

**The memoir of Major-General E.J. Wild, Bengal Army
during the Mutiny of 1857-1858**

Part 3: Futtehpore, Cawnpore and on to Bunnee – September 1857

Tony Kerrison

General Wild's memoir continues ...

On the 3rd September 1857 the column to which I was attached as an Orderly Officer to Major Vincent Eyre started en route for Cawnpore, and was composed of Major Eyre's Bengal Horse Artillery¹ with two heavy howitzers added to his battery, the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, and detachments of the 64th Foot and 78th Highlanders. We had to escort 300 carts of ammunition, and were ordered to proceed by forced marches. At the best of times the first march is always the most trying as the bullocks do not seem inclined to work, and weights have to be readjusted, so we could only make the usual march, and whilst we were encamped at the first camping-ground we received orders to proceed by regular marches.

We had a civilian with our column who acted as Political Agent, and when we had come to a place called Kurrah² two marches this side of Futtehpore, he received news that some rebels had crossed the Ganges, and were camped near the *ghaut*.³ This news was sent to Sir James Outram, who ordered us to halt until he arrived in our camp. In the evening he ordered three guns of Major Eyre's battery and 200 men of the 5th Fusiliers to proceed to the *ghaut* to punish them, and they started that night, with the 5th Fusiliers on elephants so that the men might arrive fresh for work - the *ghaut* being 2 miles off. But the rebels got news that a force was coming to attack them, and when Major Eyre arrived with his party he found the rebels re-crossing the Ganges, so he opened fire on them. They then jumped overboard, a great many being drowned, and others being shot by the infantry so that only a few escaped.⁴ We did not wait for the detachment to rejoin, but marched in the morning, and they rejoined us

¹ Vincent Eyre's 'Horse Artillery' was in effect the 1st Company, 5th Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery – its guns being drawn by horses.

² A relatively small settlement between the Grand Trunk Road and the Ganges, about 25 miles southeast of Futtehpore.

³ *Ghaut, ghat*: a ferry, landing place, or path of descent to a river

⁴ The *ghaut* where this action unfolded was at a place named Koondum Puttee.

in the evening. Sir James remained at Kurrah till his column came up the same morning as we were only one march ahead of them.

On arriving at Futtehpore, Major Simmonds⁵, commanding the 5th Fusiliers, with his regiment and three guns went out at the request of the Political Officer to punish some villages, and destroy them, as they had been notorious in destroying and looting the civil station of Futtehpore, but most of the inhabitants had absconded, so our party burned the villages and rejoined us in the evening. They (the 5th) however, brought in a few prisoners they had secured during their raid. We also found a man hiding in the city of Futtehpore, and made a prisoner of him, as he had, with his own hands, set fire to several houses, and was a notorious *budmash*.⁶ On Major Simmonds' return he (the prisoner) was brought before a court martial, and was, by mistake, thought to be one of the prisoners the party had brought in. The witnesses they brought with them would not identify the man – so he was released. After the prisoners (from the villages) who had been captured had been tried and sentenced, the prisoner we had captured was ordered to be brought. It was then stated that he was the first prisoner who appeared, and was ordered to be released. Of course he was not fool enough to loiter about the place, so one scoundrel got off.

On the morning of the 14th our column arrived at the last encamping ground before our arrival at Cawnpore, and in the evening I was ordered to proceed at once to Cawnpore, to get permission from Sir Henry Havelock⁷ for our party to enter the encamping ground at Cawnpore, and to find out where we were to encamp. On arriving at Cawnpore in the middle of the night, and it being a very straggling encampment, I thought it would be difficult to find out the Asst Adjutant-General's Office, and besides, not knowing the watchword or parole, I should have been detained before I could pass the sentries, and, seeing some empty tents, I occupied one, laying on the ground, and going to sleep. The first dawn of the morning I went to the headquarters camp to report myself and get the encamping ground allotted to me for my party - who would march in that morning. I found the Assistant Adjutant-General's office - it was a small building of two rooms, and was formerly a bungalow used by one of the sergeants of the native infantry regiment. The AAG, Lieutenant Havelock⁸, son

⁵ Capt. Edward Reginald Simmons, in temporary command with acting rank of major

⁶ *Budmash, badmash*: rogue, villain, scoundrel

⁷ Major General Sir Henry Havelock KCB, HM's Service, commanding the so-called Allahabad Moveable Column, latterly better known as the 1st Lucknow Relief Force

⁸ Lieut., later Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, *Bart.*, V.C., HM's 10th Foot (North Lincolnshire Regiment). He actually served as ADC to his father from 23 Jun to

of General Henry Havelock, was not in, the orderly told me, but the General was in, so I walked in.

On entering, I saw a camp table in the centre of the room. An old gentleman, with nearly white hair, dressed only in white regimental trousers and shirtsleeves, was tearing frantically round the table, and muttering something, and at times using not very polite language! However, he took no notice of me, and I imagined he must be insane, so I walked into the next room where some clerks were writing, and asked where Lieut. Havelock was. They said he was out, going through the camp, but would be back shortly. I then asked if the General was in, and they said, 'In the next room, walking round the table – he has just received some unpleasant news regarding the movements of the rebels, which has annoyed him. If you have any business to transact, you had better speak to him.'⁹ So I went back to the other room, and, saluting him in military fashion, I said, 'General, I have come to get permission for the entrance into your camp of a column under the command of Major Simmonds, and I wish to know where they are to encamp.' After thinking a while, he said they will encamp on the left of such and such a regiment. I asked where it was, as I did not know the Cawnpore encampment. Just then, his son came in and asked me what I wanted, so I told him, but the General said 'I have told Lieutenant Wild where he is to encamp - in such and such a position', but Lieut. Havelock told his father I could not go there, and they went on arguing for some time, but the General insisted that we were to encamp at that spot. Young Havelock then said to his father 'Sir, you know nothing about it, - I will allot him his ground', and, turning to me he said, 'Come along with me, and I will take you to the ground that your column is to occupy', which he did, and I went to meet my column, and brought them to their position. The ammunition we had escorted was sent into the entrenched camp, and was stowed away there.

In the afternoon, as I had nothing to do, I went round to see the different places that had become interesting and notorious by the atrocities committed under the name of Nana Sahib of Bithour, as he was styled. The Nana Sahib was only

29 Nov 1857 (and not AAG), and some time after his father's demise served as Deputy AAG of the Jaunpore Field Force under the command of Brigadier T.H. Franks.

⁹ One can appreciate why Havelock was fretting over opposition movements. The districts surrounding Cawnpore and the route forward to Lucknow were being infiltrated by multitudes of well-armed rebels and his Moveable Column was greatly outnumbered. The reinforcements that James Outram was bringing up from Calcutta were desperately needed, although Havelock may also have been edgy over the impending arrival of his superior officer, anticipating that he would have to relinquish command of the Column.

a puppet in the hands of the Mahomedan rabble. He was a Hindoo, and would not have committed the atrocities done in his name, and in all probability did not know what was being done, but he was the leading man in the district, and became responsible.¹⁰ Cawnpore was always a hotbed of fanatical and infuriated Mahomedans. The atrocities committed in Cawnpore must have been the work of demons in human form, and cannot be described by words.¹¹ I first visited the barracks occupied by General Wheeler's force, which were in an unfinished state at the time. Just before the mutiny broke out in Cawnpore, General Wheeler had ordered the European troops and all Christians to move into these barracks, as they were on the Allahabad side of Cawnpore city. Till then the cantonments had been on the other side of the city. He moved also as much ammunition as he could from cantonments into the barracks, and partly provisioned it. I visited the enclosure, and I could still see some of the women's hair sticking to the walls. As soon as Havelock felt himself strong enough, as troops were arriving daily, he made a raid on Nana's palace and the village of Bhitour, and destroyed everything he could.¹²

Whilst at Cawnpore, I heard that Major Barrow¹³ was raising a force of volunteer cavalry.¹⁴ He belonged to the Madras Cavalry, but had an appointment in Oudh, and, thinking I should see more service with the cavalry, I volunteered for it, and was appointed a full-blown trooper, and had to learn

¹⁰ This contemporary opinion ignores the fact that Nana Sahib had deep grievances of his own arising from mistreatment by the British and he required little encouragement to seek revenge. He was also not on the best of terms with the local Muslim community

¹¹ The massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore brought out a great deal of strong feeling and demands for retribution, even among relatively fair-minded men. It led to the British in turn taking a sanguineous revenge on the local population, the majority of whom were quite innocent.

¹² Nana Sahib had retired to his palace at Bhitour with a rebel force of five thousand with forty five guns. He stayed only briefly. By the time a column under Major Stevenson, Madras Fusiliers, arrived there, the rebels had retreated deeper into Oudh.

¹³ Captain (later Major) Lousada Barrow, 5th Madras Light Cavalry, was the Deputy Commissioner at Salone, a town in Oudh Province not far distant from Allahabad.

¹⁴ Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry. Two articles published in *Durbar* (Vol. 5 No. 1, p. 15; Vol. 8 No. 2, p. 2) describe the composition and services of this short-lived unit in comprehensive detail, including a list of all the volunteers and their medal entitlements (see also: *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/5/77 folios 43v-50r). Lieutenant E.J. Wild, 40th Bengal NI, put in for a Mutiny medal with clasp 'Defence of Lucknow' on the roll of Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry, claiming service with the volunteers during the operations to relieve Lucknow between 21 Sep to 16 Nov 1857 including the actions at Mungulwar and the Alambagh, and the so-called Second Defence of the Residency.

cavalry drill morning and evening, like a recruit. There were several young officers whose regiments had mutinied besides young lads who had nothing to do, and we formed one squadron. Another squadron was made up of private soldiers of different regiments, and railway navvies. Lieutenant Swanston¹⁵ commanded my squadron, and it was wonderful how soon we picked up our drill as all those who volunteered knew how to ride, and by the time we started for Lucknow we could all work together. Our uniform was a coat and trousers of American drill, dyed indigo, and blue-white helmets with *saloo*¹⁶ turbans. After reaching Lucknow, I regretted having joined the volunteer cavalry, for I should have seen more service as Orderly Officer to Major Eyre.¹⁷

On the 19th September, we commenced our march for the relief of Lucknow, as our force by this time was considered strong enough to relieve the Lucknow garrison, and everyone was delighted that we should then return for the capture of Delhi. The bridge of boats [across the Ganges] had been constructed, and our first move was to cross this bridge and take up our position on the other side of the river. Those who had a good deal of luggage were ordered to send it into store, into the entrenched position. Having very little, I took that with me. On the Oudh side of the bridge of boats, an entrenched position had been made for its protection, and we had to keep a sharp look out day and night the whole length of the bridge that it should not be destroyed, as they (the rebels) used to send down logs of timber and fire-boats to destroy it.

