagons were stuck in the soft muddy sand. The horses were unequal to extricating them. The hostile fire increased in intensity, and the enemy began recrossing the river. General Colin Campbell with his Staff came up after the horses had been unhooked, and a second attempt was made, but ineffectually. The order to abandon them was given †. Lieutenant Clifford went down and spiked the gun. When the Horse Artillery first were coming into action, Lord Gough ordered a squadron of the

* They had come, Lieut.-Colonel Grant's report says, under orders, at utmost speed, which Brigadier Brooke properly said should have meant their being brought into action in the possession of the physical strength of men and horses.

† Brigadier Brooke, writing to General Tennant, said that an effort might have been made to try some other spot, where the bank was less precipitous, and the ground harder. It would have been done but for the depth to which the wheels had sunk. Gunner F. A. Ping, who rode the off centre horse of the gun, told me all that could be done then was tried. Nearly an hour elapsed before it was finally abandoned (Lieutenant Tombs in Brigadier Brooke's Journal).

3rd Light Dragoons to clear the left side of the river Lieutenant H. A. Ouvry was sent. Somewhat further down, a long bank rose like an island in the level sand. Between this and the river the squadron swept, scattering all stragglers, and passing under the fire of some batteries as they went along and round the island back to his regiment.

1848.
Nov. 22nd

Then the Sikhs began recrossing in numbers and making a defiant show. Lieut-Colonel Havelock, 14th Light Dragoons, asked permission to charge, but Lord Gough refused. It was not his object to bring on an action. Colonel Havelock pressed his request, and obtained a reluctant assent. Havelock, leading the 14th and supported by the 5th L.C., dashed on. The enemy now were very numerous. Lord Gough saw the error, and desired to recall him. This was undertaken by Brigadier-General Cureton, but as he went, a Sikh concealed in one of the nullahs intersecting the sandy plain, took with a matchlock-ball the life of the best Cavalry soldier in the army. The Dragoons went on and out of sight, they disappeared among the Sikh horsemen, and when they rallied again, it was with greatly diminished numbers and without their Colonel. His body was not found till the 2nd of January.

Lord Gough has been severely criticised for having unnecessarily allowed himself to be drawn into a fight. Much has been laid to the impetuosity of a Celtic temperament. This same impetuosity is not so bad a quality in a soldier. Sir J. Tennant, in a private letter on an article in the *Calcutta Review*, thus defends his chief —

“ . . . No General can be blamed for the conduct of others when his plans are not carried out. As far as I know, Lord Gough is nearly blameless for the affair at Ramnuggur, where poor Cureton was killed. He had been informed that the Sikh army was *in force* on our side of the Chenáb at Ramnuggur, and thought it necessary to look out with a strong detachment, chiefly Cavalry. So little idea had he of a battle, that the main army was left behind in camp, and he, I believe, meant to return to it to breakfast.”

1848.
Nov. 22nd

The effect of the day's work was to confine the Sikhs entirely to the right bank of the Chenáb.

The siege-train was on its way up. Colonel Tennant on the 1st of November requested Major Abbott to have 48 pieces equipped, but in a memorandum of the 12th to Colonel Huthwaite, he says he had reduced the number to 34 on account of the want of cattle. Colonel Tennant had also obtained the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief for the equipment of three heavy batteries with elephant and bullock draft as batteries of position, of three guns and one howitzer each, which was done. But the number of pieces which joined the army was only 23. These were: 18-pounder guns, six, 24-pounder guns, two, 8-inch howitzers, four, 8-inch mortars, eight, 5½-inch mortars, three; they joined on the 27th of November.

Colonel James Tennant had been appointed to command the Artillery with the army. He had seen much service in his early days, and had held the office of Assistant-Adjutant-General from 1824 to 1835. He had never belonged to "the mounted branch," but held a high character as a scientific officer, and for his acquaintance with all questions of *matériel* and equipment.

The first distribution of the Artillery made by Brigadier-General Tennant was as follows:—

With the Cavalry Division 1st, 2nd, and 4th Troops 3rd Brigade H.A., under Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant, Lieutenant J. Mill, Staff Officer.

With the 1st Infantry Division 4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A., under Major H. Garbett (at Multán), Lieutenant E. Kaye, Staff Officer, when Multán should have fallen.

With the 2nd Infantry Division 1st and 3rd Companies 1st Battalion, Nos. 10 and 17 Field Batteries, Major J. L. Mowatt.

