



'Go.' The Envoy then told me what he had done, and said that he intended to visit Wali Muhammad Khan the next day, ordering me to go and prepare Wali Muhammad Khan for the visit. I went to Wali Muhammad Khan's house and told him this, and the Sardar made every preparation to receive him. The next day, however, the Envoy told me that he had asked Ghiaz, the Mehmandar, whether the Amir would really like his paying this visit; and that Ghiaz had answered, 'No; the Amir will not like your going.' I then said, 'I warned the Sardar that you were coming: and every one expected that you would have paid this visit, and all the Sardars, hearing that you have put it off, have begun to tremble in their hearts, saying, 'We wonder what our fate will be; if the sahib is afraid of going, or is unable to go and visit our chief Sardar?' When the Envoy asked me about the Amir's intentions as to his proposed journey with him round his frontier, I replied, 'He will not go. He has made no preparations for it at all. If you wish to make further enquiries, call the Mustaufi Habibullah Khan.' The Envoy ordered me to call him. I went to the Mustaufi, who said, 'I am not well to-day; I will go to-morrow; give the sahib my salam.' I went to the Mustaufi the next day at 10 a.m. to call him, as he had promised to be with the Envoy at 8 a.m. The Mustaufi went to the Amir and stated that the Envoy had called him. The Amir gave him permission to go; but said, 'Don't go alone. Take Shah Muhammad, the Wazir, with you.' They both accompanied me to the presence of the Envoy, who made the three of us sit down, and entered into conversation. He then said to them that he had heard that the Amir was not treating well the Sardars who had accompanied him (the Envoy); that he had stopped giving them the income they were entitled to, and which the Amir's father had given them regularly; that they had nothing to live upon, and would suffer in consequence; that the British Government would not let them be the losers, and would pay



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their allowances, if the Amir refused to do so, and that the Amir would not be pleased at this. The Mustaufi said he was unaware that this was the case; that he would mention it to the Amir; and say that, if this was the case, it was not proper. The Envoy then asked the Mustaufi whether it was the Amir's intention to travel with him, as promised, or not. Both the Mustaufi and the Wazir said, 'He cannot go this year because the country is unsettled; but he will go next year.' The Envoy said, 'Very well.' He then asked them whether the Amir intended to go to meet the Viceroy in India. The Mustaufi said, 'Yes; he will go about December,' The Envoy said to them, 'Ask the Amir again about this.' They said, 'We will ask him.' The Envoy then dismissed them, and asked me my opinion as to whether the Amir intended to go to India or not. I answered, 'No; he has thrown up the idea of going on this tour with you, and he does not intend going to the darbar.' I heard shortly afterwards from a friend of mine that he heard from a friend of his, who was present at the time, that on the Mustaufi and Shah Muhammad leaving the Envoy, they went straight to the Amir and mentioned what had taken place at the interview. The Amir was very angry. The Mustaufi said, 'Why are you angry? If you do not give these men anything, and the British Government gives nothing to them either, they will suffer from actual want.' The Amir then asked Daud Shah what he thought of it. Daud Shah answered, 'I am a soldier. I don't understand this sort of thing. I think that the promise with the British at Gandamak ought to be carried out.' The Amir answered, 'This country is Afghanistan. cannot get on here without practising deceit.' On this the Naib Shah Muhammad (Farastani) said, 'If this is true what you say, that Afghanistan cannot be managed without practising deceit, then we may look upon Afghanistan as on the way to ruin; it will go out of our hands.' The Amir made no reply. On hearing all I reported it to Sir Louis Cavagnari, who said, 'The

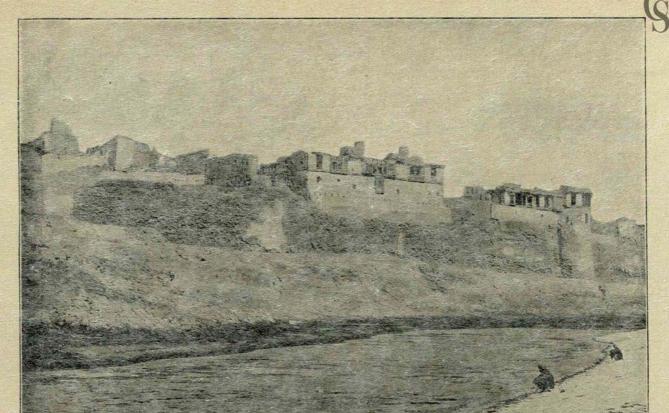


STORY OF THE TRAGEDY



Amir can do as he likes.' (This took place some eight or ten days before the 3rd of September.) About three days after this, the Envoy said, 'I will go and call on the Amir to-morrow.' When I went to the Amir's darbar the next day, I saw the Envoy sitting alone with the Amir. When he returned to the Residency, I came and spoke with him. He told me that he had had a private interview with the Amir which had lasted two hours; that the expression of the Amir's face was a pleased one; that it was the same expression that he had seen him wearing at Gandamak. 2nd September, the Envoy told me that he had asked Shah Muhammad to secure a house for Nawab Ghulam Hasan Khan somewhere in the Bala Hissar, but away from the Residency. This Shah Muhammad had refused to do. The Envoy asked me to look out for one for him, either in the city or the Kizilbash quarter, or some other place than the Residency ground. I had selected one, and was coming towards the Residency the next morning at seven o'clock to report having done so. On arriving at the gate of the Bala Hissar, I heard a report that Daud Shah had been killed by some men of a regiment. I went on and saw three regiments and a few bazaar people going towards the Envoy's quarters. I followed them with two of my own retainers. Some of the men of one of the regiments recognised me, and said, 'Kill him; he is Cavagnari's father.' The majority of them were unarmed. Some of them had side-arms. Two men attacked me with sticks. One struck me on the shoulder, and another struck my horse, which reared and turned round. I found that I could not get to the Envoy's, so I went up a by-street to Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan's house; and leaving my horse in his stable, I went inside the house, where I found Wali Muhammad, who was taking his bath. I called out to him to come out. He did so, and said, 'What is the matter?' I said, 'Men have gone up to kill Cavagnari.' He said, 'Don't stay below, go upstairs'; and from there, 200 yards off, through a window I saw all these

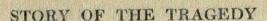




THE RESIDENCY, KABUL—BACK VIEW

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people go up to the Envoy's stables and begin stoning the syces, undoing the horses, and plundering. Some went on to where the sowars' horses were, and began to stone the sowars and to plunder and unfasten the horses. The sowars armed immediately, and I then heard two or three shots evidently fired by the sowars. I cannot tell whether any damage was done by these shots. But the crowd all retired at once, and some 200 of them went to the upper part of the Bala Hissar to fetch their comrades, the rest of the soldiers going out by the Shah Shahir gate of the Bala Hissar to fetch their arms from their camp.

"I heard that when the men had gone to fetch their arms, the Envoy wrote a letter to the Amir and sent it by a *chaprasi*. I heard that this letter reached the Amir; but did not hear whether he sent any reply

or not.

"In about half an hour's time, at about 7.30 or 8 a.m., the soldiers returned with their arms and a

regular fight began.

"Firing went on without intermission on both sides. The Afghan soldiers had capital cover, and surrounded the Residency on all sides. The officers of the Afghans directed their men. They had looted the magazine of the upper Bala Hissar, and had plenty of ammunition with them. All the clothing, stores, treasury, and other store-houses are near the Residency. The store-houses were looted. They attacked the treasury, but were stopped by the regiment on guard there. This regiment was, I suppose, about 500 strong, and remained at the treasury all the day. The Amir's house is about 250 yards from that of the Envoy. Besides the regiment on duty at the treasury, I suppose there were some 2,000 followers of the Amir, who had come into the Bala Hissar early that morning, who were all round the Amir's house. They were all armed. None of these joined the attacking party, though some of them did so at about 2 p.m. I hear that the Amir several times said, 'Some of you go to the Envoy's assistance.' But



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whenever any did go towards where the fighting was going on, they only shouted out 'Kill! kill!' This is

only hearsay.

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"At about 9 a.m., when the fighting was going on, I myself saw the four European officers of the Embassy charge out at the head of some twenty-five of the garrison. They drove away a party that were holding some broken ground. When charged, the Afghan soldiers ran like sheep before a wolf. About a quarter of an hour after this another sally was made by a party with three officers at their head (Cavagnari was not with them this time), with the same result. A third sally was made with two British officers (Jenkins and Hamilton) leading. A fourth sally was made with a Sikh Jemadar leading. No more sallies were made after this. all appeared to go up to the upper part of the house, and fired from above. At about half-past eleven o'clock I noticed part of the building in which the Embassy was to be on fire. I do not know who fired it. I think it probable that the defenders, finding themselves so few, fired part so as to have a less space to defend. musketry fire went on continually all day. Perhaps it was hottest from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., after which time it slackened. And the last shots were fired about 8.30 or 9 p.m., after which all was quiet, and every one dispersed. The next morning I heard shots being fired. I asked an old woman, to whose house I had been sent for safety by Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, what was going on. She sent her son to find out. He said, 'They are shooting the people found still alive in the Residency.' The whole of the day the dead bodies, stripped, remained in the Residency. On the next day I heard that the bodies of all Muhammadans, Hindus, and the two British officers (Hamilton and Dr. Kelly) were all thrown together into a place dug for the purpose. I heard that the body of Mr. Jenkins was taken to the Amir. I know nothing more about it. Cavagnari's body was not found. I am of the opinion that it must have been burnt in the house. I heard

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that on the 4th the soldiers found some money in the Residency. On hearing this, the Amir posted sentries over the house; and on the 5th, caused the bodies to be buried. And from other money he found there, he paid each sepoy of the regiment that had guarded the treasury a present of Rs. 7 each man. I asked Wali Muhammad Khan to send me to some safe place. He gave me three ponies. I dressed as a grass-cutter, and with one grass-cutter riding one pony in front, and the second behind me with the other pony, we got safely to Afshar, where I remained in hiding about nine days, when, hearing that the British force was at the Shutargardan, I travelled by night and reached that place in safety, and reported myself to the Brigadier-General commanding there. On about the 13th or 14th of September, the man in whose house I was concealed came to his house and stated the following facts: He said the Amir called up the Sardars of every class—the Ghilzais, Kohistanis, Kabulis, Kizilbashes, Jajis, etc. and asked them whether they intended to join in a ghaza (religious war) to fight the British; and if so, he requested that they would send their families to Kohistan and the Ghilzai country, or some other outof-the-way place. They answered, 'We are not going to send away our families. Let the Ghilzais bring their families to Kabul, and we will then fight.' The Amir at this reply was very angry and abused Jamullabadin, the man who had collected all the Sardars together, and had said that they would agree to fight. Abdul Karim Khan Safi, the most powerful man in Kohistan and a friend of the late Envoy's, was cut into small pieces by order of the Amir about ten days ago, the Amir fearing that he would probably seize him (the Amir) and make him over to the British, in case he wished to fly to Balkh or Kohistan."

"Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.S.I., was born at Stenay, Meuse, France, on 4th July,

Life of Sir Louis Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.S.I., by Kally Prosono Dev. Calcutta, 1881.

LOUIS CAVAGNARI



1841. He was the son of Major Count Adolphe Cavagnari, member of an old Parmese family; and Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte; and his mother was an Irish lady, daughter of Mr. Montgomery."

Louis Cavagnari was a scholar of Christ's Hospital for six years from 1851 until he passed the examinations

at Addiscombe.

In April, 1858, he entered the service of the East India Company as a cadet, and joined the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, with which regiment he served throughout the Oudh campaign of 1858, receiving the Indian Mutiny medal.

In 1861 Cavagnari was appointed to the Staff Corps, and gazetted Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab. He held political charge of the Kohat district from April, 1866, to May, 1877, when he was appointed

Deputy Commissioner at Peshawar.

His untimely death was an irreparable loss to the Service which he had adorned, and to the Empire, for whose interests he lived and died, and to which he bequeathed the grateful guardianship of an honoured memory and a spotless name.

The conduct of Lieutenant Hamilton and the rest of

the Envoy's escort was worthy of their noble leader.

The Commission of Enquiry appointed by Major-

General Roberts at Kabul, after the occupation of that city in November 1879, to investigate the circumstances attending the attack on the Residency and the massacre of the Envoy and his escort, recorded the following

remarks in their proceedings:

"The conduct of the escort of the Queen's Own Guides does not form part of the enquiry entrusted to the Commission. But they have, in the course of their enquiries, had the extreme gallantry and the bearing of these men so forcibly brought to their notice, that they cannot refrain from placing on record their humble tribute of admiration. They do not give their opinion hastily, but they believe that the annals of no army and



HONOUR FOR THE GUIDES

no regiment can show a brighter record of devoted bravery than has been achieved by this small band of Guides. By their deeds they have conferred undving honour, not only on the regiment to which they belong,

but on the whole British Army."

Colonel C. M. MacGregor, the President of the Commission, brought this record to the notice of Sir Frederick Roberts with a view to some substantial recognition of the conduct of the escort. This took the form of the posthumous admission to the Indian Order of Merit of the whole escort; and the distinction to be borne on the appointments of the Guides: "Residency. Kabul."

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CHAPTER VII

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THE SECOND CAMPAIGN; ADVANCE OF THE FIRST DIVISION, KABUL FIELD FORCE, AND OCCUPATION OF SHERPUR, TO DECEMBER 1st, 1879.

LATE at night on the 4th September, 1879, the intelligence of an attack on the Residency at Kabul was brought first by a kossid to Captain A. Conolly, Political Officer at Ali Khel. The news was immediately telegraphed to Simla, where the Viceroy summoned a Council on the following day. But the full extent of the disaster was not yet disclosed, nor could authentic information be expected for some time to come. The Government, however, acted with promptitude, and after a brief conference between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, the following telegram in cipher was despatched to Brigadier-General Dunham Massy, then commanding the Kurram Column, during the temporary absence of Sir Frederick Roberts at Simla:

"Move 23rd Pioneers, 5th Gurkhas, and Mountain Train to Shutargardan crest of pass. To entrench themselves there and await orders. Ten days' supplies."

On the same day, the 5th September, at the desire of Lord Lytton, Sir Frederick Haines submitted a project of the operations necessary for the immediate advance on and occupation of the city of Kabul, in which the Commander-in-Chief suggested that, if the news of the destruction of our Mission at Kabul should prove true, a division under Major-General Sir F. Roberts of one brigade of cavalry and two brigades of infantry should immediately advance on Kabul over the Shutargardan Pass; that Jalalabad should be occupied by another division under Major-General Bright, and

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN

that Kandahar should be reoccupied by all available troops under Major-General Sir D. Stewart and Ghazni threatened if necessary. Meanwhile a sufficient force must remain on the Shutargardan, to hold the pass and the line of communication through the Kurram Valley. "The great difficulty," concluded this memorandum, "is carriage, and Sir Frederick Haines cannot too emphatically urge upon Government the necessity of using every endeavour to collect, by purchase or otherwise, some 20,000 camels, which will assuredly be required to maintain our position at Kabul.

"The Shutargardan Pass, as a line of supply, cannot be depended on after the middle of November at the latest. And the question of communication with the capital of Afghanistan, should we be compelled to remain there, is one which will require early and serious

consideration."

The Governor-General in Council having approved of immediate action being taken in accordance with these proposals, Sir Frederick Roberts started from Simla on the 6th September to resume command of the Kurram Column. Before leaving Simla, Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts telegraphed instructions to the Political Officer at Ali Khel to issue a summons to all the headmen of the surrounding districts to meet him in camp on his arrival. On reaching Jhelum, Sir Frederick Roberts wrote semi-officially to Sir Peter Lumsden, Adjutant-General in India, to the following effect:

"The main difficulty will be keeping the long line of communications safe. I require the following positions to be held; and placing the garrisons at the lowest, the strength of each should be what I now propose:

Thal.

1 squadron, Native Cavalry.

1 regiment, Native Infantry.

Balesh Khel.

1 squadron, Native
Cavalry.

1 regiment, Native
Infantry.

Kurram Fort.

1 squadron, Native
Cavalry.

½ battery, Field Artillery.
3 companies, British
Infantry.
1 wing, Native Infantry.



THE SECOND CAMPAIGN



Paiwar Kotal.

6 companies, British Infantry. Ali Khel.

1 battery, Field Artillery.

1 British Mountain
Battery.

1 regiment, British
Infantry.

Details of British
Infantry.

2 regiments, Native

Infantry.

Shutargardan,
1 Native Mountain
Battery.
2 regiments, Native
Infantry.

Kushi.

1 regiment, Native Cavalry. Wing, Native Infantry.

Total

1 Field Battery.
1 Mountain Battery, British.
1 Mountain Battery, Native.
2 regiments, British Infantry.
Details, British Infantry.
2 regiments, Native Cavalry.
7 regiments, Native Infantry.

"There will be in the Kurram Valley after the advance column has moved:

1 Field Battery.

1 Native Mountain Battery. 1 regiment, British Infantry. Details, British Infantry.

 regiment, Native Cavalry.
 regiments, Native Infantry, including the 3rd Sikhs, ordered from Bannu.

"So that the following troops should be ordered up as soon as possible:

1 Mountain Battery, British. 1 regiment, British Infantry. 1 regiment, Native Cavalry. 3 regiments, Native Infantry."

Sir Frederick Roberts then indicated the regiments whose employment he would suggest, and proceeded:

"When snow falls, and my communication with India has to be carried on by the Khyber route, the force between Kohat and Kushi could, no doubt, be weakened. But for the next three months I would maintain it at the strength I have named, and throughout the winter I would keep two regiments of British infantry in the valley.

"I have recommended a fairly strong force for Ali Khel, as I consider that, for the present, it represents my reserve. And before winter comes on, and my base is moved to the Khyber, it will probably be necessary



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to bring on some native infantry, in addition to the 44th, to Kabul. Even without casualties in action we must expect losses from sickness; and there may be more work to be done in Kabul than is at present anticipated.

"My weak points at present are commissariat and transport. I have just telegraphed to you for the services of six young regimental officers, whom I can employ in either one or the other department. With this aid, and if assisted by the Ghilzais and Jajis, I daresay I shall be able to manage about my transport. The commissariat causes me considerable anxiety."—

(Jhelum, 8th September, 1879.)

Owing to the continuous hard work to which the animals on this line had been subjected since the commencement of the first campaign, their numbers had steadily diminished till there remained but 1,500 mules, 800 bullocks, and 500 sickly camels. The deficiencies were only partially supplied locally by the Turis and Jajis and by the Ghilzais through the good offices of their chief, Padshah Khan. Eventually about half the total required to move the whole Kurram Force was collected, but only at the cost of the immobility of the Khyber Force, which was denuded of its transport.

Brigadier-General Massy, having provided as far as possible for early transport requirements, had, on receiving the news of the disaster at Kabul, telegraphed his orders for the occupation of the Shutargardan to the

officers in command of his nearest detachments.

Four companies of the 23rd Pioneers, which for some weeks had been employed at Sancona (also called Shank Gorge) in felling timber and in other work connected with the new cantonment of Shalozan, started under Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Currie on the 8th September, halting within 2 miles of the Paiwar that night, and on the 9th arrived at Ali Khel. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Currie was joined by Captain G.



NEAR ALI KHEL

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Swinley's mountain battery; and on the 10th this party arrived at Karatiga, where the 5th Gurkhas under Captain J. Cook, who had marched from Ali Khel two days previously, were already encamped.

On the 9th, in accordance with a telegraphic order from Major-General Roberts, the 7th Company of Sappers and Miners, then at Shalozan, marched with

all speed towards the Shutargardan.

At 2.30 a.m. on the 11th the combined force under Lieutenant-Colonel Currie left Karatiga, the 5th Gurkhas leading. The Sirkai Kotal was passed in about two hours, and at 5.30 a.m. the head of the advance guard reached the crest of the Shutargardan Pass, followed by the whole column at about 6.30 a.m. No opposition was met with; but there can have been but little time to spare, for two horsemen were observed galloping away towards Dobandi on the appearance of the leading file of the 5th Gurkhas on the crest. The entrenchment of the position was at once begun by the 23rd Pioneers under the direction of Lieutenant Nugent, R.E., and completed by the night of the 12th September. Heliographic communication was opened with Ali Khel, and the laying down of the field telegraph to that place was put in hand.

Meanwhile, as much of the force in the Kurram Valley as could be moved with the available carriage, and as could be withdrawn with a due regard to the maintenance of the line of communications, was set in motion to the front; and by the 12th September some 6,000 men were at and near Ali Khel, at which place Sir Frederick Roberts arrived on that day, accompanied by Brigadier-General T. D. Baker and Colonel C. M. MacGregor. Here General Roberts received a letter from the Amir, in answer to one forwarded to Kabul:

"I have received your letter of the 7th, and was much pleased. I fully understood what was written. Complete confidence was restored, and a sense of relief felt in the friendship shown by the Viceroy, as my prosperity found favour in his sight. I am dreadfully



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LETTER FROM THE AMEER

distressed and grieved at the recent event; but there is no fighting against God's will. I hope to inflict such punishment on the evil-doers as will be known worldwide; and to prove my sincerity, I have twice written on this subject, and the third time by my confidential servant, Sher Muhammad Khan. I now write to say that for these eight days I have preserved myself and my family by the good offices of those who were friendly to me, partly by bribing, partly by coaxing the rebels. Some of the cavalry I have dismissed, and night and day am considering how to put matters straight.

"Please God, the mutineers will soon meet with the punishment they deserve, and my affairs will be arranged to the satisfaction of the British Government. Certain persons of high position in these provinces have become rebellious; but I am watching carefully and closely every quarter. I have done all I could to ensure Nawab Ghulam Hasan's safety. I trust to God for the opportunity of showing my sincere friendship for the British Government, and for recovering my good

name before the world."