The King of Oudh's army and the mutineers held a strong position at Oonao, a large village on the high ground on their side of the river about five miles off.¹⁸

¹⁵ Lieut. William Oliver Swanston, 7th Madras NI, had been Asst Commissioner at Salone – working closely with Barrow. He was amongst the first cavalry volunteers, serving all the way from Allahabad to Lucknow, and was a Troop Commander and also the unit's Quartermaster. He was wounded on the way into Lucknow and abandoned by his Dooley bearers, lying alone in the open until rescued the following day.

¹⁶ *Saloo, shaloo*: 'name in familiar use for a soft twilled cotton stuff, of a Turkey-red colour' (Hobson Jobson, London 1886, p. 620). This is rare and possibly unique reference to the rudimentary uniform worn by Barrow's volunteers.

¹⁷ Wild must here be referring to the period following his arrival in Lucknow, as Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry was not short of opportunities for action on the way there. He claimed his Mutiny medal with clasp 'Defence of Lucknow' for service with the volunteers, and this medal together with his Indian General Service medal with 'Pegu' clasp once resided in the renowned Payne Collection formed between 1890 and 1910.

¹⁸ The deposed ex-King of Oudh had been arrested at his residence in Calcutta on 15th June 1857 and took no active part in the rebellion, although most residents of Oudh Province would still have perceived him as their titular head. The rebel army facing the

The intervening space was a succession of sand hills, which in the height of the rainy season is covered with water. After breakfast, we started to cross the river, but found the bridge of boats blocked with carts. A long string of them was crossing, carrying ammunition, so we had to wait for them to get over. Whilst waiting on the high banks of the river, from whence the guns had been fired on General Wheeler's party and had annihilated it, although it was a fine day, with a blue sky, it began somehow to grow dark, and grew darker and darker, and looking up at the sun we saw the reason as an eclipse was taking place, and it became a total eclipse, and all the birds - even the crows - were quieted down and went to roost, just as if night was coming on, and we saw a lot of natives coming down to the river, but they did not come nearer than a mile of the bridge, above and below, and we saw they were bathing as is their custom when an eclipse takes place. As we took no notice of them and did not disturb them they came down in thousands, and we could see that most of them were sepoys, so orders were given to fire on them, and numbers of them were killed by the grapeshot and the rest fled behind the sand hills, and escaped.

As soon as the carts had crossed our turn came, and we crossed, the artillery and infantry following. We formed up in battle array, expecting to be attacked, but the enemy only fired a few roundshot at us, which either went over our heads or into the sand hills. We encamped here - to let the whole force cross - till the following afternoon. On the 18th September, the day before we crossed the river, General Sir James Outram issued a most generous order, in which he stated: 'As General Havelock had attempted the relief of Lucknow with an inadequate force I will now allow him the honour of relieving Lucknow, and I will accompany the force as a volunteer only, and will assume the supreme command after entering the residency.'

On the 20th we were ready at dawn for a move, but it was after midday before we started on a reconnoitring expedition, returning after sunset, when I was suddenly ordered on vidette duty and had to take a hasty meal, and our party of five started for a village half a mile to our left front. It was a dark, rainy night, and when my tour of sentry duty came I was frightfully sleepy, so that I could scarcely sit my horse, and felt inclined to dismount and take a nap, but I was bound to keep awake and watch as the safety of our vidette, and of the whole force, might depend on my watching, and I would like to have had a pin handy

Allahabad Moveable Column has been estimated as upwards of 30,000 fighting men of all arms, holding a number of prepared defensive positions, with a significant superiority in artillery.

to prick myself, to keep myself awake. I was several times nearly falling asleep and off my horse. The lights in the distance seemed to be dancing about like will-o'-the-wisps and I was not sorry when I was relieved at 2 a.m., and though it was raining hard and I was drenched to the skin I managed to get an hours' sleep, but at 3 a.m. was awoke as the enemy sent up a fire-balloon, and there was a general turning out of their guards, so that an attack was expected, but it turned out to be a false alarm and all quieted down, and I got another snatch of sleep until daybreak. At this time our column got into motion, and reached us at sunrise, when our vidette fell in with the main body of cavalry. It had ceased raining, and promised to turn out a fine day. The whole force now advanced to attack the village of Mungulwar on the height of the embankment, as it was occupied by the enemy who opened fire on us with roundshot. The 90th Foot now advanced and soon had possession of the village – the enemy, however, carrying off their guns. The Volunteer Cavalry acted as support to the 90th Foot, but General Havelock would not allow us to pursue the guns, and tried to keep us in the background. General Outram sent an ADC to Major Barrow to advance with the cavalry, but our Major said he had positive orders from General Havelock that he was not to advance. Sir James then sent a message to General Havelock to say that he wanted the Volunteer Cavalry as a personal escort, and requested him to send us on. Then we got orders to advance, and joined Sir James, and advanced through the village, and as we advanced we came on the 6th [Bengal] Native Infantry who had mutinied at Allahabad and had joined the King of Oudh's forces.¹⁹

Fortunately it was raining a tropical downpour so that, as we pursued the rebels, they fired on us - or tried to do so, for in capping their muskets carelessly, and in a hurry, the rain wet the powder in the nipples, and though the caps snapped, the muskets did not go off. Nor, foolishly, did they fix bayonets, so that when we charged they were at our mercy, and we accounted for 200 of them. A young officer named Pierson [sic] of the Volunteer Cavalry, who belonged to the 6th N.I.,²⁰ thought he recognised one of his men, and sang

¹⁹ The 6th Ben. NI, raised in 1763, had honours for 'Mysore', 'Bhurtpore', and 'Cabul'.

²⁰ Ensign John Richardson Pearson entered the HEIC's service in February 1857 and so must have been attached only very briefly to the 6th Bengal NI which mutinied at Allahabad on 6 Jun 1857 – hence his availability for the volunteer cavalry. He served with Barrow all the way from Allahabad to Lucknow and claimed a medal with the single clasp 'Defence of Lucknow'. He was posted as a Lieutenant to the 27th Bengal NI, but his luck was out as this regiment had been disarmed at Peshawur and disbanded before he could join it. Not a man to miss an opportunity, he went on to command a loyal remnant of the 3rd Bengal Irregular Cavalry in the Saugor district in 1859.

out his name. The sepoy looked round, and seeing him, threw away his musket, putting his hands together in a supplicating manner, and said 'han khudawand' ('yes, my lord') - thinking he might be spared, instead of which he got a cut from Pierson's sword which nearly severed his head from his body. We also recaptured the regimental colours of the 6th N.I. and scattered the regiment.²¹

Then we advanced with Sir James Outram on Oonao, but found it deserted. On getting through the city we saw along the road leading to Lucknow - which was, for miles, quite straight - several guns they were carrying off. They had a good start of us, but, led by Sir James, we caught them. They tried to fire on us, but we got off the road on each side as they fired. The mutineers then left their guns, and bolted, taking their horses. Thus we captured three of their guns with their ammunition wagons. After this, Sir James took a small party of No 1 Squadron to reconnoitre, and I was with this party. We advanced about a mile towards a village in which we could see a large body of the enemy, and then we returned to Oonao to await the arrival of the main body of our army.

From Oonao the Asst Adjutant-General Lieut. Havelock and Major Napier²² were sent back to tell General Havelock to advance the whole force, and two others and myself of the Volunteer Cavalry went with them as an escort. We came to a pagoda where the road turned sharp to our right, and suddenly we found ourselves on General Havelock's force. It was still raining very hard, and they, not hearing us approach, on seeing us took us for a party of the enemy's cavalry as we were dressed like them, and they thought that we were going to attack them and brought their guns round for action, and would have given us a round of grape, but recognised us in time.²³ When we came near them they told us what a narrow escape we had had. On reaching General Havelock the order for the advance was given, and, in the meantime, we managed to get a few biscuits from our mess. We were all miserably cold and wet, and I know I could not get warm. I had taken a good-sized flask of brandy with me - containing a pint - and though I had finished it in nips I could not get warm,

²¹ Sgt Maj. Patrick Mahoney of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, serving with Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry, was awarded the Victoria Cross 'for distinguished gallantry in aiding in the capture of the Regimental Colour of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry at Mungulwar on 21 Sep 1857' (*London Gazette*, 18 Jun 1858). Many of the Bengal Infantry rebels were serving in composite bodies of mutinied regiments, and it could be that Wild has confused the colours of the 6th NI with the colours of the 1st NI.

²² This must have been Colonel [sic] Robert Napier of the Corps of Bengal Engineers. He was Outram's Chief of Staff during the 1st Relief of Lucknow and was wounded.

²³ This tends to underline just how 'rudimentary' the uniform was!

and the brandy had no more effect on me than water would have done. When all was ready, we advanced, and, coming to the village which the enemy had occupied we found it empty, and went on to the next village, which was also empty, and, as it was getting towards evening, we encamped. The cavalry had to spend the night in the open without tents, and in a drenching rain. I laid down where I could with my cloak and blanket round me, and soon fell asleep as I was very tired, and the others did the same.

Next morning, the 22nd, we resumed our march and went on till evening without seeing anything of the enemy. It still rained in the morning, but cleared up towards evening. My poor horse showed signs of lameness from the hard work it had gone through. Next morning, September 23rd, we had breakfast and started, heavy rain again setting in. We had advanced 4 miles when we got the order 'trot'. I went with the Volunteer Cavalry as long as my horse could carry me, but it got so lame that I was obliged to dismount and lead my horse. The reason we were sent on was to prevent some guns crossing the bridge at Bunnee, but it turned out useless as it was either a false report, or else they had gained a long start of us and crossed, for we could see nothing of them. Our force, on arriving at Bunnee, halted for the night, and sent a strong detachment to the other side of the bridge to prevent the enemy coming down during the night and destroying it. At daylight, additional troops were sent over to strengthen the night party, and then we breakfasted after which a general start was made. A young cavalry officer who had joined the VC had a spare horse, and kindly lent it to me under the condition that if his horse got disabled I was to give it back to him, so I was able again to take my place with No 1 squadron. In the VC we had two messes, Major Barrow and the 1st sqn were in one, and the privates and others in the other. I was telling them in our mess that I had a presentiment that either myself, or my horse, would be hit by a round shot, but they only laughed at me, and said it was more likely that I would be hit by a bullet than a roundshot, and as they all knew that I had been at Arrah I told them that, when I went on that expedition, I had a presentiment that I should not be wounded, and so it turned out correct.²⁴

Editor's note

The notation at the end of Part II (*Durbar*, Winter 2008, p.170) is an editorial slip. There will be further parts in future editions of *Durbar* before the Memoir is completed.