With the 3rd Infantry Division: 2nd and 3rd Companies 7th Battalion (Native), Nos. 5 and 6 Field Batteries, Major R. Horsford.

With the Reserve Field Artillery under Brigadier G.

Brooke, C.B. : 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Troops 2nd Brigade H.A., Lieut.-Colonel F. Brind, Lieutenant C. V. Cox, Staff Officer.

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Lord Gough now determined to detach a force to cross the Chenáb higher up and turn the Sikh flank. The nearest ford, Ghari ka Patan, was only eight miles distant, that of Rani Khán, thirteen; the next practicable one, thirty miles off at Wazirábád.

December.

For a front attack, heavy batteries under Captain Sir R. C. Shakespear and Lieutenant H. P. de Teissier were thrown up within range of the enemy. The Field Batteries of Captains Dawes and Miles were in support. The pontoon-train was in readiness to be thrown across the river. For some days an exchange of shots took place.

The force detached under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell consisted of five regiments of Cavalry under Brigadier Michael White, Pennycuick's, Hoggan's, and Eckford's Brigades of Infantry under Brigadier-General Colin Campbell, and the following Artillery —

Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant, Commanding, Lieutenant G. H. Clifford, Staff Officer.

Horse Artillery, 1st Troop 2nd Brigade, Captain A. Huish, 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade, Major E. Christie, 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, Captain Warner.

Field Batteries, Major R. Horsford, 1st Company 1st Battery No. 10, Captain E. G. Austin, 3rd Company 7th Battery No. 5, Captain Kinleside, two 18-pounders, Lieutenant Robertson.

It moved off at daybreak on the 1st, and got to Ranni Khan Ke Patan at 9. Here Thackwell found a body of Sikhs watching, the scouts, perhaps, of a larger force. Brigadier-General Campbell was for returning, but Sir Joseph, following his instructions, moved on to Wazirábád, where Lieutenant J. Nicholson, 27th N.I., with his Pathan Horse, had collected seventeen boats. Captain Baird Smith of the Engineers was there. Crossing one of these Punjab rivers is no child's play, but his exertions for the whole

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force, and Lieut.-Colonel Grant's energy for his guns, smoothed all difficulties. Brigadier Pennycuick's brigade got over the same evening; Brigadier Eckford's got half way, and by 2 p.m. next day all had crossed except the heavy guns and pontoon-tram, which were sent back with the 12th Irregular Cavalry. The force then formed line to the left and reached Dharuwala at dusk.

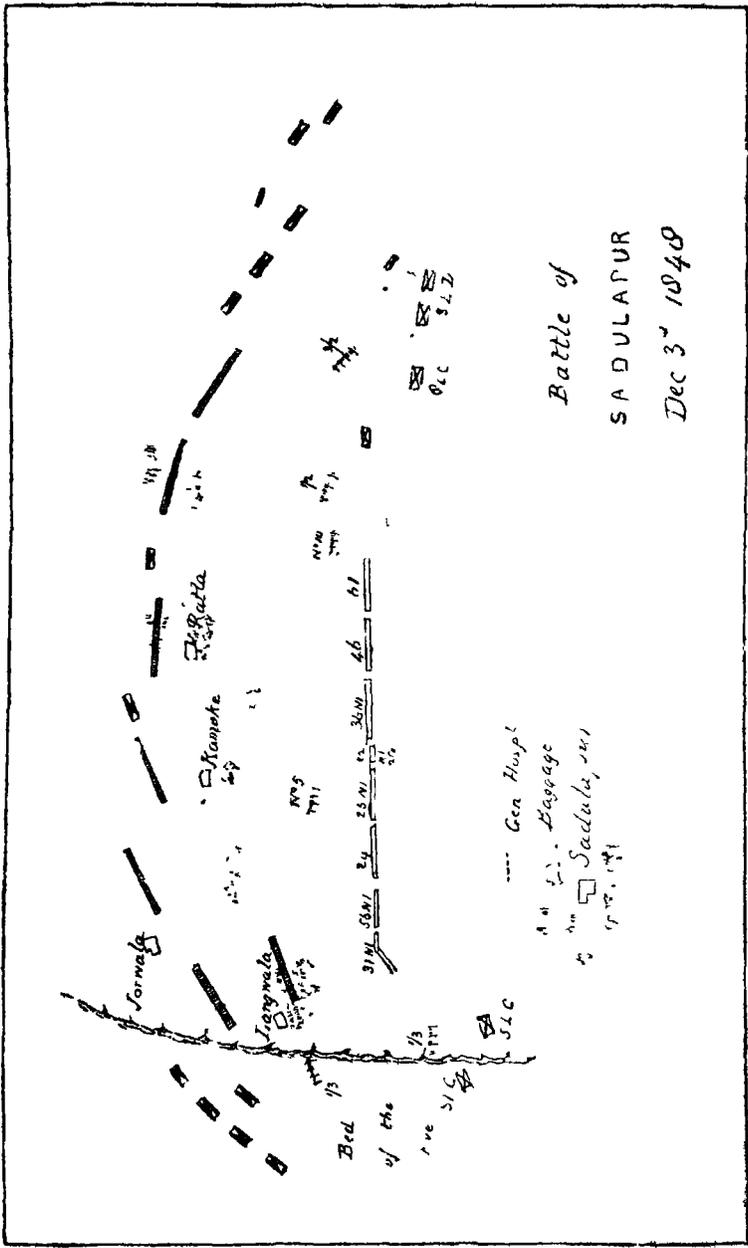
Dec 3rd.