At Ali Khel General Roberts was met by a large number of the headmen, who had been summoned by the Political Officer. A better feeling appeared to exist among them than might have been expected, notwithstanding that emissaries from Kabul had been endeavouring to incite them against the British Government. General Roberts was of opinion that the surrounding tribes would not attempt any insurrection so long as the British force in front was strong and successful.

On the 13th September, Brigadier-General Baker proceeded to the Shutargardan to take command there, and the sappers, who had by this date arrived on the pass, began work on the Sirkai Kotal, to improve the steep gradients on the Kurram side of the summit.

The following day Nawab Sir Ghulam Hasan Khan, K.C.S.I., who had received warning of the outbreak at Kabul while on the road from Kandahar to the capital,

and had thereupon turned off towards the Kurram Valley, arrived at the British post on the Shutargardan; the fact that he had not been molested on the road proved

that the Logar Valley was as yet undisturbed.

On the 16th Brigadier-General Baker reconnoitred from the summit of the Shutargardan towards Kushi and reached the Shinkai Kotal, a short distance beyond the village and fort of Dobandi. No resistance was offered, and inspection proved that the difficulties both of this kotal and the far-famed Akhun Khel gorge had been rather overestimated, though if held by a skilled and resolute force their passage would, doubtless, be

attended with considerable difficulty.

During this interval the concentration of troops was proceeding as rapidly as possible, but was impeded by the deficiency of adequate transport. Owing to the continuous hard work to which the transport animals of the Kurram Field Force had been subjected, their numbers had steadily diminished, until at the beginning of the month of September there remained only about 1,500 mules, 500 sickly camels, and 800 bullocks, or barely sufficient to enable the commissariat to feed the force, which it was presumed would remain in the Kurram Valley for the winter. It is true that a large number of pack-bullocks had, prior to the occurrences which led to the advance on Kabul, been despatched for the commissariat service in the valley. But many of these had been either knocked up by the journey from the Punjab, or were suffering from semi-starvation to such an extent as to be practically useless.

Local carriage, drawn from the Turis and Jajis, had to some extent made up for the deficiencies in this respect; and, aided by transport obtained from the Ghilzais, had enabled the commissariat to collect a considerable amount of supplies at the Shutargardan, quite sufficient to relieve any anxiety as to the immediate wants of the troops left there, and it had also been possible to move still larger stores forward for the force

advancing on Kabul,





THE FIRST DIVISION

These troops, composing the 1st Division of the Kurram Field Force, amounted to some 7,500 of all ranks, and were brigaded by Major-General Roberts as follows:

KABUL FIELD FORCE.

Major-General Sir F. S. Roberts, K.C.B., v.c., Commanding.

Captain G. T. Pretyman, R.A., Aide-de-Camp.

Captain R. Pole-Carew, Aide-de-Camp. Dr. H. W. Bellew, c.s.r., Political Officer.

Colonel C. M. MacGregor, c.B., c.s.i. c.i.e., Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General.

Major W. Galbraith, 85th Foot, Assistant Adjutant-General.
Captain R. G. Kennedy, B.S.C., Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Captain B. A. Combe, 10th Hussars, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Lieutenant C. H. M. Smith, 3rd Sikhs, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Major C. A. Gorham, R.A., Deputy Judge Advocate. Captain R. B. McEwen, 92nd Highlanders, Provost Marshal.

Medical Department.

Deputy Surgeon-General S. C. Townsend, Principal Medical Officer. Surgeon-Major A. J. Dale, M.B.

Commissariat Department.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. V. Hunt, B.S.C., Principal Commissariat Officer.

Engineer Department.

Lieutenant-Colonel Æ. Perkins, C.B., Royal Engineers, Commanding. Captain R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., in charge of Surveying. Captain E. Straton, 2-22nd Foot, in charge of Signalling. Lieutenant C. Nugent, R.E., No. 7 Company Sappers. Lieutenant F. Burn-Murdoch, R.E., Royal Engineer Field Park.

Communications and Transport.

Brigadier-General H. H. Gough, C.B., v.C., Road Commandant. Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Heathcote, R.S.C., Director of Transport.

Veterinary Department.

Veterinary-Surgeon G. A. Oliphant, Principal Veterinary Surgeon.

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THE FIRST DIVISION

Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. L. Gordon, R.A., Commanding. Captain J. W. Inge, Adjutant, Royal Horse Artillery.

F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, Major J. C. Smyth-Windham.

G-3, Royal Artillery, Major Sidney Parry.

No. 1 (Kohat) Mountain Battery (4 guns), Captain H. R. L. Morgan.

No. 2 (Derajat) Mountain Battery, Captain G. Swinley, and

2 Gatlings, Captain A. Broadfoot. Captain E. D. Shafto, in charge Ordnance Field Park. Captain G. E. Pemberton, in charge Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry Brigade.

Brigadier-General W. G. D. Massy, Commanding.
Lieutenant J. P. Brabazon, 10th Hussars, Brigade-Major.
9th Lancers (3 squadrons), Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Cleland.
5th Punjab Cavalry, Major F. Hammond.
12th Bengal Cavalry, Major J. H. Green.
14th Bengal Lancers, Lieutenant-Colonel T. G. Ross.

1st Infantry Brigade.

Brigadier-General H. T. Macpherson, c.b., v.c., Commanding. Captain W. C. Farwell, Brigade-Major. 67th Foot, Colonel C. B. Knowles. 92nd Highlanders, Colonel G. H. Parker. 28th Punjab Infantry, Colonel J. Hudson.

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Brigadier-General T. D. Baker, 18th Foot, Commanding.
Captain G. de C. Morton, 1-6th Foot, Brigade-Major.
72nd Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. J. Clarke.
3rd Sikhs, Lieutenant-Colonel G. N. Money.
5th Punjab Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. MacQueen.
23rd Pioneers, Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Currie.
5th Gurkhas, Major A. FitzHugh.

The transport for this portion of the above force consisted of about 2,000 mules, 750 camels, and 750 bullocks. There were some 6,000 followers with this force under Sir F. Roberts.

The remainder of the Kurram Force, to be left on the line of communication, was composed as follows, viz.:



THE FIRST DIVISION

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3rd Infantry Brigade.

Brigadier-General J. A. Tytler, c.s., v.c., Commanding. Major H. T. Jones, 81st Foot, Brigade-Major. Lieutenant E. Burrell, 85th Foot, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-

Major A. P. Palmer, 9th Bengal Cavalry, Assistant Road Commandant between Thal and Ali Khel.

85th Foot, Major D. A. Grant.

11th Bengal Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel P. H. F. Harris.

13th Bengal Infantry, Colonel J. T. Watson. 20th Punjab Infantry, Colonel R. G. Rogers.

4th Infantry Brigade.

Brigadier-General T. E. Gordon, c.s.i., Commanding. Captain H. G. Grant, 78th Foot, Brigade-Major.

2-8th Foot, Colonel F. B. Drew.

4th Punjab Infantry, Colonel H. P. Close.

21st Punjab Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Collis.

29th Punjab Infantry, Colonel J. J. H. Gordon.

It was subsequently, however, found impossible to

adhere to the above organisation by brigades.

Sir Frederick Roberts's plan of operations, as submitted to Army Head-quarters on the 17th September, included the occupation of Kushi on or before the 27th September by an advance brigade under Brigadier-General T. D. Baker, the rendezvous there of the troops intended for the advance, and the collection at the same place of all supplies and transport necessary for a rapid march on Kabul. Pending the completion of these preliminaries he intended himself to remain at Ali Khel, perceiving that by so doing the people of Afghanistan would be kept in doubt as to the actual intentions of the British Government. Their idea was that the season was too far advanced for troops to attempt a march on Kabul, and that, beyond occupying the Shutargardan and making a demonstration as far as Kushi, nothing would be done until the spring of The fact of Sir Frederick Roberts crossing next year. the Shutargardan would, he was aware, make his plans clear to the Afghans and neighbouring tribes, and



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would be the signal for the assemblage of all those who had determined to oppose the advance. His object, therefore, was to let as short a time as possible intervene between his move to Kushi and his arrival at Kabul, especially in view of the fact that lack of transport would prevent him from moving the whole of his force at once, and that a halt would have to be made every second day to allow of the transport animals being sent back to bring up the rear brigade.

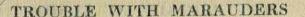
By the 18th of September the following force was collected at and firmly established and entrenched upon the crest of the Shutargardan under command of

Brigadier-General Baker:

No. 2 Mountain Battery. 72nd Highlanders. 7th Company Sappers and Miners. 23rd Pioneers. 5th Gurkhas.

The road over the Shutargardan Pass was being made practicable for horsed guns, and the force was being strengthened as rapidly as possible for an advance on Kushi. The attitude of the neighbouring tribes was considered satisfactory, for some of those who hitherto had been holding aloof had now come in or were on their way to the camp. The headmen on the Kushi side were also inclined to be friendly, and said that supplies and transport would be forthcoming when the troops advanced.

Notwithstanding this apparent tranquillity, however, directly Ramzan was ended, on the 22nd September, a combined attack was made by Mangals and Ghilzais, numbering from 200 to 300 men, upon a telegraph party whilst on the march between the Sirkai Kotal and Karatiga. Soon after 6 a.m. on that day a party consisting of 1 telegraph linesman, 22 telegraph coolies, 40 muleteers, and 84 mules, escorted by 1 naik and 10 sepoys of the 5th Punjab Infantry, left Shutargardan, without the knowledge of Brigadier-



General Baker, for the purpose of bringing up telegraph poles from Karatiga. About 9 a.m. intelligence reached Shutargardan that not only had this party been attacked, but also that a heavy fire had been kept up upon a detachment, consisting of 1 British officer and 50 non-commissioned officers and men stationed in a blockhouse on the Sirkai Kotal. As many of the 72nd Highlanders as could be spared from Kasim Khel at once proceeded to the spot; but the marauding band had disappeared, and attempts to follow them up proved fruitless. One man of the detachment at the Sirkai Kotal had been surprised and cut up, while the loss of the telegraph party amounted to 1 naik and 6 sepoys of the 5th Punjab Infantry, 1 linesman, 12 muleteers, and 5 coolies, killed; 1 sepoy, 5th Punjab Infantry, and 2 muleteers wounded; and 1 muleteer, 2 coolies missing, while the whole of the convoy of mules was carried off. Orders had been issued that no escort of a less strength than 25 men per cent. of animals in a convoy should be sent out; but this order does not seem to have been understood by the Superintendent of Telegraphs.

On the 23rd September F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, joined the remainder of the advanced force on the Shutargardan. The guns, limbers, and wagons had to be man-handled up the last ascent to the Sirkai Pass, the last 1,000 yards of the ascent taking over three hours to accomplish, although assisted by the detachment of the 72nd Highlanders with drag-ropes. The descent from the Shutargardan to Dobandi on the following

day necessitated the same arrangements.