²⁴ In a following part of this narrative, the author will describe how he had his horse shot underneath him, and the problems that ensued from this.

A Victoria Cross - A Pile of Stones

William Whitburn

Part 2 ¹

The Delhi Arsenal housed a vast store of ammunition, muskets, two siege trains and an assortment of cannon. On his return from the reconnaissance with Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Lieutenant Willoughby ordered that the gates be closed and barricaded. Two 6-pounder guns were laid inside each of the gates. A further two 6-pounders were laid as back up by the magazine gate; three more, plus a 24-pounder howitzer were placed at the other end to fire at any incursion across the whole front of the Arsenal. Then a *chevaux de frize* (a line of iron spikes) was laid to hinder any cavalry assault. All the guns were double charged with grape. Finally, a train of gun-powder was laid from the magazine of fifty barrels of gunpowder to a small tree in the centre of the large compound. As a last resort, this was to be fired by Scully on a signal from Buckley who would raise his cap when ordered to do so by Willoughby. The Indian establishment had also been issued with muskets which they reluctantly received.

While these preparations were underway, Lieutenant Raynor requested permission to go out and talk to the mob. He was convinced that reasoned talk could calm their anger. Outside, he found the 38th BNI guard in a state of panic and the mob savagely dismantling St James's Church. He realised the situation was beyond the counselling phase. On being told that Mr Beresford, the Delhi Bank Manager, and his wife had been killed, he rushed to his own house, as it was in the area of the bank. There he found his wife of many years dead. Totally disconsolate, he walked back to the Arsenal to do his duty. En route, he was joined by Mr Ryley, a clerk in the Judge's Department, who sought safety in the Arsenal with Raynor. Ryley never left and is completely overlooked as the tenth man in the Delhi Arsenal. Another individual who attempted to reach the Arsenal and help with its defence was Park (Ammunition) Sergeant Hoyle, who was shot down in the effort.

By mid morning, a Subadar of the mutinous cavalry had come to the gate to demand the surrender of the Arsenal in the name of the King. Willoughby gave no reply. About half an hour later, the Subadar of the 38th BNI guard informed Willoughby that the King had ordered ladders to be erected against the Arsenal walls. These duly arrived and, to Willoughby's surprise, his Indian establishment,

¹ This final part is continued from the Winter 2008 edition of *Durbar*.

to a man, climbed up to the roofs of the Arsenal's huts and disappeared over the walls and down the ladders. The mutineers now appeared on the walls. For four long hours, in blistering heat, Willoughby and his gallant compatriots kept the fanatical onslaught of the mutineers at bay; convinced that they would eventually be relieved.

Back in the Darya Ganj area about fifty Europeans and Eurasians who had hidden were rounded up and taken to the Palace. The men were killed and the women and children were herded into a small room. They were kept in the room until the following Saturday when they were roped together and taken out to a tree in the courtyard and slaughtered. In this heinous act, Scully and Buckley lost their families.

Meanwhile at the Kashmire Gate the situation was quickly developing into a state of total mayhem. The place was crowded with civilians and the sepoy were belligerent if not yet mutinous. The 74th BNI had arrived with a further two guns, but the sepoy's discipline soon faded. At this time, an order came from the Brigadier to send the guns back to the Ridge. No doubt the Garrison Commander thought it now prudent to save the guns and establish a defensive position around the Flagstaff Tower. Soon, guns were heard thundering off at the Arsenal. As many as thirty rounds were fired, and at 4.00 p.m. an almighty explosion cracked the foundations of Imperial Delhi and a massive cloud of black smoke appeared over the Arsenal. 'The Devoted Nine' had blown up the magazine. It was an act of sheer heroism that sent a thrill throughout the Empire. Many mutineers were instantly killed together with half of Willoughby's gallant command. They had believed it was their duty and they did not hesitate to carry it out.

The explosion blew out the Arsenal walls. There was a momentary silence as the black smoke, rubble and body parts spewed across the compound. Then out of the smoke and dust appeared three blackened figures stumbling towards the Kashmire Gate, hair singed, and uniforms blasted off their bodies. These were Lieutenant Willoughby, who was unhurt, and Lieutenant Forrest who had taken two shots in his left hand and was very shaken. The third figure was Sergeant Edwards. He was in very bad shape and within minutes was killed at the Gate. Two others escaped by the sally ports facing the river: Lieutenant Raynor, and Conductor Buckley who was wounded in his right shoulder. These two individuals swam the river and made their separate ways to Meerut. Buckley was captured along the way and he asked his captors to kill him. However, the sight of this dishevelled, wounded, near-to-death old man sparked some rare compassion in his captors who did not kill him and Buckley managed to escape. Conductor Scully was at first thought to

have survived. In General Orders he was promoted to Deputy Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, effective 11th May, but when it was ascertained that he had been killed in the explosion, this promotion was withdrawn. In the same GOs, Raynor and Forrest were promoted to Captain, and Buckley to Lieutenant.

Pandemonium reigned at Kashmire Gate. Many civilians had passed through the gates and onto the cantonments area in all forms of transport including 'shanks's pony', but there were still many women and children around including Lieutenant Forrest's wife and three daughters. By now madness had grabbed all the sepoys and they started attacking their officers and other Europeans. The ones who escaped had run up the ramparts, jumped twenty five feet into the citadel's ditch and then scrambled up the steep counterscarp. Of these escapees two groups are of particular interest to this narrative.

The first is the group which included the Forrest family. This consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Knyvett, CO of the 38th BNI, and Lieutenant Charles Henry Fitzroy Gambier of the same regiment; Lieutenant Philip Salkeld, Bengal Engineers, who was later to win the VC in the relief of Delhi, and Lieutenant Edward Vibart, 54th BNI, who was to write a very good account of the savagery in Delhi and his escape.² He later found out that his father³ had been killed in the massacre at Cawnpore. This group first made their way to Metcalfe House where they rested and were given provisions for their journey. Mrs Forrest had been shot in the shoulder while scrambling up the ramparts and her husband's condition worsened as they journeyed to Meerut. On the way, the group had many close calls with robbers who relieved them of all their possessions and eventually they arrived at a village owned by an old German Jew named Cohen. On 16th May they were rescued by Lieutenants Hugh Gough and Alfred MacKenzie of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry and escorted to Meerut.

The other group consisted of the indomitable Lieutenant Willoughby, Lieutenants Charles Butler and Danvers Osborn and Ensign A.T. Angelo, all of the 54th BNI, and Mr Stewart of the Delhi College. Lieutenant Osborn had been badly wounded in the thigh when escaping from the Kashmire Gate, so the progress of this group was slow. It was their plan to stay off the main road and then follow the river up to Meerut.⁴ They got to the village of Negpur where they were well treated.

² Lieut. Edward Daniel Hamilton Vibart, *The Sepoy Mutiny as seen by a subaltern, from Delhi to Lucknow*, Smith Elder & Co., London 1898

³ Major Edward Vibart, 2nd Bengal Light Cavalry

⁴ This route must have been by small rivers and nullahs. The party had to cross two major rivers, the Hindun and the Jumna, but neither led from Delhi to Meerut.

Osborn was left there to await relief from Meerut. He was eventually sent to Meerut by one Syed Ashraf Ali, who later was awarded for his loyalty with two villages and Rs 1,000. The remainder of the group moved on to the village of Koomhera. Here the locals were very hostile and the Headman, Kana, demanded the group's two regulation-pattern swords and Willoughby's by now bullet-less carbine. Having denied the rebels the Delhi magazine, Willoughby was not about to hand over his carbine. Instead, he loaded the weapon with a *pice* (a small copper coin) and shot Kana dead, whereupon the crowd grew and in short order they hacked the party of four to death. Later on fierce reprisals were meted out to the villagers involved.

As the sun was setting on the four-storied Flagstaff Tower, Brigadier Harry Graves was at his wits end. Crowded around were hosts of women and children who had to be protected, enough officers but no men and only two guns. As the evening darkened into last light, the Brigadier gave up all hope of any relief from Meerut and opted for evacuation. In confused panic, the cantonments were evacuated and the Imperial City of Delhi was in the hands of the rebels. They were to remain in control until 14th September 1857.

The rebellion spread like a bush-fire throughout the Bengal Presidency and the British, aghast at its audacity, lapsed into momentary paralysis. Between the Governor General in Calcutta and the Army Command a thousand miles away in Simla, there were only three European regiments, HM's 10th Foot (Lincolnshire) at Dinapore, the 32nd Foot (Duke of Cornwall's) at Lucknow and the 3rd Bengal European Regiment at Agra. All three stations were to erupt in rebellion. There were three regiments in the Simla Hills and two, still holding fast, in Meerut. The balance of British regiments were scattered around the recently annexed Punjab. To this disparity in concentration there was a paucity of desperately needed draught animals. In the National Army Museum there is a marvellous scroll, twenty nine feet long, that shows in great colour, the number of people and animals, thought essential in mid nineteenth century India, for the movement of a division. The situation was not helped by the C-in-C dying of cholera soon after his arrival in Karnaul. His successor was General Sir Henry Bernard who had been commanding the Sirhind Division. He was also to die of cholera on 6th July and his replacement, Major General Reed, stood down due to ill health on 17th July. Command of the British counter offensive now rested on the shoulders of the cautious Major General Archdale Wilson from Meerut.

While the regiments in Subathu and Kassoli scrambled down the hills, reinforcements started to pour in from the Punjab and by late May the British were on the offensive with reprisals visited on all and sundry.