Next morning, after going six miles, a message from Lord Gough told Thackwell that Brigadier Godby would join him at the Ghari ford, so he kept in touch with the river and halted near four villages surrounded with fields of tall sugarcane and dhák. While the men were taking some refreshment, the Sikh force in front opened fire. Sir J Thackwell's orders were not to fight if possible till Godby's brigade had joined, and he retired a very short distance upon the village of Sadulapur and then replied.

The attack began at one o'clock in front and on both flanks. Major Christie's Troop was sent to join the Cavalry on the right. Supported by the 3rd Light Dragoons, he advanced for about 800 yards, coming into action at intervals, and driving the enemy back in every direction. He mentioned with commendation his subalterns Le G. Bruce, C. Cookworthy, W. A. Mylne, and A. Darling. Captain Warner's Troop was sent to the extreme left, and came into action under a heavy fire of jingals and guns. The 31st N.I. had been obliged to throw back its left wing to meet the threatened attack, but the Artillery fire kept the enemy back. An officer of the 36th N.I. thus describes it —

"A large body of Gurcharras threatened to turn our left flank. Warner's Troop was sent from the right along the rear, and coming up with them, it appeared to me they rode right into them. I was sent to protect the General Hospital with my company, and had a good view of the dashing style Warner brought his Troop into action. He poured in grape among the huge mass with great effect, and away they all skedaddled much faster than they came. I think this was the turning-point of the battle, and after the retreat of the Gurcharras the whole line retired"*

* Colonel C. J. Godby (36th N.I.) to author.



Battle of
 SADULAPUR
 Dec 3rd 1840

Gen Huzar
 Message
 Sadulapur

On the right of the Infantry Captain Austin, with his four guns, was sent to support Captain Huish against a superior number of the enemy's Artillery. Our fire told with marked effect. Captain Austin and Lieutenant J. E. Watson were both wounded, the former severely.

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The action lasted nearly four hours, Artillery against Artillery, and the enemy, beaten at all points, retired. Had Lord Gough crossed at once, and the enemy been actively followed up, their guns would probably have been captured. They withdrew from their position opposite Ramnagar the same day, and Sir W Gilbert was sent with two regiments of Cavalry and some Horse Artillery to co-operate with Thackwell, who encamped at Helán.* Lord Gough crossed on the 18th, finally taking up a position near Loha Tibbi, east of Helán.

Among the troops left at Ramnagar was No 6 Field Battery. General Tennant had been obliged to transfer sixty-five of Captain Miles' horses to No 10 to take the place of a like number reported unfit for work. His correspondence at this time contains some strongly-worded passages regarding the neglected condition of these batteries, whose captains had often before appealed for better treatment.

The Artillery portion of the army, as now brigaded, stood as follows, Multán batteries omitted :-

GENERAL ARMY STAFF.—Lieutenant E B Johnson, D.J.A.G., Ensign unattached, S. Douglas, Baggage-master, Sergeant-Major S. Budd, 2nd Brigade II A., Provost-Marshal.

ARTILLERY DIVISION STAFF.—Brigadier-General J. Tennant; Lieutenant H A. Olpherts, A.D.C., Bt.-Captain J. Abercombie, D.A.A.G.; Lieutenant H. Tombs, D.A.Q.M.G., Captain C. Hogge, Commissary of Ordnance.

HORSE ARTILLERY.—Brigadier G. Brooke, C.B.; Lieutenant C. V. Cox, Brigade-Major.

* Héylah or Hillah in dispatches