On the 24th September the forward movement to Kushi began, General Baker and part of his brigade moving down from the Shutargardan through Dobandi and over the Shinkai Kotal and reaching Kushi the same evening, thus securing the entrance into the Logar Valley and obtaining a standpoint in it. The remainder of the brigade reached Kushi on the two following days as follows:



THE BRIGADE AT KUSHI

1 company 72nd Highlanders.

5th Gurkhas. September 24th . 12th Bengal Cavalry.

14 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery.

(F-A, Royal Horse Artillery. September 25th . (7 companies 72nd Highlanders.

12 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery.

23rd Pioneers.

September 26th . 7th Company Sappers and Miners. 5th Punjab Infantry (6 companies).

On the 26th September Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts made over to Brigadier-General T. E. Gordon the military command of all troops in Kurram, and also the political charge of the district, preparatory to his proceeding to join the advance column of the Kabul Field Force.

Besides the brigade which had already reached Kushi, the strength and positions of the remainder of

the troops on this date are given below:

5th Punjab Infantry (6 companies). At Shinkoi Kotal

14th Bengal Lancers.

No. 1 Mountain Battery (4 guns). 72nd Highlanders (1 company). Shutargardan 92nd Highlanders (6 companies).

3rd Sikhs.

92nd Highlanders (1 company). Sirkai Kotal 5th Punjab Infantry (1 company).

92nd Highlanders (1 company). Karatiga 5th Punjab Infantry (1 company).

Squadron 9th Lancers.

5th Punjab Cavalry. C-4, Royal Artillery.

2-8th Foot (2 companies).

67th Foot.

28th Punjab Infantry.

G-3, Royal Artillery. 11th Bengal Infantry.

Zarbardast Kala. 21st Punjab Infantry.

2-8th Foot (4 companies). Paiwar Kotal



POSITIONS OF TROOPS

13th Bengal Lancers (wing).

1 C-4, Royal Artillery.
2-8th Foot (2 companies).
Details, British regiments.

Balesh Khel . . { 1st Bengal Cavalry (1 squadron). No. 1 Mountain Battery (2 guns).

20th Punjab Infantry.

Before detailing further the advance of the force on Kabul it will be well to glance at the positions of the troops destined to hold the long line of communications, and to consider the circumstances under which their employment was necessary.

In order to make certain the continuance of the apparent inclination of Padshah Khan (Ahmadzai) and his Ghilzais to assist the forward movements of the troops, it was necessary to hold the Shutargardan and Ali Khel in strength for the present. A month or six weeks later the extreme cold would necessitate the withdrawal of the troops stationed at the Shutargardan, and in two or three months' time those at Ali Khel would also have to be withdrawn. This retirement would then be understood by the tribes, and would not be misconstrued by them into an expression of weakness on the part of the Government. Should it, however, be carried out before there was any apparent cause for it, it would probably be the signal for a general rising.

By the time indicated, the Shutargardan route would no longer be necessary, since it was assumed that the line of communication by the Khyber would then be opened. The position on the Shutargardan had been carefully entrenched, and was to be held by two native infantry regiments with four guns of a mountain battery, well supplied with food and

ammunition.

These troops, it was considered, should have no difficulty in maintaining themselves against any attack

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of such tribes as might combine against them. For this duty the 21st Punjab Infantry were detailed, with the exception of about 250 weakly men, who were to be left at Kurram, the 3rd Sikhs, and four guns of No. 1 Mountain Battery, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Money, 3rd Sikhs. At Ali Khel, where the head-quarters of Brigadier-General T. E. Gordon, c.s.I., were to remain, there were to be stationed three guns of C-4, Royal Artillery. a wing of the 2-8th (The King's) Regiment, and the 11th Bengal Infantry. These troops at Ali Khel were to be encamped on a defensible plateau, which had been rendered very strong, and where they would be able to hold their own against any possible combination. On the Paiwar Kotal the other wing of the 2-8th (The King's) Regiment was to be stationed.

It would have been desirable to have had a wing of a native infantry regiment and some cavalry stationed at Shalozan, near the site of the new Kurram cantonment; but there was not a sufficient number of troops to allow of this. It was, therefore, arranged with Brigadier-General T. E. Gordon that a Turi levy, numbering about 350 or 400 men, should be raised from the villages of Paiwar, Shalozan, Mailana, and Ziran, in the Kurram Valley. These men were to be under the orders of their own maliks, and it was considered that they would afford sufficient protection to the workpeople until a small garrison could be

provided.

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At Kurram Fort the garrison was to consist of the-

13th Bengal Lancers (head-quarters wing).
C-4, Royal Artillery (three guns).
67th Foot
72nd Highlanders
92nd Highlanders

21st Punjab Infantry (250 weakly men).

Looking, however, to the importance of Kurram as the depot for stores and ammunition for the troops in



DISPOSITION OF TROOPS

the valley, it was arranged, for the sake of security, that the 29th Punjab Infantry was to move to that station from Thal on the arrival at the latter place of the 13th Bengal Infantry, and that Colonel J. J. H. Gordon, the commandant of the first-named regiment, should be placed in command of the troops at Kurram.

Although the garrison at Kurram itself was weak, it was considered beneficial to the upper portion of the valley for the wing of the cavalry regiment detailed for that garrison to be constantly on the move; and, therefore, one troop was directed to march frequently between Kurram and Ali Khel, as this was likely to have the best possible effect, and would act as a strong

patrol.

Balesh Khel was a post of some importance, as the several sections of the Orakzai tribe meet near that point. Two guns of No. 1 Mountain Battery and the 20th Punjab Infantry were, therefore, stationed there under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Rogers of that regiment. This small garrison was placed on a commanding position, which had been artificially strengthened, and was believed to be quite impregnable against the tribes.

The posts of Wali Muhammad Khan, Shinak, Alizai, Mandori, and Sapri were all held by detachments of native cavalry and infantry as strong as the sickly state of the 1st Bengal Cavalry and of the 29th Punjab Infantry would admit of; while at Thal the garrison consisted of the remainder of these two regiments.

This disposition accounted for all the troops in the valley; and although it was perhaps desirable to have stronger posts at certain places, yet it was not anticipated that any attack would have to be met beyond ordinary hill raids, so long as success attended the force moving on Kabul.

Meanwhile, however, the garrison of Kohat had been considerably weakened in order to supply regiments for the front and for the more advanced posts. This fact was brought to the notice of the



AT THE SHUTARGARDAN

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Punjab Government by the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, who deprecated the further reduction of the Kohat garrison by the advance of a wing of the 13th Bengal Lancers from that place to Kurram. In consequence, therefore, of the representations of the Punjab Government, the 18th Bengal Cavalry was ordered to proceed from Peshawar to Kohat, a wing of it being detached to Serozai. The remainder of the Kohat garrison then consisted of a wing of the 13th Bengal Lancers, a garrison battery, and the 1st Sikh Infantry.

On the 27th September Sir Frederick Roberts moved his divisional head-quarters from Ali Khel to the Shutargardan, accompanied by the head-quarters of the Cavalry Brigade, 1 squadron of the 9th Lancers, the 5th Punjab Cavalry, 28th Punjab Infantry and a

detachment of the 5th Punjab Infantry.

The infantry marched in rear of the column, the cavalry and staff being ordered to push on in order to reach Kasim Khel or the Shutargardan before dark. At about 10.30 a.m. the head of the column was joined by 25 men of the 92nd Highlanders, who had been sent from Karatiga to act as an advance guard, in consequence of a rumoured gathering in the Hazar Darakht defile of Mangals and Ghilzais of Machalgu. On their march downward this detachment saw no indications of the presence of an enemy; but at 11 a.m. a report reached the Major-General that Mangals had occupied the pass between Jaji Thana and Karatiga. A reconnaissance was immediately sent forward under Captain W. J. Vousden, 5th Punjab Cavalry, who ascertained that the enemy held both sides of the ravine half a mile beyond Jaji Thana. They were speedily cleared off the northern side of the gorge by the detachment of the 92nd, supported by a dismounted troop of the 9th Lancers, but some little time elapsed before they were driven from the precipitous hills on the south. In this skirmish Captain Vousden's horse was shot, and Deputy Surgeon-

HECTOR MACDONALD

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General S. C. Townsend was severely wounded in the cheek.

Meantime fighting had for some hours been carried on in the direction of Karatiga; and presently large numbers of the enemy were seen retreating before a small detachment of the 92nd Highlanders and 3rd Sikhs, which had been sent out from Karatiga. This party was handled with energy and skill, which reflected the highest credit on Color-Sergeant Hector MacDonald, 92nd Highlanders, and Jemadar Sher Muhammad of the 3rd Sikhs, but for whose excellent services it might, writes Sir Frederick Roberts, have been impossible to carry out the programme of the march.

Havildar Fazi Jan and three sepoys of the 3rd Sikhs were killed, while the enemy suffered so severely that they withdrew to their homes and abandoned their in-

tention of attacking Karatiga.

Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at Kushi on the 28th September, and found there, in addition to the troops already detailed, I squadron 9th Lancers, the 5th Punjab Cavalry, and 92nd Highlanders. The Amir Yakub Khan had also arrived from Kabul on the previous day. His Foreign Secretary and Finance Minister, Wazir Shah Muhammad and Mustaufi Habibullah, had visited Sir Frederick Roberts's camp on the 23rd, and remained there three days, and in consequence of the negotiations conducted by them, Yakub Khan with his eldest son, several Sardars, a suite of 45 persons and an escort 200 strong, arrived in General Baker's camp on the 27th. He remained permanently with Sir Frederick Roberts's head-quarters during the advance against Kabul, and was treated as a guest under the lightest surveillance. He took advantage of the liberty accorded him to keep in close touch with the leaders of the Afghan army at Kabul, and was continually visited by various messengers and probably by Nek Muhammad himself, the chief commander at Kabul, who was the Amir's own uncle.

On the two last days of September the rear guard



ADVANCE TO KABUL



of the 1st Division, Kabul Field Force, marched from Ali Khel to the Shutargardan, and arrived at Kushi on the 1st October, while on the 30th September the Cavalry Brigade under Brigadier-General Dunham Massy, accompanied by two guns F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, two companies 72nd Highlanders, and the 5th Punjab Infantry, advanced from Kushi 10 miles to Zargan Shahar. The two batteries of artillery with the force had now surmounted the difficult Shutargardan Pass without any accident, a feat which evidently much astonished the Afghans, and reflected great credit on Captain H. Pipon, who commanded F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, and Major Sidney Parry, commanding G-3, Royal Artillery.

So far, General Roberts' force had concentrated at the rendezvous in Kushi according to the programme which he had planned, "notwithstanding difficulties of transport greater than I ever remember to have ex-

perienced in any former campaign."