On 7th June the first battle was fought against an organised rebel force at Badli-ke Serai, seven miles from Delhi. It was from this date that recommendations for the Victoria Cross started to pour in. The most prolific 'recommender' was Brigadier James Hope Grant, late CO of HM's 9th Lancers and now commander of the Cavalry Brigade. Of his recommendations, sixteen were approved, twelve of these for soldiers of his own regiment. The first awards to be gazetted were those to Privates Hancock and Purcell who had saved the Brigadier's life. By the time Delhi was retaken, many individual acts of bravery were recommended for East India Company officers. This influx of recommendations, highlighting the fact that these 'British' heroes were playing no less a part than their brothers in HM's Forces, necessitated an amendment to the Royal Proclamation. On 29th October 1857 an amending Royal Warrant was published making British officers and other ranks of the East India Company's armies eligible for the VC, as well as civilians. By this amendment the three surviving heroes of the 'Devoted Nine' qualified and Captain George Forrest's report on the action at the Delhi Arsenal gave witness to the recommendation by Colonel Augustus Abbott. Although Captain Raynor was senior to Forrest, he had handed over the post of 2nd-in-command to Forrest and, as Lieutenant Willoughby was dead, Forrest wrote the report. The awards to Raynor, Forrest and Buckley were published in the *London Gazette* on 18th June 1858. Sadly, the gallant Willoughby was not to be awarded, even though he had survived the actual events of 11th May 1857. His namesake, Lieutenant Edward Henry Willoughby⁵, was also overlooked in a later action on 15th April 1858 when he and Captain William Cafe, of the 56th BNI, unsuccessfully assaulted Fort Ruhya. Young Edward died but Captain Cafe survived and won the VC. Had recommendations for both Willoughbys been submitted with the magic words 'had he survived', thereby to be referred to later as 'memorandum cases', it is very likely that these two young heroes would today be included in the brotherhood of the bravest of the brave.

Three other individuals who died soon after their acts of valour were awarded the VC, but in their cases *Rule 7* had been invoked. Standing on top of Ludlow Castle, the GOC had witnessed the gallant actions of Lieutenants Phillip Salkeld and

⁵ 1st Lieutenant Edward Henry Willoughby, like his namesake, was with the Regiment of Bengal Artillery. According to the May 1857 edition of the *East India Register*, he was attached to the Northwest Revenue Survey of the Surveyor General's Department.

Duncan Home in the breaching of the Kashmir Gate on 14th September 1857, and was able to confer the award 'on the spot'. These two individuals were the first East India Company officers to be awarded the VC. The other memorandum case was Cornet William Bankes of HM's 7th Hussars, who charged fifty rebels who had rushed the guns near Lucknow on 19th March 1858. He was horribly mutilated, losing an arm and a leg with his other limbs remaining barely attached. He died eighteen days later, after the award had been conferred by the GOC.

The taboo on posthumous awards was first cracked in an action at Colenso on 15th December 1899 during the South African War. Lieutenant the Honourable Frederick Roberts of HM's 60th Foot (KRRC), the only son of Field Marshal Lord Roberts, VC, was part of a group which had volunteered to save the guns of two batteries. Lieutenant Roberts died two days later, but was awarded the VC. Another officer, Captain Harry Norton Schofield, Royal Field Artillery, was awarded the lesser decoration of the Distinguish Service Order (DSO) for gallantry at Colenso. The DSO was introduced in September 1886 for officers of Field rank and above. As in the case of Schofield, and since, it has frequently been awarded to junior officers and has the connotation of a 'near-miss' VC.⁶

The Roberts VC award occasioned much discussion, which hinged on the premise that the VC should only be granted if recommended while the soldier was still alive and not be extended to a case where a soldier had died, albeit heroically, in the 'cause of his country'. These discussions culminated in HM King Edward VII approving the decoration to be granted exceptionally to six men for acts of valour during the recent operations in South Africa.

Naturally this decision brought into question the six other 'memorandum cases' relating to earlier operations. Rationally these six men should also be granted the VC. By June 1906, the King had twice refused to give his approval and all official attempts to persuade him otherwise failed. However, the persuasive power of a woman eventually cracked the King's resolve. Mrs Melvill, the widow of Lieutenant Teignmouth Melvill, 1st Battalion HM's 24th Foot,⁷ one of the six 'memorandum cases', wrote directly to the King and to everyone's surprise he gave his approval to Melville's award and, *ipso facto*, to the other five cases as well. So, fifty years after the event, Ensign Everard Aloysius Lisle-Phillipps was

⁶ Harry Schofield survived Colenso, and his award was retrospectively upgraded to a VC (*London Gazette* 30th August 1901). The DSO was simultaneously cancelled.

⁷ Lieut. Melvill lost his life on 22nd January 1879 while attempting to save the Queen's Colours following the disaster at Isandhlwana in South Africa.

awarded the VC. He was the young officer of the 11th BNI who was with his CO, Lieutenant Colonel Finnis, when the Colonel was shot dead by mutinous sepoys in Meerut. After this sad event, Lisle-Phillipps attached himself to the 1st Battalion HM's 60th Foot (KRRC) and took part in many brave and courageous actions. He was much admired by his adoptive regiment, so much so that Major Conyngham Jones, officiating in command of the 1st Battalion, recommended him for a commission in the Regiment, but this never came to pass. Lieutenant Lisle-Phillipps' final act of gallantry was at the taking of the Water Bastion of Delhi where he was killed and would have won the VC 'had he survived'. During the same action Annie Forrest's sweetheart, Lieutenant Harry Gambier, was also killed. Lieutenant Lisle-Phillipps' VC was sent to his elder brother, his next of kin.

The Indian Mutiny might also have occasioned the award of the first Bar (*i.e.* second award) to the VC, had the C-in-C, General Sir Colin Campbell, not cancelled the award. Lieutenant Henry Marsham Havelock of HM's 10th Foot (Lincolnshire), ADC to his father Brigadier General Henry Havelock, had left his General and charged off to lead an assault by HM's 64th Foot (Staffordshire) on 17th October 1857 even though their CO, Major Thomas Stirling, was present but unhorsed. His father, on the recommendation of Sir James Outram, awarded the decoration to his son. The fact that this was, for all intents and purposes, a father conferring the VC on his own son had not gone unremarked in Army circles in India. In fact, some officers of the 64th wrote to the authorities claiming 'usurpation of post' by the young officer. The award was gazetted on 15th January 1858. The recommendation for the second act of bravery, for saving the life of Sir James Outram, was received in London with some consternation and was referred to General Sir Colin Campbell. Meanwhile, Brigadier General Havelock had died. A Board of Field Officers was assembled by the C-in-C and essentially recommended that, as the young officer was not entitled to the first award, it should now stand for the new recommendation. So, no Bar! Ensign Patrick Roddy, Bengal Army (Unattached), was also recommended for a second award, but he preferred promotion, so another chance for a first in the Indian Mutiny slipped away.

General Sir Colin Campbell also rejected the award of the VC to Major James Hagart of HM's 7th Hussars because he felt that the award was inappropriate for an officer of so high a rank. This was the same action for which Lieutenant Banks received his VC. Interestingly, during World Wars I and II the VC was awarded to a host of Majors and Colonels, as well as three Brigadiers. The following chart shows the percentage of VCs awarded to the various ranks in the listed campaigns.

Rank	Crimea	Mutiny	WWI	WWII
	%	%	%	%
Colonel	3	*⁸	6	8
Majors	3	0	4	8
Captains	11	8	12	10
Lieutenants	21	31	22	20
NCOs	31	26	32	34
Privates	31	35	24	20

After their escapes, Raynor, Forrest and Buckley met up in Meerut where they compared notes, and on 27th May Forrest sent his report to Colonel Abbott. Forrest was a broken man and was sent to the hills to recuperate. On 2nd December 1858, he was presented with his VC by Major Robert Troup of the 63rd BNI, commanding Landour Depot, acting on behalf of the Governor General. Forrest was still a sick man when he received his orders to take up his old appointment at the Delhi Arsenal. He never made it. On 3rd November 1859 he died and was buried in the old cemetery at Dehra Dun. Just before his death Forrest had also been granted the Indian Mutiny medal. His widow, who continued to live in Dehra Dun, was granted 2,500 acres of land in the area.

Captain Raynor's Movement Order eventually caught up with him. After a short break he took up his post at the Arsenal in Ferozepur. He was presented with his VC by the Garrison Commander at a small parade in the memorial gardens of St Andrew's Church. He was also granted the Indian Mutiny medal. He soldiered on, a lonely old man, until his death on 13th Dec 1860 aged sixty five.

Buckley soon recovered from his shoulder wound and was involved in a number of actions including the battle at Badli-ke-Serai. He was appointed Provost Marshal in Meerut and took the opportunity to mete out justice to the bazaar *badmashes*. In May 1858 he went on leave to England where he stayed for eighteen months. On 2nd August in Portsmouth he was invested with the VC by HM Queen Victoria. He returned to India in 1859 and was posted to Lucknow. He remained there until he retired to England in 1861. He did not settle well and died, the last of the 'Devoted Nine', on 14th July 1876 aged sixty four. He was buried in an unmarked grave in the cemetery at Tower Hamlets, London.

In the late 1880s Lieutenant Colonel Robert Parry Nisbet, CIE, who was Commissioner of the Delhi Division, sought permission from the Government of

⁸ Only one award was granted to an officer of this rank, and none to a major. Lieut. Colonel James Travers, 2nd BNI, was serving as Commandant of the Bhopal Contingent when the act of gallantry for which his VC was awarded took place.

India, to erect, at his own expense, a memorial to his kinsman Lieutenant George Willoughby. It was determined, however, that the cost should be borne by the Government and be a memorial to the 'Devoted Nine'. It was duly built, marking the former entrance to the Delhi Arsenal and called the 'Willoughby Memorial'.



Willoughby Memorial – Delhi

On the 11th May 1857 nine resolute Englishmen

Lieut. Geo. Dobson **Willoughby** Bengal Artillery, in command
 Lieutenant William **Raynor** - Lieutenant Geo. **Forrest**
 Conductor Geo. William **Shaw** - Conductor John **Buckley**
 Conductor John **Scully** - Sub Conductor William **Crow**
 Sergeant Benjamin **Edward** - Sergeant Peter **Stewart**

defended the magazine of Delhi for more than four hours against large numbers of the rebels and mutineers until the walls being scaled and all hope of succour gone these brave men fired the magazine - five of the gallant band perished in the explosion which at the same time destroyed many of the enemy. This tablet marking the former entrance gate of the magazine is placed here by the Government of India.

Tracing the whereabouts of the 'three' Victoria Crosses has not been easy, except for John Buckley's award. He sold his VC to the Ordnance Department for £100 and it now resides in the bank vaults of the Royal Logistics Corps (RLC) Museum.

The George Forrest VC has had a more chequered career. It evidently remained in the family until the great-grandson hocked it for £4,000 to a money lender. Then in the 1980s it appeared on loan to the National Army Museum. It has since been confirmed that the medal was sold at Glendinings in 1997 for £27,000.

The William Raynor VC apparently remained in the family until the grandson sold it to an American collector in the 1960s. However, according to the *Cape Times* of 20th Jan. 1930, it was auctioned at Glendinings for just £29. In any event it came up for auction again in December 1987 with a reserve bid of £10,000. William Raynor's great grandchildren, William Raynor II and his sister Shirley Trollope, were determined to buy back the VC. A stockbroker friend, Mr Martin Williams, bid for and acquired the VC for £11,000. Meanwhile William and Shirley, with the assistance of the RAOC, launched the 'William Raynor Appeal' and were able to repay their friend. The VC is now in the bank vaults of the RLC Museum.

In 1988 there was an altercation concerning the 'three' VCs between the National Army Museum and the RAOC Museum. H.M. the Queen was scheduled to visit the RAOC during which she was to be presented with a silver miniature replica of the Willoughby Memorial. The organisers thought that it would be a wonderful idea to have all three VCs of the gallant old Ordnance veterans on display, and so a formal request was sent to the National Army Museum for the loan of the Forrest VC. The request was flatly refused by the then Director, Colonel Ian Robertson and he laid emphasis on one particular argument.

"There is, however, a much more compelling reason for leaving the Forrest Victoria Cross here and that is because it is doubtful that the RAOC can claim to be the parent Corps. Forrest, like Buckley and Raynor, served in the Bengal Ordnance service and purists could argue that there is no good reason at all why any of these items should be in the RAOC Museum, because there is no link between the East India Company Ordnance Services and what later became the RAOC. Indeed there was a far greater link with the artillery, the officers serving for a term in the Ordnance and then returning to their batteries. The other ranks, after a period of probation, were permanently posted to the Ordnance and served for a pension on special terms. After the Indian Mutiny, when the East India Company artillery ceased to exist and the Royal Artillery took their place, the old system of staffing the Ordnance continued, more or less until 1922. Therefore, if any unit of the British Army has a claim to these VCs, purists would argue that it is the Royal Regiment of Artillery."

The worthy Colonel appears to have overlooked the fact that Captain William Raynor was never a gunner; he was an outstanding example for an infantryman.

The small pile of stones had a fascinating story to tell and it is hoped that, through the telling of it, the jungle has been cut back, if only by a twig.

9th Bn 12th Frontier Force Regiment at the Myinmu Bridgehead and the selfless gallantry of a young Naik during the battle of Yezin-Inya

Cliff Parrett

The 9-12 FFR was raised in April 1941 for war service, and spent its first two years in Ceylon before moving to India and then on to the Kabaw Valley in Burma where it arrived in June 1943 as part of 20th Indian Division. Thereafter it served continuously in Burma until October 1945 when it moved to French Indo-China. The battalion finally returned to India in April 1946, where it was reconstituted as the 2nd Battalion Frontier Force Regiment.

In February 1945 the 20th Indian Division played a largely subsidiary role in the overall tactical deployment of XIVth Army in the decisive battle of the Irrawaddy. It was nevertheless an important role as it served as an essential diversion from Slim's planned main thrust against the Meiktila stronghold. The tasks given to the Division were, first to get itself safely across the Irrawaddy on 12th/13th February, and then to build up a large and impressive bridgehead with as much noise and show as possible and thus attract the maximum Japanese attention. What came to be known as the Myinmu Bridgehead achieved both its objectives admirably, and it proved to be the Division's finest hour. The bridgehead was established with a strong defensive perimeter. Against this the Japanese counter-attacks were frequent and fierce. As the bridgehead steadily expanded, it became consequently more difficult to protect. The 9-12 FFR had initially been held in reserve and did not cross the river until 18th February when it joined in the defence. Fighting raged around the perimeter for three more weeks before the Division could break out, during which time several major sorties were launched.

On 28th February the 9-12 FFR was ordered to capture two adjacent villages, Yezin and Inya, which if successful would effectively clear all Japanese elements between Kanlan-Ywathit and Kanlan. The objective had great significance because it was the last Japanese strongpoint covering the Myinmu Bridgehead. The task was not an easy one. The supporting squadron of 7th Light Cavalry's M3A1 Stuart tanks could only traverse a *chaung* in front of the enemy position in one place where previous reconnaissance had been largely impossible. Furthermore the Japanese were holed up in typically strong defensive bunkers covering approaches that they knew like the back of their hands. It was known that they possessed one or more 105-mm guns – lethal at close range against the lightly-armoured Stuarts.

The regimental historian provides a graphic account of the action which he describes as the Battalion's outstanding achievement of the campaign for the re-conquest of Burma.¹ Although 'C' Coy (Pathan) was selected to lead the advance, in the outcome it was 'D' Coy (Punjabi Mussalman) that won the laurels.

A tank squadron of 7th Cavalry and the divisional artillery supported the attack. 'C' Coy with the tanks led the advance, with 'B' Coy (Dogra) following. They had difficulty in locating the Japs who were well dug in and concealed in elephant grass and tobacco fields. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued, slowing down the advance. Major Butterworth² wrote of this stage of the action as follows:

A Jemadar of 'D' Coy had a hand-to-hand fight with a Jap officer and killed him in full view from Battalion Headquarters at Kanlan. A lot of slaughter was done to the east of Yezin in the nullah, by the tanks and 'C' Coy who stuck to the tanks like leeches. The Japs had anti-tank mines with them which they were clutching to themselves, attempting to blow the tanks up and themselves at the same time. A 105-mm gun crew fought to the end until they were wiped out by the tanks. They were firing point-blank over the sights.

As 'C' Coy advanced with the tanks, enemy artillery and M.M.G. fire caused casualties, and 'B' Coy also became involved in the mêlée in the area south of Kanlan, where the main force of Japs was found to be dug in with strong bunkers, difficult for the tanks to deal with. However, the advance was not held up. A number of tanks were left to mask the enemy in this area and deal with them, while 'D' Coy with the remainder of the tanks were ordered to capture Yezin. There was an open space of about 1,000 yards between Kanlan and Yezin which was under enemy observation and fire.³

It was at this point in the action that Naik Kamal Khan of 'D' Coy was first brought to notice for gallantry. As his Company neared Yezin, the enemy suddenly opened fire from a bunker position overlooking the village. Kamal Khan was in pole position, commanding a section of the leading platoon. The platoon commander shouted at him to charge the bunkers.

¹ Brigadier W.E.H. Condon OBE, *The Frontier Force Regiment*, Aldershot 1962

² Captain D.G. Butterworth, O.C. Admin. Coy, 9-12 FFR

³ Condon, p. 499

[Kamal Khan] ran ahead of his section towards the enemy and ordered them to follow. He threw grenades into two bunkers and then killed three Japanese who came out of a third. He and his section then chased and killed a few more Japanese who were running out of the other bunker.⁴

The Japanese were driven back and Yezin was occupied. A rapid reorganization followed, and then the advance was resumed. For the assault on Inya village, 'C' Coy was in the lead with 'D' Coy following closely and the tanks in support. The advance was met by heavy fire from nullahs to the right and left, the enemy holding their fire until the tanks had passed and then opening on the infantry. Naik Kamal Khan was with one of the leading platoons, advancing across an open field. He suddenly came under close-range L.M.G. and grenade discharger fire from well-concealed Japanese bunkers.

Without waiting for further orders [Kamal Khan] ran straight into the enemy position and threw three grenades into a bunker, killing two Japanese who were inside. He then ran back to fetch more grenades, and went forward again throwing a grenade into another bunker. While doing this he was wounded by an enemy grenade. Although wounded, he crawled undeterred to another bunker where there was an enemy grenade discharger in action. He succeeded in killing all the Japanese in this bunker and knocked out the grenade discharger. Then he moved forward to deal with another bunker when he was unfortunately shot by the enemy in the head and killed instantaneously.⁵

The battle for Inya turned into a desperate hand-to-hand fight. Typical of this sort of ferocious action in Burma, no quarter was expected or given by either side. Before darkness fell the village was captured, along with a 105-mm gun and several medium and light machine guns. During the night the Japanese counter-attacked, but to no avail. The defenses of the strongpoint had been quickly turned round and reorganized, with 'C' and 'D' Coys well dug in. The few Japanese who penetrated the perimeter were quickly shot down.

The casualties suffered by the Japanese were catastrophic. The body count was at least 149 including three officers. Plenty of others were buried out of sight, dead and dying alike, in the many collapsed bunkers. The 9-12 FFR also suffered severely, particularly during the advance on Inya, with 13 killed and 59 wounded. The achievement of this relatively young war-raised battalion was recognized by no lesser personage than the XXXIII Corps Commander, Lieut. General Sir Montague Stopford, who paid a personal visit to the battalion at

⁴ *Army Form W-3121*, recommendation for IOM, Lt Col. M. Hyhaud Din, 12 Mar 1945

⁵ *Ibid.*

Yezin to congratulate them shortly after the action. Not surprisingly, there were a number of immediate gallantry awards for the battle, ten in all: one IOM, three MCs, one IDSM, three MMs and two Certificates of Gallantry.

Undoubtedly the most important of the Yezin-Inya awards was the admission of the young P.M. Kamal Khan to the Indian Order of Merit (posthumous).⁶ Bravest of the brave, yet only eighteen years old at the time of his selfless gallantry and death in action, he could not have been serving with his Battalion for even one full year, although much of this short time was probably spent in Burma on active service.⁷ The IOM was recommended by Major Hayaud Din⁸ who was himself granted an MC for the same action. As battalion commander he was in the thick of the fighting and in a position to observe Kamal Khan's gallantry at first hand. This is reflected in the recommendation for the IOM which describes in graphic detail 'his inspiring leadership and outstanding example of gallant conduct in which he sacrificed his life.'⁹

At this stage in the evolution of the Indian Order of Merit, the admission of a junior NCO was relatively unusual. Following the deliberations of the Honours Committee in 1943, the IOM had been designated primarily as an award for commissioned officers.¹⁰ Henceforward it required a combination of exceptional gallantry and outstanding leadership to qualify for admission. No similar IOM award was granted to an 'other rank' of 12 FFR after the Committee's directive was circulated. The Frontier Force Regiment as a whole received a total of ten IOM awards during WW2 of which two were to the gallant Kamal Khan's battalion.¹¹

⁶ The admission of Kamal Khan to the 2nd Class IOM was first published in the *Gazette of India* on 16 Jun 1945 and the *London Gazette* on 12 Jul 1945. There was an error in the publication of his award, as a Royal Warrant of 20 Dec 1944 had effectively abolished the two classes of the award and replaced them with the 'Single Class' award.

⁷ Kamal Khan was still only a sepoy, but with the 'paid acting' rank of naik.

⁸ Later Major General M. Hayaud Din, HJ, MBE, MC, Pakistan Army

⁹ *Army Form W-3121*

¹⁰ *India Office Records*, R/3/1/248, p. 11; Secretary of State to the Viceroy, telegram dated 16 Dec 1943. From this date, Indian other ranks became eligible for the MM while retaining their eligibility for both the IOM [albeit limited] and the IDSM.