Now, on the 1st October, it became evident, however, that, owing to want of carriage, the Major-General would be reluctantly compelled to alter his plans and defer his contemplated arrival at Kabul for some days. Thus, instead of being able to push on the cavalry under Brigadier-General Massy to Saiadabad on the 2nd October, as intended, it was necessary for the brigade to remain halted at Zargan Shahar. On this date the 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier-General Baker, marched to Zargan Shahar, where the General with divisional head-quarters and the remaining infantry joined them before evening. Sardar Wali Muhammad, a representative of Dost Muhammad's family and of the faction opposed to Amir Yakub Khan, joined Sir F. Roberts's camp at Zargan Shahar. On the 3rd October the advance was continued to Saiadabad by the headquarters and the greater part of the column, and on the 4th a halt was made to permit of the arrival of supplies and transport.

On the former date the following proclamation to



PROCLAMATION



the people of Kabul was issued by Sir Frederick Roberts:

"Be it known to all that the British army is advancing on Kabul to take possession of the city. If it be allowed to do so peacefully, well and good; if not,

the city will be seized by force.

"Therefore all well-disposed persons who have taken no part in the dastardly murder of the British Embassy. or in the plunder of the Residency, are warned that, if they are unable to prevent resistance being offered to the entrance of the British army and to the authority of His Highness the Amir, they should make immediate arrangements for their own safety, either by coming into the British camp, or by such other measures as may seem fit to them. And as the British Government does not make war on women and children, warning is given that all women and children should be removed from the city beyond the reach of harm. The British Government desires to treat all classes with justice, and to respect their religion, feelings, and customs, while exacting full retribution from offenders. Every effort will, therefore, be made to prevent the innocent suffering with the guilty. But it is necessary that the utmost precaution should be taken against useless opposition. Therefore, after the receipt of this proclamation, all persons found armed in or about Kabul will be treated as enemies of the British Government; and further, it must be clearly understood that if the entry of the British force is resisted, I cannot hold myself responsible for any accidental mischief which may be done to persons and property, even of well-disposed people, who may have neglected this warning."—(Zargan Shahar. 3rd October = 15th Shawal 1879.)

On the 5th October the vicinity of the group of villages known as Chaharasia, 11 miles from Kabul, was reached by the whole column except a rear guard, under Brigadier-General Macpherson, left at Saiadabad to protect ammunition and stores, for which transport had to be sent back on the afternoon of the same

AT CHAHARASIA

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day.¹ Up to this point no serious interference had been offered to the advance, except a feeble attack on the rear of the column while crossing the Logar at Saiadabad. But the evident hostility of the people, as well as news of a determined attack on the Shutargardan immediately after the departure of the bulk of the force, showed sufficiently clearly that more vigorous opposition might be looked for before Kabul was reached. It was, however, quite impossible to obtain any information as to the intentions of the enemy.

Immediately on arriving at Chaharasia reconnoitring parties of cavalry were pushed forward along three roads leading to Kabul. A few shots were fired at these parties, but no traces of any large body of the enemy were visible, and the force under Sir F. Roberts concentrated at Chaharasia, where they bivouacked for the night. The troops actually present under his immediate

command were as follows:

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Artillery.
    F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, Major Smyth-Windham.)
G-3, Royal Artillery, Major Parry.
No. 2 Mountain Battery (4 guns), Captain Swinley.
                                                                  Total 16 guns.
                                       Cavalry.
                    (9th Lancers (1 squadron), Captain)
                     Apperley.
5th Punjab Cavalry (2 squadrons),
Under Brigadier-
                       Major Hammond.
                                                                 Total 9 squadrons.
                     12th Bengal Cavalry (3 squadrons),
  General Dun-
  ham Massy.
                        Major Green.
                     14th Bengal Lancers (3 squadrons).
                       Lieutenant-Colonel Ross.
                                       Infantry.
                         67th Foot (half battalion), Colonel'
                         C. B. Knowles.
72nd Highlanders, Lieutenant-
Colonel W. H. J. Clarke.
               British
                         92nd Highlanders, Lieutenant-
   Under
                            Colonel G. H. Parker.
                                                                  Total 5 battalions.
 Brigadier-
                         5th Punjab Infantry, Major H.
  General
                           M. Pratt.
   Baker.
                Native { 23rd Pioneers, Lieutenant-Colonel
                            A. A. Currie.
                          5th Gurkhas, Major A. Fitz Hugh.
                   2 Gatling guns, Major A. Broadfoot.
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¹ This force consisted of 1 squadron 5th Punjab Cavalry, 2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery, a wing 67th Foot, and the 28th Punjab Infantry.



NEARING KABUL

The total strength of this force was about 3,800

men, including gunners.

Cavalry patrols were ordered to proceed at daylight on the 6th October to feel for the enemy, while the Major-General determined to seize as soon as possible after dawn the crest of the pass known as the Sang-i-Nawishta, about 5 miles in advance of the camp, by which he had decided to continue his march on Kabul. In addition the following force left the camp soon after daybreak, to work on the road through the pass and to render it fit for the passage of guns:

Under Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Currie, 23rd Pioneers.

(20 sabres), Captain H. W. Apperley.

(31 squadron), Major F. Hammond.

(42 guns) (left division), under

(53 Lieutenant C. A. Montanaro, R.A.

(54 guns) (left division), under

(55 Lieutenant C. A. Montanaro, R.A.

(56 guns) (left division), under

(57 Lieutenant C. A. Montanaro, R.A.

(58 guns) (left division), under

(58 guns) (left division), under

(59 Lieutenant C. A. Montanaro, R.A.

(60 guns) (left division), under

(61 guns) (left division), under

(62 guns) (left division), under

(63 guns) (left division), under

(64 guns) (left division), under

(65 guns) (left division), under

Before, however, any reports had been received from the cavalry patrols, and before the Major-General could carry out his intention of occupying the Sang-i-Nawishta Pass, all doubts as to the intentions of the enemy were set at rest by the appearance of large masses of Afghan troops on the crest-line of the hills stretching from the heights on both sides of the pass on the right to the Chardeh Valley on the left.

No hurry or confusion marked their movements, and the positions were taken up and guns placed with so much deliberation and coolness that it was evident that a large number of regular troops were massed along the position. Soon afterwards reports were received that the cavalry patrols had been fired upon

and were retiring slowly.

It was essential that the enemy should be dislodged from their strong position before dark. Their occupation of heights intervening between Chaharasia and Kabul was a menace that could not be brooked.

Behind these heights lay the densely crowded city of Kabul, with the scarcely less crowded suburbs of Chardeh, Deh-i-Afghan, etc., and the numerous villages which lie thickly clustered all over the Kabul Valley.



A DIFFICULT SITUATION



Each of these had contributed its quota of men to dispute the advance of the British; and it did not require much experience of Afghans to know that the numbers already assembled would be very considerably increased if the enemy were allowed to remain in possession of their stronghold for a single night.

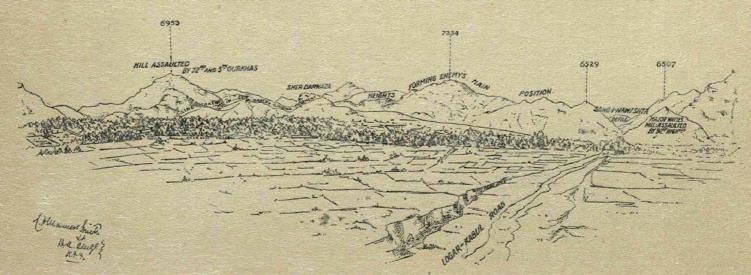
About this time it was also reported that the road in rear of the column was blocked, and that the march of General Macpherson's brigade, with its long string of baggage, would be opposed; whilst on the hills on both sides of General Roberts's camp bodies of men were seen assembling and, as was afterwards learnt, only waiting for nightfall to make a general attack upon the

encampment.

The situation was a difficult one, for the main body of the division was almost surrounded, and separated from its baggage. It was probable that any hesitation would encourage the enemy to descend from all sides upon the camp, while an attack in overwhelming numbers might have been made upon General Macpherson's small force encumbered with the convoys of stores and ammunition. Notice was at once sent to General Macpherson to keep a good look-out, and to reach Chaharasia, if possible, before dark; and at the same time a squadron of cavalry was sent back to reinforce him.

The Afghan position formed the arc of a circle, and extended from the Sang-i-Nawishta gorge to the heights above Chardeh, north-west of Chaharasia. Both sides of the gorge were occupied; and so was the semi-detached hill to the south of it, and at least sixteen guns were observed in position—viz. twelve mountain guns on the hill immediately to the west of the gorge and four Armstrongs in front of the Sang-i-Nawishta gorge, the total length of the enemy's line occupying nearly 3 miles of country. The main position of the Afghans was on the elevated ridge directly to the west of the Sang-i-Nawishta Pass. At the end next the defile where the guns were posted the elevation (6,529 ft.) measured some 700 ft. above the plain, whilst at the





VIEW OF CHAMARASIA PLAIN, SHOWING THE POSITION HELD BY THE ENEMY ON 6TH OCTOBER, 1879



AN OUTFLANKING MOVEMENT

other extremity the ridge culminated in a peak 7,334 ft., or 800 ft. higher. Thence the line extended along the crest of the lower heights to a rugged rocky hill, whose summit (6,953 ft.) was nearly 1,300 ft. above Chaharasia. In front of the whole were sandy, barren, undulating hills, forming a series of easily defensible positions. At the foot of these inferior heights was a bare, stony slope (dasht) descending to the arable land around Chaharasia and the hamlet of Khairabad. The main position commanded the whole ground in front, and was inaccessible, except at a few points.

Up to this period all the General's operations had led the enemy to expect that the attack would be delivered against their left at the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, and they were seen to be concentrating their forces in that quarter. This position was so strong, and could only have been carried with such loss, that Sir Frederick Roberts determined that the real attack should be made by an outflanking movement upon the right of the enemy, while their left continued to be contained by the force originally detached under Colonel Currie. The difficult task of executing this attack and of dislodging the enemy from their position was entrusted to Brigadier-General Baker, and for the purpose the following troops were placed at his disposal, in addition to the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Currie already mentioned, and which was now halted between the camp and the left of the Afghan position:

Cavalry 12th Bengal Cavalry (detachment).

Artillery

No. 2 Mountain Battery, 2 guns (centre division),
Lieutenant F. E. Allsopp.
2 guns (Gatling), Captain Broadfoot.

Swinley.

72nd Highlanders (700 rifles), Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.
5th Punjab Infantry (200 rifles), Captain C. McK. Hall.
5th Gurkhas (6 companies, 300 rifles), Major Fitzhugh.
No. 7 Company Sappers and Miners, Lieutenant Nugent, R.E.