¹¹ The other 9-12 FFR recipient was Subedar Major Ahmed Khan (for Burma 1944).

3rd Cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent – an undated group photo ¹

Cliff Parrett

Nawab Ahmad Baksh Khan raised a *risalah* of irregular horse in 1790 which by 1854 had evolved into the 3rd Regiment of Cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent. It served extensively with the field force under Sir Hugh Rose in Central India during the Indian Mutiny, for which it received the battle honour CENTRAL INDIA. It saw field service on the lines of communication during the 2nd Afghanistan War in 1879-80.

In August 1886 two regiments of the Hyderabad Contingent, the 3rd Cavalry and 3rd Infantry, headquartered at Bolarum and Jalna respectively, received orders to proceed to Burma. The 3rd Cavalry had a reputation for good practice in dismounted service, particularly in jungle terrain, and was known to be ‘the best shooting Irregular Cavalry Corps’ in India.² The regiment served in Upper Burma and saw a great deal of hard action under its commanding officer, Lt Col. C.J.O. Fitzgerald who was appointed a Companion of the Order of the Bath for his services.³ The regiment’s senior Indian officer, Risaldar Major Abdul Karim Khan IOM, was granted a supernumerary appointment to the 2nd Class Order of British India⁴, and Jemadar Abdul Azim Khan was admitted to the 3rd Class Indian Order of Merit⁵ – as also were four rank and file of the regiment. For its services in Burma, the regiment was granted the honour BURMA 1885-1887.

The Burmese were quite unused to be confronted by big horses, and so the sight of a bearded Indian cavalryman mounted on his charger produced an extraordinary effect on morale. The sowars were quickly nicknamed ‘devils on big horses’ by the locals.⁶

In 1890 the title of the regiment changed to 3rd Lancers, Hyderabad Contingent. The ethnic composition of the regiment consisted mostly of Hindustani Mussalmans, although a small numbers of other classes including Pathans, Rajputs and Sikhs were employed. This remained the situation until

¹ Photograph from the Sean Weir Collection

² Major R.G. Burton, *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, Calcutta 1905; p.250

³ *London Gazette*, 1 Jul 1887

⁴ *London Gazette*, 1 Jul 1887

⁵ General Order No. 371 of 4 May 1888

⁶ Captain Ashok Nath, *Izzat*, New Delhi 2008; p.368

1895 when the 'class squadron' system was introduced. In 1903 the regiment was disbanded as part of a major reorganization of the Indian Army, its three squadrons being distributed to the 20th and 29th Deccan Horse and the 30th Lancers (Gordon's Horse) respectively. At the time of its disbandment the regiment had one squadron each of Hindustani Mussalmans, Sikhs and Jats.

In contemporary regulations, the full dress uniform of all four Hyderabad Cavalry regiments is described as: *uniform rifle green; facings white, lace gold.*



HELMET BADGE IN SILVER ⁷

All but two of the officers in the group photograph of the regiment on page 26 (overleaf) are wearing the India General Service medal. Nine of them are also wearing the medal for the 2nd Afghanistan War. Seated at the centre, sporting both medals and the CB, is the commandant Lieut. Colonel Charles John Oswald Fitzgerald.⁸ In his and every other case, the IGS medal carries the single clasp 'BURMA 1885-7' authorised on 1st August 1887. None are yet fitted with a second clasp 'BURMA 1887-89' to which he and almost all ranks of the regiment were entitled. This clasp was authorised on 1st December 1889.

Apart from the commandant, the only British officer who can be identified with any certainty is the regiment's intrepid medical officer, Surgeon Major C.E. McVittie, seated third from right and wearing a helmet.

⁷ Nath, *Izzat*, p.369; illustration no. C1.58.02

⁸ Although Fitzgerald was in India during the 1857-59 period, he is not wearing a Mutiny medal. He was a newly arrived cornet, serving with the 42nd Madras NI. He did not serve in the field against the rebels and so did not qualify for the medal.



Like many medicos of that era, McVittie was a good swordsman and more than ready to down tools and get stuck in at the sharp end. 'In the early days he more than once, in the absence of any other British officer, led his men after the dacoits.'⁹

Three of the Indian officers are wearing the badge of the 3rd Class Indian Order of Merit, and this, along with their known ranks at the time, has allowed them to be identified. Standing at the centre is Risaldar Major Abdul Karim Khan, *Bahadur*, OBI, IOM. Third from left (facing the camera) is Ressaïdar Shaikh Mahomed Ali, *Bahadur*, OBI, IOM. Seated on the ground is Jemadar Abdul Azim Khan, IOM. The former two officers, the only two Mutiny veterans in the group, were admitted to the Order of Merit for gallantry during that campaign. They wear the medal with Central India clasp, together with the Afghanistan medal and the India General Service medal.

	<i>date of enlistment</i>	<i>jemadar</i>	<i>ressaïdar</i> ¹⁰	<i>risaldar major</i>	<i>retired</i>
Abdul Karim Khan	12/7/1857	1/4/1872	23/2/1876	1/6/1886	1890
Shaikh Mahomed Ali	1/2/1855	1/4/1871	1/4/1879	-	1888
Abdul Azim Khan	12/7/1865	1/6/1886	10/6/1891	-	1894

By February 1888 the regiment had returned to its depot at Bolarum in India, its place in Burma being taken by the 4th Cavalry. The photograph was taken by the renowned studio of Lala Deen Diyal & Sons.¹¹ It is possible to narrow down the date of the sitting to between May 1888 and April 1890. It could not predate 4th May 1888 when Jemadar Abdul Azim Khan was admitted to the Order of Merit for gallantry in Burma – the decoration of which he is wearing in the photo. Nor could it postdate Abdul Karim Khan's retirement in January 1890 or, at the limit, Fitzgerald's relinquishment of command on 3rd April 1890. Another useful pointer is the absence of a second 'BURMA 1887-89' clasp to the IGS medal which would probably have been added a few months after the December 1889 authorisation date.

⁹ Burton, p.272. Charles Edwin McVittie of the Madras Medical Establishment served with the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry in Afghanistan and Burma.

¹⁰ Apart from the 'risaldar major', there were no 'risaldars' in the cavalry regiments of the Hyderabad Contingent. This remained the case until 1903, when the cavalry and infantry regiments of the Contingent were brought into the line and regularized.

¹¹ Lala Deen worked at one time for the Viceroy who recommended him to the Nizam of Hyderabad for whom he became court photographer in 1885. He subsequently opened a studio close to the parade ground in the cantonment town of Secunderabad.

Award of the Military Cross to Indian recipients

Sushil Talwar

The infrequency with which the Military Cross was awarded to Indian officers, and the relative scarcity of the award in this context, is not often appreciated, especially when one considers that the Indian Army was the largest volunteer army in the history of human conflict, and fought two world wars in which approximately 160,000 Indians (including Gurkhas) were killed and many more wounded. Together with a number of other Asian nationalities, mostly Burmese, they won just about one thousand MCs.

During World War I, Indians and Gurkhas were awarded only one hundred and forty-four MCs (including one second award bar). This figure includes one award to the Nepalese Army, and one to the Hong Kong & Singapore Battalion of the Royal Artillery which was not an Indian Army unit but had mostly Indians in its ranks.

The Indian Medical Service, and Indian Subordinate Medical Dept¹, earned almost a third of all these awards. One recipient, decorated for gallantry in the horrific conditions of the Western Front, who only four days earlier had received his decoration at Buckingham Palace, died tragically at sea when his ship, the *SS Maloja*, sank after striking a 'friendly mine' on the 27th Feb. 1916.

During World War II, about eight hundred and fifty MCs were awarded to Indians, Gurkhas serving with the Indian Army, Burmese, Malays, Nepalese, and Siamese. Considering that Siam (Thailand), though occupied by the Japanese, was not officially at war, the fact that two of its citizens were awarded the MC for covert operations has been something of a revelation.

In some cases, the location of awards as notified in the Gazette appears to be substantially different from the place where the gallantry action took place. For example, the Gazette gives Egypt as the location of the award granted to Subadar Narsinghu of the 38th Dogras, whereas his MC was one of four awards (three MCs and one IDSM) for the action at Neby Balan on 21st September 1918 seven kilometres northeast of Nablus in Palestine during General Allenby's thrust through the Turkish defences prior to crossing into

¹ Later to become, more simply and less pejoratively, the Indian Medical Department

Syria and entering Damascus on 1st October.² The explanation for this apparent anomaly is that the campaign in Palestine was fought by the so-called Egyptian Expeditionary Force and so came within the Egyptian theatre of war.

The writer is currently working on a history of MC recipients, both Indian (Eurasians or Anglo-Indians included) and Gurkhas, who received their awards prior to the Independence of India in 1947. The ultimate objective is to publish this work, from which the following four extracts are taken. They exemplify the diversity of awards, the exceptional circumstances in which the brave men who earned them lived and occasionally died, and the great esteem in which they were held by their contemporaries. It is less evident that their services were recognised by generosity in the process of rehabilitation into civilian life.

2nd Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur

Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers, Native Indian Land Forces, attached 1st Battalion 39th Garhwal Rifles

MC: LG (*London Gazette*) 4 Nov. 1915, p.10893, for Service in the Field (North of La Bassée Canal, France), GI (*Gazette of India*) 1235 of 10 May '19

MBE (Military Division): LG 3 Jun. 1919, page 6963, for Mesopotamia

MiD (Mentioned in Despatches): LG 4 Nov. 1915, for France

MiD: LG 1 Jan. 1916, for France

Date of birth: 5 Jun. 1890

2/Lieutenant (Native Indian Land Army): 11 Nov. 1913

Lieutenant (Native Indian Land Army): 11 Feb. 1916

Lieutenant (Indian Army): 25 Aug. 1917 (LG 24 Aug. 1917, page 8777, appointed to Indian Army Unattached List)

Captain (Indian Army): 1 Jan. 1922

Major (Indian Army): 30 Mar. 1933

On pension establishment: 1 Apr 1933 (LG 19 May 1933, page 3363)

Major (Indian States Forces): 1 Apr. 1933 (upon retirement)

Lieutenant Colonel (Indian States Forces): 9 Apr. 1940

Army qualifications: Passed Course of Instruction in Pioneering at HQ Corps of Sappers & Miners; Hindi (Interpreter, 1st Class)

² *The Dogra Regiment, A Saga of Gallantry and Valour, A Historical Record 1858-1881*, by Colonel RD Palsokar MC, Dogra Regimental Centre, Poona 1982; p. 134

IAL (Indian Army List) Jan./1915: 2/Lieutenant (Native Indian Land Army), with Imperial Service Sappers & Miners, Tehri State

IAL Jul./1917: Lieutenant (Native Indian Land Army), MC, ADC, Commandant Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers & Miners, attached 1st Bn 39th Garhwal Rifles; Honorary ADC to HE the Viceroy and Governor General, 5 Apr. 1916 to 5 Apr. 1921 (*the customary five year period*)

IAL Jan./1918 and Jan./1919: 2/Lieutenant (Indian Army), 3rd Brahmans; Commandant, Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers; Honorary ADC to HE the Viceroy and Gov.-Gen (*it is unlikely he spent any time with 3rd Brahmans, instead remaining with Tehri Garhwal Sappers & Miners in the field*)

IAL Jan./1920: Lieutenant, MBE, MC, ADC, 2nd Bn 23rd Sikh Pioneers, since 7 Oct. 1919; Commandant, Tehri State Imperial Sappers (sic)

IAL Apr./1921: Captain, MBE, MC, ADC, Company Commander, 2nd Bn 23rd Sikh Pioneers (*i.e. no longer att'd to Tehri Garhwal Sappers & Miners*)

IAL Oct./1926: Captain, MBE, MC, Company Officer, 1st Bn 3rd Bn Sikh Pioneers, since 1 Jan. 1922; detached duty as Staff Officer, 12th Bn Bombay Pnrs ITF, since 21 Dec. 1925 (*attachment ceased some time before Jan. '29*)

IAL Apr./1931: Captain, 2nd Bn Madras Pioneers, since 1 Apr. 1929; with the Corps HQ from 20 Feb. 1930

Retired on 30 Mar. 1933 (*following the disbandment of the Corps of Madras Pioneers on 10 Feb. 1933*)

IAL Apr./1933 Supplement (War Services): The War of 1914-21; Egypt, 22 Feb. to 2 Mar. 1915; France and Belgium, 2 Mar. to 10 Nov. 1915; Mesopotamia, 8 Sept. 1917 to 31 Oct. 1918; Afghanistan North West Frontier of India, 1919; Waziristan, 1921-24

Indian States Forces Army List Jan./1938: Major Rana Jodha Jung Bahadur, MBE, MC, Commandant of the Tripura State Forces.

From the November 1933 edition onwards, though subsequently re-employed and continuing in service with the Indian States Forces, his service details are not recorded in the Indian Army List.

Military Cross - citation

Second Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur, Indian Native Land Forces (attached 39th Garhwal Rifles). During a feint, attack made by the Indian Corps to the north of La Bassée Canal on October 13th, 1915, this officer commanded a Double Company with great ability and conspicuous gallantry in the face of a fierce fire from rifles, machine guns, grenades, and bombs, and was severely wounded in the neck. On the previous evening this very gallant officer was wounded in the arm by a rifle bullet, but not withstanding his injury, he returned

to the firing line to see his Company through the engagement, which was due to commence the next day, and for which he had made all the preparations. The bravery of 2/Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur was previously observed on September 25th last, when he led his Company right up to the German wire under heavy rifle and machine gun fire.

The MC Card states that a medal sent to the India Office on 6 Dec. 1920 was returned on 5 Aug. 1921 on the grounds that the recipient had received his medal at the hands of H.M. Queen Mary at the Hospital in London on 12 Nov. 1915. The presentation gives his unit as 'Indian Native Land Forces, att'd 39th Garhwal Rifles, Indian Army'. The MC index omits this officer's award. The MBE Gazette gives his name as Rana Jodha Jung. The roll of the Jubilee 1935 medal gives the recipient's details as 'Major, MBE, MC, Mysore (sic) State Forces' (*the unit history erroneously records that he received a bar to the MC*).

Extract from: *A Short History of the Services Rendered by the Imperial Service Troops During the Great War, 1914-18*; Maj. Gen. Sir Harry Watson, Tehri-Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers & Miners; pp.63-66

On the outbreak of the War, H.H. the Raja of Tehri-Garhwal readily consented to send reinforcements from his Company of Sappers & Miners to the 39th Garhwal Rifles which battalion, soon after its arrival in France, suffered serious casualties. Hence early in December 1914 a detachment of 108 of all ranks under the command of Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jung (Commanding the Tehri-Garhwal Sappers) left Tehri and eventually joined the 39th Garhwalis in France on 21st March 1915. The Battalion was then resting after the Battle of Neuve-Chapelle. The Tehri Detachment was formed into a separate platoon under Lieut. Rogers with Lieut. Rana Jodha Jung as Company Officer.

The Platoon took part in the second battle of Festubert (May 5th - 15th) in the neighbourhood of Richebourg L'Avoue, and gave a good account of themselves. Later on, as casualties occurred and further reinforcements from Tehri were unavailable, the Tehri men were drafted into 'C' Company in which Company they remained for the rest of their time in France. They took part in the Battle of Loos (September 25th) when the Indian Corps attacked north of La Bassée Canal and opposite Fauquissart - and, in October, took part in the two demonstration attacks at Givenchy, one by night and one by day. On this occasion Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jung won the Military Cross for gallantry in action, but was severely wounded and had to be invalided

On September 15th [1917 in Mesopotamia] the Baghdad Bridge was handed over to the Inland Water Transport and the company joined the 17th Division. Lieutenant Wardle, IARO, joined on September 27th as Special Officer. On arrival of Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jung (October 16th) with a large draft, the company was brought up to the same strength as an Indian Army Sapper &

Miner Company, and its equipment accordingly increased. Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jung, MC, took over command and towards the end of November, the company moved out to prepare positions for a scheme of Divisional training between Baghdad and Beled. In December, a march from Baghdad to Istabulat gave the company an experience of severe cold and frost and after working on roads and water supply, it returned to Abdul Quadir, returning again in March 1918 to Istabulat for work with the 31st Brigade.

A scion of the Nepalese royal family, Rana Jodha Jang was born on 5 Jan. 1890. As a young soldier in the Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers, he attended the Coronation Durbar in Delhi in 1911. He was selected for commissioning into the Indian Land Forces and from 1 Aug. to 30 Sept. 1913 was attached to the 1st Bn 3rd Gurkha Rifles for training. He was commissioned 2/Lieutenant in the Indian Land Forces on 11 Nov. 1913 and sent to the 1st KGO Sappers & Miners for further training from 15 Oct. 1913 to 14 Feb. 1914. He then returned to the Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers as a Company Commander. On 6 Dec. 1914, soon after the outbreak of WWI, a Company of the Tehri Garhwal Sappers commanded by Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur proceeded to Lansdowne to join the 39th Garhwal Rifles as a reinforcement draft. It was forwarded via Egypt to France and on 2 Mar. 1915 it joined the 1st Bn Garhwal Rifles on the Western Front where it was to see a good deal of action in front line trenches.

When the Garhwal Rifles embarked for Egypt in November 1915, the Tehri Garhwal IS Sappers accompanied it, although Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur remained behind to receive his MC at Buckingham Palace. However, it was unlikely that the delay in returning to his Company had anything to do with the investment parade. He had been twice wounded during the fighting in France and was probably convalescing and unfit for active service. In the meantime, soon after reaching Egypt his Company was removed from the Garhwal Rifles and forwarded to Mesopotamia where it resumed its true role as a Sapper unit. Lieut. Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur rejoined as Coy Commander on 8 Sept. 1917, serving in this theatre until 31 Oct. 1918 and thereafter on the N.W. Frontier (Afghanistan) from May to Oct. 1919. He later served with the Sikh Pioneers in Waziristan from 30 Jan. to 31 Dec. 1923 and 23 Jan. to 6 Apr. 1925.

When Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur transferred to the Indian Army establishment with a regular commission on 25 Aug. 1917, he was placed on the strength of the 3rd Brahmans, this being an administrative expediency. In reality, he never served with this Regiment. Furthermore, between 1916 and 1921, he was an Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Viceroy and Governor General and it is not

clear the extent to which this appointment might have interrupted his regular duties. Irrespective of his status as a regular officer of the Indian Army, he appears to have remained the officiating commandant of the Tehri Garhwal Imperial Service Sappers until at least 7 Oct. 1920 when he joined the 2nd Bn 23rd Sikh Pioneers. On 1 Jan. 1922, he transferred onto the strength of the 1st Bn 3rd Sikh Pioneers (late 1st Bn 23rd Sikh Pioneers). On 21 Dec. 1925, he was attached to the 12th Bn 2nd Bombay Pioneers ITF (Indian Territorial Force), as a Staff Officer and Company Commander. He returned to the regular service on 1 Apr. 1929, being posted to the 2nd Bn 1st Madras Pioneers upon the reorganisation of the Pioneer battalions, and on 20 Feb. 1930, he joined the Corps HQ of the Madras Sappers.

Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur retired with a step in rank to Major on 30 Mar. 1933, and three and a half years later, on 11 Nov. 1936 he was re-employed by the Indian States Forces establishment as Major (IA retired). In the Jan./1938 ISF Army List, he is shown as Major Rana Jodha Jung Bahadur, MBE, MC, Commandant of the Tripura State Forces. He was advanced to Lieutenant Colonel ISF on 9 Apr. 1940 and in the Jan. 1943 ISF Army List he is recorded as 'Chief Commandant' of Tripura State Forces.

Temporary Captain Dr. Atul Krishna Kar
Indian Medical Service, attached 28th Punjabis

MC: LG 28 Sept. 1921, page 7638, for 'Waziristan/India'

MC Citation: LG 28 Sept. 1921, page 7638

MiD: LG 27 Sept. 1921, for 'Waziristan/India'

Temporary Lieutenant: 21 Jun. 1918

Temporary Captain: 19 Jun. 1919

IAL Jan./1919: posted at Erinpura, no other details given

IAL Jul./1922: Indian Station Hospital, Mhow, on Temporary Duty at Jubbulpore from 8 Feb. 1922

IAL Jan./1924 Supplement (War Services): Waziristan, 1921. Despatches, London Gazette 27 Sept. 1921. MC.

IAL Oct./1926: Officer Commanding, Indian Military Hospital, Idak

IAL Jul./1928: Not listed

Military Cross - citation

Capt. Atul Krishna Kar, I.M.S., attd. 28th Punj. I.A. On the 10th April, 1921, during the action below Haidari Kach, this officer was sent out from camp to bring in wounded. All ranks of the regiment testify to his devotion and personal disregard to danger while binding up wounded and despatching them to camp under heavy fire. Owing to his coolness and splendid organisation, the wounded were systematically evacuated in very difficult circumstances.