In accordance with the proposed plan the main attack was reinforced with 350 rifles of the 23rd Pioneers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Currie, which were withdrawn from the containing force on the right front. The command



PLAN OF OPERATIONS

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of the latter now devolved on Major George White, 92nd Highlanders; with this detachment three guns G-3, Royal Artillery, were substituted for the two mountain guns, besides which it now consisted of :- Two squadrons of cavalry made up of detachments of the 9th Lancers, 5th Punjab Cavalry, and 12th Bengal Cavalry, in all about 140 sabres, under Major Hammond; a wing of the 92nd Highlanders under Major J. C. Hay, and 100 rifles of the 23rd Pioneers under Captain H. Paterson, making a total of 384 bayonets. Major White's orders were to threaten the Sang-i-Nawishta Pass, to prevent the enemy occupying any portion of the Chaharasia village, to advance within artillery range of the enemy's main position, and when, but not before, the outflanking movement was thoroughly developed, and when the enemy were in retreat, to push the cavalry through the pass and pursue.

Meanwhile the column for the main attack was assembled by General Baker in the wooded enclosures of Chaharasia, a collection of detached villages, in the most convenient of which he selected a place for his reserve ammunition and field hospital, heliographing to the General commanding the division to increase the strength of the small guard he was able to leave there in charge. One hundred bayonets were sent at once from the 5th Punjab Infantry, and the remainder of that regiment followed as soon as transport could be procured for its ammunition. This only left, for the protection of the camp, the horse artillery battery, between 600 and 700 infantry, and about 450 cavalry, and from this small force patrols and piequets were thrown out to watch the enemy on the hills on

either side.

The troops under General Baker advanced close to the left of Chaharasia, cover being there afforded for some little distance by the enclosures adjacent to the villages, and about 11.30 a.m. emerged into the open and were immediately engaged with a large number of the inhabitants of the Chardeh villages, supported



A HOT ENGAGEMENT

by a considerable force of the Afghan regulars. The Brigadier-General now extended one company of the 72nd Highlanders, under Captain R. H. Brooke-Hunt, to crown the heights on the left. This company established itself on a small peak next to the rocky and elevated ridge held by the enemy as the extreme right of their position. Running along this ridge, and stretching across the Indaki road on to inferior hills, the Afghan right wing was holding a line considerably in advance of their left wing on the Sang-i-Nawishta heights, and one which could not easily be turned. The heights on the enemy's extreme right were inaccessible in front, while the fire from them swept the slopes up which the troops must advance. It was necessary to dislodge the enemy first of all from this point, which was, in fact, the key of the position.

The company of the 72nd Highlanders on the left having gained a footing on the crest of the spur, could make no further progress, and were shortly afterwards reinforced by two companies of the 5th Gurkhas under Captain Cook, v.c., the main body of the 72nd attacking the enemy in front, their advance being well covered by the two guns of the mountain battery. Owing, however, to the obstinate resistance of the enemy, and the extremely difficult nature of the ground on the left flank, the advance was somewhat checked, so that two more companies of the Gurkhas, commanded by Major FitzHugh, and 200 men of the 5th Punjab Infantry, under Captain Hall, were pushed forward to strengthen the direct attack, the former extending the fighting line on the right of the 72nd, whilst the detachment of the 5th Punjab Infantry was echeloned in rear of the left. The 23rd Pioneers supported the right of the front line.

The engagement now became hot, but little progress could be made so long as the enemy retained possession of the commanding height on their right flank. As it was by this time evident to them that the real attack was being directed against this point, and their troops were seen to be moving in hot haste to its support, it

GALLANTRY IN ACTION



became imperative to carry their position before it could be further reinforced. Already, judging by the colours displayed, it appeared that Brigadier-General Baker was now opposed by seven regular battalions, besides

the host of irregular auxiliaries.

At 2 p.m., after two hours' fighting, the ridge on the British left was seized, and the retreating enemy was exposed to a cross-fire which inflicted a very heavy loss. The general advance was then sounded. and the first position was gallantly carried by the 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas, and 5th Punjab Infantry. The enemy fought well to the last, and charged close up to the 5th Gurkhas, who, however, commanded by Major FitzHugh, repulsed them with heavy loss. The 72nd Highlanders bore the brunt of the early part of the engagement on this flank, as evidenced by their numerous casualties. They were admirably led by their company officers, under the skilful direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, assisted by his Adjutant, Lieutenant R. H. Murray, while the conspicuous gallantry of Private MacMahon was especially marked. This young soldier, closely followed by a few Gurkhas, was to a great extent instrumental in taking the extremely strong position above mentioned, and for his intrepidity on this occasion he was subsequently decorated with the Victoria Cross. opposing force of the Afghans had now retreated to a position some 600 yards in rear of that from which they had been driven; and against this the British troops advanced in rushes, covered by the fire of the mountain battery. In the first line the 72nd Highlanders were on the left, two companies of the Gurkhas in the centre, with two companies of the 23rd Pioneers on the right; the detachment 5th Punjab Infantry and remainder of the 23rd supporting the attack. After defending this place for half an hour, the enemy again fell back, the attack made by a company of the Pioneers, under Lieutenant D. Chesney, supported by the 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas, and two companies

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COLLAPSE OF THE AFGHANS

of the 92nd Highlanders, under Captain R. H. Oxley, detached from Major White's force, proving irresistible.

In the meantime the small column under Major White, 92nd Highlanders, had engaged the Afghan left with great success. The enemy's advanced posts on the hill south of the Sang-i-Nawishta and in front of the gorge prevented the guns from getting within range of the main position. It was, therefore, necessary to capture them, as a preliminary to effective co-operation with General Baker's attack. Major White accordingly advanced to the right of and parallel to the road. About 12.30 p.m. the southern hill was gallantly taken by two companies of the 92nd Highlanders under Captain H. F. Cotton. The half battery of G-3, Royal Artillery, was then advanced to a position between the hill and the road, from whence Major Parry's guns engaged the four guns of the Afghans, which were advanced in front of the Sang-i-Nawishta defile. The latter were apparently supported by about three battalions of infantry.

Brigadier-General Baker's troops on the left having by this time carried the enemy's first position, Major White directed Captain Oxley, 92nd Highlanders, to advance with two companies and assist in the attack on

the second position, as before mentioned.

The Afghan right wing and centre were unable to make any further stand against this renewed attack. They broke and fled down the reverse slopes of the hill in a north-westerly direction, taking refuge in the Chardeh villages. At 3.45 Brigadier-General Baker's infantry were in possession of the main ridge. The first objective point was thus gained; and pivoting on the right, the troops brought round their left, and advanced against the now exposed flank of the enemy's left wing. At the same time Major White, taking advantage of this movement, advanced from the southern hill, and shortly after 4 o'clock was in possession of the defile and the guns in front of it. Com-

¹ For his gallantry on this occasion Major White received the V.C.



GUNS CAPTURED



pletely outflanked and enfiladed by the fire of General Baker's troops, the remaining portion of the Afghan force made but little resistance. They rapidly abandoned the position, and retired across the Kabul River towards the north-east. Brigadier-General Baker occupied the crest of the rocky precipitous heights, which had formed the right of the enemy's main position, with the 23rd Pioneers, and paused to allow of the infantry being replenished with ammunition. He then advanced along the ridge towards the Sang-i-Nawishta defile. At the same time a company of the 92nd Highlanders ascended the height to the left of the gorge, and took possession of the twelve mountain guns in position there, which had been abandoned by the enemy.

The rapid and dashing advance through the pass of the squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry, under Major Hammond and Captain Carr, and the party of 9th Lancers under Captain Apperley, materially contributed to the rout of the enemy and the abandonment of their guns; but the cavalry were checked at the river by the enemy's rear guard, on whom they were unable to make any impression, as the ground was unfavourable for the action of the arm. On perceiving this, Brigadier-General Baker ordered his mountain guns to shell the enemy from the heights while the 23rd Pioneers and 5th Punjab Infantry descended the hill at the double to engage the remains of the Afghan force, who were soon compelled to make a hurried retreat; but as darkness was now fast approaching, no further pursuit could be attempted. Brigadier-General Baker was, therefore, compelled to content himself with holding the ground in advance by picquets, and occupying both ends of the Sang-i-Nawishta defile. The main body of the troops bivouacked on the heights to west and north of the pass, forming part of the position held by the enemy in the morning.1

While General Baker was thus successfully engaging the Afghans on the heights in front of Chaharasia, the

¹ No use was made of the cavalry on the enemy's right flank.





enemy on each flank remained on the hills in an attitude of expectancy. They did not venture into the plain within reach of the cavalry patrols; but one party, bolder than the rest, caused so much annoyance to a picquet of the 92nd Highlanders, that they were attacked and dislodged by a detachment led by Lieutenant R. A. Grant. Color-Sergeant Hector MacDonald (whose skilful management of a detachment against superior numbers in the Hazar-Darakht defile has been already mentioned)

here again highly distinguished himself.1

On this day, on the British side, there was engaged a force equal to about three and a half battalions, two weak squadrons, and seven guns, having a total strength of 1,090 British and 1,513 native soldiers. The casualties were comparatively slight. The 72nd Highlanders had 3 killed and 1 officer (Lieutenant C. H. Fergusson) and 33 men wounded. The 23rd Pioneers had I sepoy killed and their Surgeon (Dr. A. Duncan) and 2 men wounded. The 5th Punjab Infantry had 4 killed and 1 officer (Captain C. Young) and 4 sepoys wounded; the 5th Punjab Cavalry, 1 killed and 2 wounded; the 9th Lancers, 1 man wounded; No. 7 Company Sappers and Miners, 2 wounded. Total British loss, 3 officers wounded: 18 rank and filed killed, and 67 wounded.

The infantry expended 41,090 rounds, of which over 20,000 were fired by the 72nd Highlanders.

The half battery G-3, Royal

6 common shell (percussion fuzes). Artillery, fired 71 shrapnel (time fuzes).

Total 77 rounds. Casualties nil.

No. 2 Mountain Battery fired-

10 common shell. 94 shrapnel shell.

Casualty 1 mule slightly wounded.

Total 104 rounds.

One Gatling fired 9 drums; the other got jammed after firing half a drum. Casualties nil.

¹ Color-Sergeant H. MacDonald subsequently received a commission in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders.



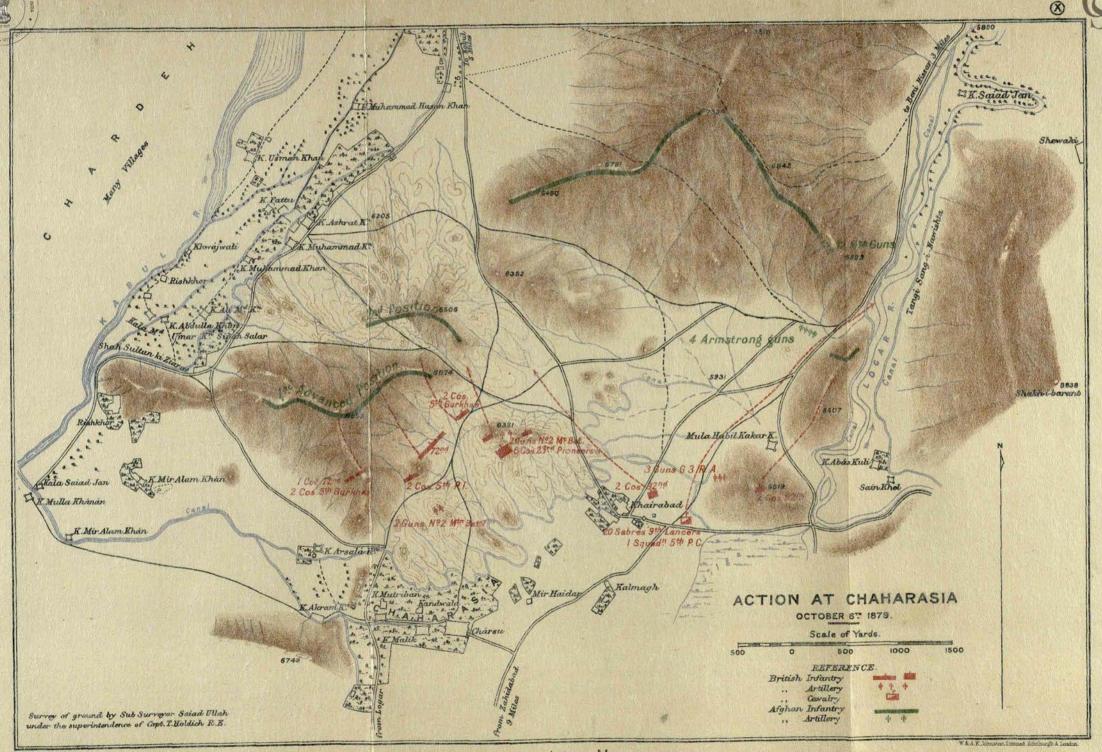
AFTER THE BATTLE

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Judging from the number of troops seen, and from information subsequently received, General Sir Frederick Roberts calculated that 13 regular regiments were opposed to General Baker's small force; and that these, aided by contingents from the city and neighbouring villages, brought up the total force of the enemy to several thousand men. They appear to have been commanded by Sardar Nek Muhammad Khan, uncle of the Amir and Governor of Kabul, who had been in intimate, if not personal, communication with Yakub Khan since he joined the British camp; besides him were General Ghulam Haidar Khan (Charkhi), General Muhammad Afzal Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, Governor of Khost. Their loss in killed alone was estimated at upwards of 300 men, to which were added a large proportion of wounded.

All the guns, twenty in number, brought out from Kabul to assist in the defence of the position, were captured; amongst them was an 8-in. brass howitzer presented to the Afghan State by the British Government; whilst a large number of small-arms and ammunition used against us were also gifts from the same source. The Ghilzais from Tezin and Hisarak assembled in large numbers to join the enemy in the Chaharasia engagement, but arriving too late, some of them returned to their homes, though a good many still waited about Kabul to see the result of any fresh stand made by the regular Afghan troops.

Three battalions were also on their way from Ghazni, three from Kohistan (Charikar), and six more with three cavalry regiments from Afghan Turkistan. The arrival of these considerable reinforcements was anticipated by Sir Frederick Roberts's action, and they beat a retreat on hearing of the defeat of the Kabul troops. The rear guard under Brigadier-General H. T. Macpherson encamped at Chaharasia, a demonstration being made against the camp there by considerable bodies of Afghans on the morning of the 7th, but these



London, John Murray.



AT BENI HISSAR

were speedily driven from their position by detachments

of the 67th Foot and 28th Punjab Infantry.

On the same morning Sir Frederick Roberts, with the Cavalry Brigade, F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, and G-3, Royal Artillery, the 7th Company Sappers and Miners, a wing of the 92nd Highlanders, the 23rd Pioneers and Gatling guns, proceeded through the Sang-i-Nawishta defile to Beni Hissar, a large irregular village, 2 miles south of the Bala Hissar, situated on the Logar road at the foot of a long spur of the Takht-i-Shah. While passing through the defile some bands of hill men opened fire on the column, but were

speedily silenced by the British infantry.

At Beni Hissar, Sir Frederick Roberts determined to encamp his whole force prior to his final advance to Meanwhile, however, having ascertained by means of cavalry patrols that the Bala Hissar had been evacuated, but having received information that three of the Afghan battalions, which had been in Kabul at the time of the attack on the Residency, were entrenching themselves on the heights north-west of Kabul, and had been joined by some of the force defeated at Chaharasia, the Major-General directed Brigadier-General Dunham Massy, on the morning of the 8th October, to move out towards Deh Mazang, where a force of the enemy was said to be encamped, and thereafter to place his brigade in such a position as would enable him to intercept the retreat of the Afghans, in case they should disperse towards Turki-The troops available for this purpose consisted of:

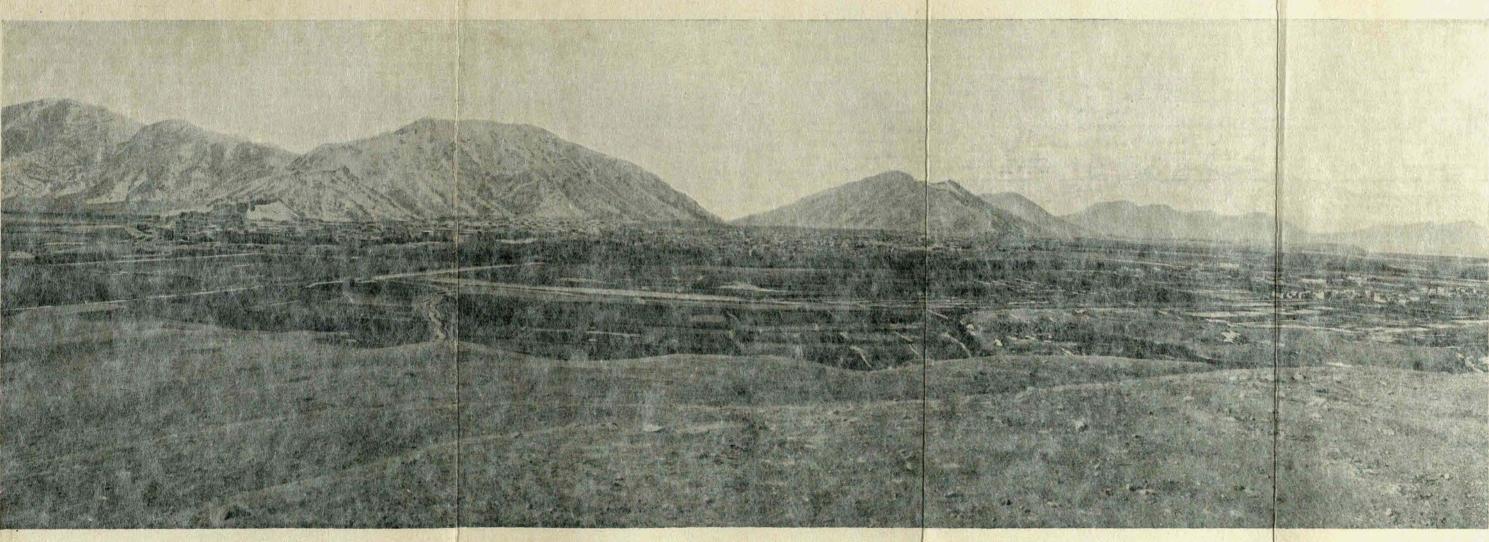
(9th Lancers (1 squadron), Captain Apperley. Total, 720 5th Punjab Cavalry (3 squadrons), Major Hammond. all ranks. 12th Bengal Cavalry, Major Green. 14th Bengal Lancers, Lieutenant-Colonel Ross.

This cavalry brigade started at 1 a.m., and, owing to the shortness of the notice, no rations, and but little grain, could be taken. Proceeding in a northerly

226 ENEMY ON THE ASMAI HEIGHTS

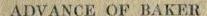
direction over the Siah Sang range of hills, and thence westward, the brigade reached the fortified cantonment of Sherpur, which was examined and found to have been recently evacuated, and its large artillery park deserted. From this point it could be seen that the Asmai heights on the further side of the Kabul River were crowded with the enemy, who occupied a very strong position, with guns, unassailable by cavalry, and commanding the direct road running via Buland Kala over the Aliabad Kotal to Deh Mazang, and thus necessitating a considerable detour viâ the village of Baraki and over the Nanachi Kotal at the extreme edge of the ridge. On ascertaining the position and great numbers of the enemy, General Massy heliographed the facts to the Major-General, and then proceeded as quickly as possible by the route described into the Charden plain, within about a mile of Deh Mazang, to the east of which village was seen the enemy's camp pitched on the slope of the hill, under the protection of their guns and infantry, which fact was also heliographed to the British camp at Beni Hissar.

The Brigadier-General now threw out three picquets of two squadrons each, covering the roads from the west and north, two squadrons being retained in reserve in front of the Asmai position. In this formation the brigade remained throughout the remainder of the day; but as darkness began to close in, and it became evident that the British infantry would not be able to carry the heights before nightfall, the Brigadier collected his scattered squadrons and bivouacked for the night under cover of two walled enclosures, between the roads running past Aliabad and Deh Buri. Having every reason to suppose that the enemy had no intention of abandoning their position without further fighting, and anticipating for the cavalry a hard day's work on the morrow, General Massy was anxious to rest and feed the men and horses, many of whom had had nothing to eat since early morning; but the endeavours to



KABUL FROM SIAH SANG

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collect supplies were only very partially successful, as in consequence of the firing the villagers refused to

venture out after dark.

Meantime Sir Frederick Roberts was informed by the first reports from the cavalry reconnaissance that the enemy appeared determined to make a final stand on the Asmai heights, where they were in a strong position, aided by twelve guns overlooking the city. He therefore decided to attack, and Brigadier-General Baker was ordered to advance with the following force:

Right division No. 2 Mountain Battery (50), under Lieutenant E. A. Smith, R.A. 72 men No. 2 Sub-division of Gatlings (22), under Captain A. Broadfoot, R.A.

> 2 companies 72nd Highlanders (142), under Captain C. W. N. Guinness.

Head-quarters wing 92nd Highlanders (370), under 982 rifles Lieutenant-Colonel G. N. Parker. 23rd Pioneers (470), under Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Currie.

Total-British 534, Native 520; Grand Total 1,054.

Starting from the camp at Beni Hissar at about 11 a.m. on the 8th October, General Baker directed three companies of the 92nd Highlanders to cross the Takht-i-Shah at Khiddar Ziarat, some 600 yards south-west of the Bala Hissar. Thence they were to proceed along the foot of the range, at the same time keeping up communication with the Brigadier, who, accompanied by the rest of the force, advanced along the ridge reconnoitring the enemy's position.

General Baker had not proceeded far along the summit of the heights when his advanced parties came in contact with the enemy's scouts and picquets, which retired before them. It was now seen that this ridge gave the troops complete command of the direct rear of the enemy's position and of their camp. Accordingly Captain Guinness's company of the 72nd was ordered to proceed along the top of the ridge, followed by the two guns under Lieutenant Smith, and the Gatling with the 23rd Pioneers, whilst the 92nd Highlanders occupied the ridge on the left above Baber's tomb. The ground over which the column had to advance was of so difficult a nature that much delay ensued, and the day was drawing to a close before General Baker found himself near enough to engage the enemy. On reaching the extreme point at the top of the ridge, the guns came into action, and at the same time the infantry (two companies 72nd, one company 92nd) took up a position some 500 or 600 yards in front, on lower ground, which commanded the road leading up the gorge from the city, and also allowed of the troops there coming into action against a detachment of the enemy located in a tower at the foot of the heights on the opposite side. The fire of the two mountain guns, although directed with great accuracy on the enemy's artillery, made but little effect against the heavier artillery opposed to them, which consisted of six field guns and six 7-pounders.

Reinforcements were sent out in the course of the

afternoon consisting of:

Wing, 67th Regiment, 2 companies 5th Gurkhas, 2 divisions No. 2 Mountain Battery C

2 divisions No. 2 Mountain Battery, Captain Swinley;

but, owing to the roughness of the ground traversed,

they did not reach General Baker till late.

As these reinforcements had not made their appearance by 5 p.m., the Brigadier-General determined on attacking the enemy's position should daylight allow of it, and a wing of the 92nd, with the Pioneers, were told off for this purpose; but, by the time dispositions had been made for an assault, it was evident that sufficient daylight did not remain to enable the attack to be carried well home, and the General was reluctantly compelled to defer it until the following morning. The reinforcement above mentioned arrived at dark, and thus General Baker found himself quite in a position, as regarded the number of troops, to assail the enemy



THE AFGHANS DISPERSED

on the Asmai heights at daybreak. He had, however, great misgivings as to the enemy maintaining his position till the morning, and in reporting to the Major-General, he recommended that the enemy's retreat should be further cut off by a force on the Kohistan road. Brigadier-General H. Gough was, therefore, sent in that direction with some cavalry and two guns, Royal Horse Artillery. At 1.30 a.m. on the 9th October General Baker, still fearing that the enemy might retreat during the night, despatched a strong patrol, consisting of 100 men of the 23rd Pioneers under Captain Paterson, and 50 men of the 92nd Highlanders under Captain Oxley, accompanied by Lieutenant C. H. Manners-Smith, 3rd Sikhs, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to move in the direction of the enemy's encampment. This detachment soon came into contact with some few of the Afghans, whom they killed or took prisoners; and from these latter it was ascertained that the main portion of the enemy had dispersed to their homes, and that about 800 of the regular troops had alone retained their cohesion; this body, under the general who had commanded the whole force, Muhammad Jan Khan (of Wardak), had gone in a westerly direction, but whether towards Bamian, Ghazni, or Hazarajat, the prisoners were unable to state. This information was reported at about 4.30 a.m., an hour before daylight; and the first action taken by Brigadier-General Baker was to despatch a mounted native with the intelligence to Brigadier-General Massy, who with his cavalry was at Deh Mazang.

Immediately on receipt of this message the Cavalry Brigade proceeded at a gallop along the Ghazni road as far as the village of Kala Kazi, 7 miles west of Kabul, but without finding any traces of the fugitives. Here a heliogram was received from Sir Frederick Roberts, in accordance with which two squadrons were detached across country to the Kohistan road, with equal ill success. The rest of the brigade continued



DEARTH OF FOOD



their rapid march along the Ghazni road as far as Kotal-i-Takht, 22 miles from Kabul, where, at about 11 a.m., the 5th Punjab Cavalry came on a small party of the enemy, of whom twenty were killed after a desperate resistance. No others of the fugitive Afghans were seen, and the horses and men being now much exhausted, the Brigadier returned to camp, sending forward only two squadrons of the 12th Bengal Cavalry a further 8 miles, in order to verify the assertions of the villagers that no troops had passed along the Ghazni road. These squadrons rejoined the Cavalry Brigade on the 10th, Brigadier-General Massy with the remainder passing without mishap through the city of Kabul, and reaching

the camp at the Siah Sang heights by nightfall.

Although no casualties occurred amongst the men of the Cavalry Brigade, yet some score of horses died during or from the results of this hard day's work. "The men were without food both days they were out, but they behaved splendidly, not a grumble being heard. For instance, the [squadron of the] 9th Lancers started on the morning of the 8th, after having received one loaf to every three men. They carried no food, as only a reconnaissance was intended; and at night some sheep were killed for them, and they tried to eat the flesh after roasting the animals whole. They had nothing but their swords to use in cutting up the carcases, and they found it quite impossible to eat the flesh; so on the 8th they went supperless to bed. On the 9th they were in the saddle from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m. (when they reached this camp, Beni Hissar), and the pursuit and return were made in such quick time, that again there was no chance of getting food. Horses and men of all the regiments out with General Massy were quite exhausted when they at last reached their quarters here" (The Afghan War of 1879-80, by Howard Hensman, pp. 48-9). Meanwhile the whole of the enemy's camp on the Asmai heights and their baggage animals and twenty-one guns had fallen into our hands. During the day the British camp had been



THE RESIDENCY



shifted from Beni Hissar to the Siah Sang, a low, isolated hill lying between the city of Kabul and the

confluence of the Kabul and Logar Rivers.

On the 10th October Sir Frederick Roberts visited the Sherpur cantonment, and the 5th Punjab Cavalry were ordered to remove thither to protect the guns and stores found there, including seventy-six pieces of ordnance (vide Appendix XI.).

On the following day the Major-General, with a small escort, closely examined the Bala Hissar and the buildings occupied by the late Envoy and his suite. Of the condition of this latter, the following graphic description was penned by Mr. Hensman, who accompanied

General Roberts on this occasion:

"Our first view of the Residency was of the rear wall, still intact, but blackened on the top, where the smoke from the burning ruins had swept across. At each angle where the side walls joined were seen the loopholes from which the fire of the little force on the roof had been directed against the overwhelming numbers attacking them. Every square foot round these loopholes was pitted with bullet-marks, the balls having cut deeply into the hard mud plaster. western wall, which faced toward the Upper Bala Hissar, commanding it, was scarred with these marks, proving only too well how severe had been the fire from the higher level occupied by the mutineers in the arsenal. At this end the Residency was of three stories; but the present wall does not indicate the height of more than two, the upper part having collapsed when the fire obtained a mastery over the buildings. A lane, 6 or 8 ft. wide, runs between this wall and the buildings on the right in which the Guides were quartered. Plans hitherto published have made the Residency and these quarters one block, but this is a mistake; they were quite distinct."

Riding along the lane and passing through a narrow gateway, half blocked with rubbish, "we entered the main court of the Residency, and were soon thoroughly



ASHES OF THE MASSACRE



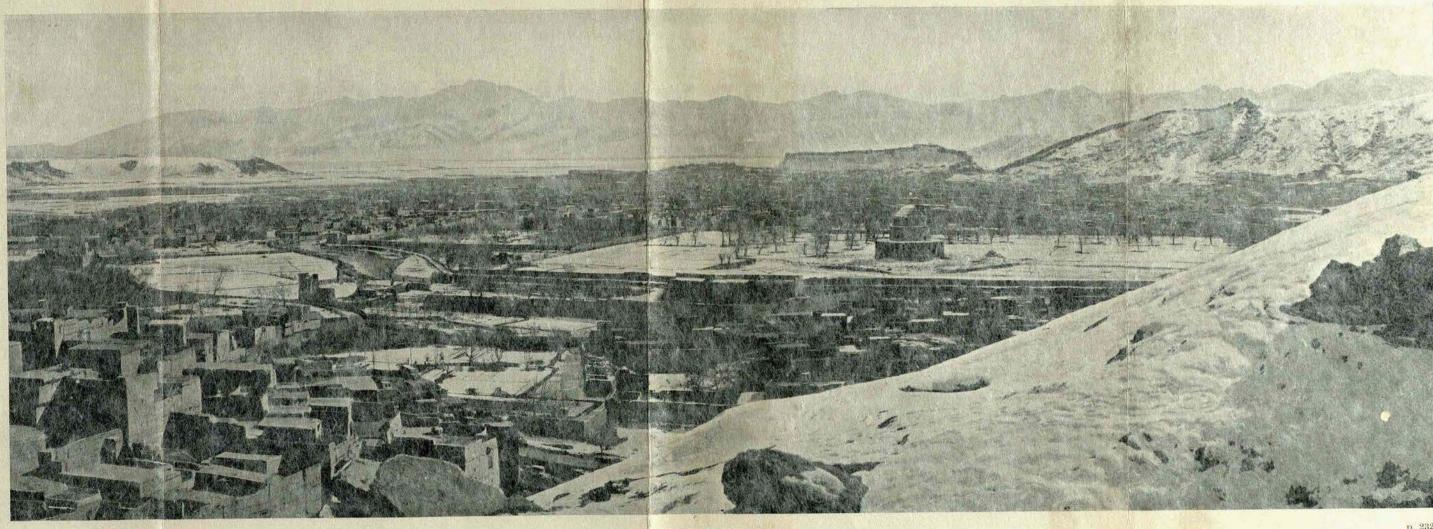
able to appreciate the fate of its defenders. The southern end on our right hand was standing untouched, and consisted of rooms built on wooden pillars so as to form a kind of oblong pavilion. The mud basement is 3 or 4 ft. from the ground; and the whole structure, except a few partition walls and the roof, is of wood, and, from the dryness of the climate, very inflammable. It is neatly whitewashed, and the upper rooms being open on both sides must be cool and pleasant. These were Sir Louis Cavagnari's quarters, and from them the rich Kabul plain beneath can be

seen stretching away to the Tezin hills.

"The courtyard of the Residency is about 90 ft. square, and at its northern end, where formerly stood a three-storied building like that I have just described. are nothing but the bare walls, blackened and scarred by fire, and a huge heap of rubbish, the ruins of the roof and walls which fell in as the woodwork was destroyed. Portions of the partition walls still remain, jutting sullenly out from the mass of debris; and these only serve to make the place more desolate. The whitewashed walls on the left are here and there bespattered with blood, and on the raised basement on which the building stood are the remains of a large fire, the halfcharred beams still resting among the ashes. The ruins are still smouldering. Whether, as suggested, any bodies were burnt there is still an unsettled point; but in one room into which I went there can be no doubt fire had been used for such a purpose. The ashes were in the middle of the chamber, and near them were two skulls and a heap of human bones still fetid. It would seem as if a desperate struggle had taken place in this room, the blood stains on the floor and walls being clearly discernible. The skulls are to be examined by surgeons, as it is possible they may be those of Europeans. Residency was looted so thoroughly that not even a peg has been left in the walls. In Sir Louis Cavagnari's quarters, the windows overlooking the Bala Hissar wall have been torn out even to the sashes, and a few bits of







KABUL FROM ASMAI