The Military Cross was forwarded to India Office on 12 Jan. 1922. The recipient is not listed in the *Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930*, by D.G. Crawford.

Extract from: *Maj. Gen. A.A. Rudra, His Service in Three Armies And Two World Wars*, Maj. Gen DK Palit, pp.100-103: Waziristan April 1921

Frantically, I ran hither and thither to see if I could find Company HQ or the Medical Aid Post, but without success. Suddenly, near a sandbank I came upon a British Warrant Officer crawling out of a sort of a cave in the sandbank (British senior NCOs or WOs were often attached to Indian units). He was unhurt and seemed quite in control of himself. As he described it to me later, Penny³, untutored in Frontier warfare, had failed to take all normal precautions before starting on the march. He had taken the column out of Haider Kach [sic] before piquets had been established on the flanking heights. Within less than a mile down the gorge, the whole company had come under murderous fire from heights on both sides. As I learned later, Penny himself was killed - and all the VCOs and most of the senior NCOs were out of action. The total number killed was seventy eight (if I recall correctly). Not more than a handful of men escaped unscratched - and they were nowhere in sight at the moment.

I must now recount the inspiring saga of Sepoy Ishar Singh, the Lewis Gun Section No.1, as told to me by the British Warrant Officer and later confirmed by others. When the firing started, the Lewis Gun section went into action in the middle of the riverbed, behind a small sand-bank. It had barrel-elevation difficulty firing up at the tribesmen on the heights above. Within a minute or two the section commander, and then the others in the section, were dead. Ishar Singh, manning the gun, was himself hit in the shoulder but continued to fire. When the enemy came down from the ridges and rushed at the survivors for the *coup de grace*, a tribesman snatched the Lewis Gun from Ishar and began to run away. Ishar staggered to his feet, pulled out one of the two grenades he carried, and flung it at the retreating tribesman. He managed to retrieve his gun, which he then began firing at fleeting targets around him.

³ Lieut. Nicholas Arthur Penney [sic], a Company Officer of the 1st Bn 25th Punjabis, was temporarily attached to the 28th Punjabis.

When the tribesman had vanished (as quickly as they had descended), Ishar crawled towards the narrow watercourse in the middle of the valley. There he discovered the Medical Aid Post set up by the RMO Captain Kar, behind a rocky outcrop. There were three or four wounded lying on the sand whom the RMO was attending to, some of them with serious injuries. The doctor looked up and came to Ishar but the latter said that he was not badly hit and could wait for the more seriously hurt to be treated first. At that point, the doctor, while dressing a wound, happened to reach beyond the cover of the rocks and was instantly sniped at. Ishar went up to the edge of the cover and said; 'I will cover you, Sahib, even shield you with my body. You continue with your work. I will take care of the enemy.'

It was fortunate that the British WO had witnessed this young soldier's actions. Together with his and Captain Kar's supporting evidence, I was able to write up a citation to Regimental HQ for the award of the Victoria Cross to Ishar. I also reported on the cool and collected manner in which Kar had looked after the wounded throughout the battle, as told me by the WO. Ishar Singh was eventually awarded the VC⁴ and Kar got the Military Cross. Ishar Singh was the first of the Sikhs of my company to win one of these coveted awards. Thereafter three more were won at the battles of Kohima and Imphal in the Second World War - two posthumously. (At the time of writing this, only Gian Singh still lives. Four VCs from one company must surely be a record!)

I digress here for a page or so to narrate the amusing story of Captain Kar's posting to our Regiment (4 Bn 15th Punjab). Kar was a Bengali officer, a war-commissioned IMS who had previously been serving as the RMO with the 55th Frontier Force Rifles (Coke's Rifles) near Jandola. A few weeks previously, during a small battle at the mouth of the Shahur Tangi, Kar had set up his Regimental Aid Post (RAP) in a depression in a small hollow in the riverbed. Sometime later, an alarm was sounded when there were fears of an imminent attack by the tribesmen. Coke's Rifles appear to have lost their cool and there was a rush towards Jandola. Very soon, the CO of the Regiment, Colonel Hurdon⁵, was seen running past. When he caught sight of the RMO in his RAP, he shouted at Kar: 'Get out of there and pull back to camp.' 'My RAP is set up here, Sir. I can't leave it,' Kar replied. The CO shouted over his shoulder: 'You're a bloody fool to stay here. Get out.'

Kar was a sensitive Bengali, unused to the ways of the British, and resented the abusive advice he had received. He felt he had lost face in front of his medical orderlies and other jawans. So he packed up his RAP and sent it back to camp, while he himself went off to seek redress of his grievance. Not very far away was the Brigade HQ, where the GOC General Skeen had come visiting that day. Kar went straight to Brigade HQ and walked up to the General, who

⁴ Victoria Cross, *London Gazette*, 25 Nov. 1921

⁵ Brevet-Colonel Hugh Edward Herdon [sic], CIE, 1st Bn 55th Coke's Rifles (Frontier Force), soon to be Offg. Brigade Commander, 11th Infantry Bde.

was busy scanning the countryside through his field glasses. Kar waited a minute or two, then impatiently began to blurt out his complaint in broken, Bengali-accented English.

No reaction. The GOC was too engrossed watching for signs of the enemy. Kar repeated his complaint, shouting a little louder this time. The General, at last aware of the intrusion, looked around, frowning, at Kar. 'What the hell do you want?' Kar repeated his complaint about having been called a 'Bloody Fool' - again somewhat incoherently. The General had had enough of him. Turning to a staff officer he said, 'Take this officer away from here and place him under arrest!' 'No Sir! No Sir! You no bloody fool, me bloody fool', Kar began to explain while he was led out of the Presence.

An informal enquiry was held about Kar's behaviour, at the findings of which the General had a good laugh and ordered Hurdon to swap RMOs with the 28th Punjabis (4 Bn 15th Punjab Regiment). And that was how Kar came to our regiment and to his well deserved Military Cross.'

1st Class Assistant Surgeon William John Samuel Maine
Indian Subordinate Medical Department

MC: LG 14 Jan. 1916, page 590, for Service in the Field (France)

Date of birth: 12 Dec. 1864

Enrolled: 14 Sep. 1887

Establishment: Bombay

Sub-Assistant Apothecary (ranking as Sub-Conductor): 14 Sep. 1887

3rd Class Assistant Surgeon (ranking as Sub-Conductor): 14 Sep. 1892

2nd Class Assistant Surgeon (ranking as Conductor): 14 Sep. 1899

1st Class Assistant Surgeon (ranking as Conductor): 15 Sep. 1906

Army qualifications: Baluchi (Lower standard); Hindustani (Lower standard)

IAL Apr./1892: Sub-Assistant Apothecary; Ahmednagar

IAL Jan./1898: 3rd Class Assistant Surgeon; Ahmednagar

IAL Apr./1900: 3rd Class Assistant Surgeon; No. 24 British Field Hospital

IAL Oct./1902: 2nd Class Assistant Surgeon; Quetta

IAL Jul./1904: 2nd Class Assistant Surgeon; Aden

IAL Oct./1907: 1st Class Assistant Surgeon; Section Hospital, Ahmednagar

IAL Jul./1908: 1st Class Assistant Surgeon; Cannanore

IAL Jan./1911: 1st Class Assistant Surgeon; Poonamallee (Madras)

IAL Jan./1913: 1st Class Assistant Surgeon; Belgaum

IAL Jan./1915: 1st Class Assistant Surgeon; Colaba (Bombay)

The MC citation is not available. The decoration was presented to Asst Surgeon Maine by HM King George V at Buckingham Palace on 23 Feb. 1916.

William John Samuel Maine, ISMD, was a victim of the sinking of the *SS Maloja* off the Kent coast on 27 Feb. 1916; he was 51 years old. He was buried with full military honours at the St. Mary's New Cemetery, Dover (UK) and is commemorated at Grave Reference LM-10. In the Commonwealth War Graves Commission records he is listed as 'Surgeon W.J.C. (sic) Maine', but the church records are correct, 'Assistant Surgeon William John Samuel Maine, Indian Army, aged 51'. In the light of his rank and progress in the Indian Subordinate Medical Dept, he was almost certainly a Eurasian (Anglo-Indian).

In 1911 Harland & Wolff (Belfast) built the *SS Maloja* (12,431 tons) for the Peninsula & Oriental Steam Navigation Co. The largest ship in the P&O fleet, she left London for Bombay on 26 Feb. 1916 captained by Cmdr C.E. Irving RNR with 456 persons including 121 passengers. On the 27th, she struck a British mine two miles south-west of Dover pier. 155 persons were lost. The Canadian liner *Empress of Fort William* tried to assist but was herself mined.

The following details were obtained from the website 'www.ssmaloja.co.uk' which provides a comprehensive and detailed account of events surrounding the sinking of the *SS Maloja*, drawing on contemporary accounts.

The inquest into the sinking of the *SS Maloja* took place at the Town Hall in Dover before the Borough Coroner, Mr S. Payn. It dealt with the largest number of deaths that Mr Payn, during his experience of over thirty years, had ever inquired into at any one time. During the course of the procedure Mrs Asquith, the wife of the Prime Minister, was present for about half an hour. Mr Payn described it as 'an inquest on George Saunders and fifty-four others'. The foreman of the jury was a Mr Hookway, and the ordinary members were: Messrs. E. Wood, H. Crundell, W. Langley, A. Hughes, S. Leigh, W. Pepper, H. Hentall, G. Spain, J. Alexander, A. King, W. Law, J. Hogben, G. Thomas and J. Lukey. The Coroner then addressed the Court as follows:

I am sorry to have to call you all together at this early hour, but this case necessitates it. It is a very sad occurrence and one of the worst we have had happen here since the war. It appears this ship belonging to the P&O line the *Maloja* had just started on its outward voyage and passed here last Sunday. When about a mile and a half from the port the vessel was suddenly blown up and sank in about twenty minutes and the crew and passengers were practicably

cast into the sea. I understand that 155 out of the crew and passengers were lost and the others were saved by the timely help of boats and other craft that put off to their help. Most of the bodies were landed in the town, but some of them drifted to various places, and all were brought in here so that one inquiry only would be necessary as to their deaths. I shall have to detain you a little while in trying to get the names and description of the various bodies. I understand that only fifteen out of the fifty-five have as yet been identified. There are several Lascars and I do not suppose we shall ascertain the correct name of these.

With regard to the passengers there is time, and before they are buried I expect that proper names will be given to them and that they will be properly registered in the ordinary way. The bodies are in the Market Hall – the most convenient place, and I will ask you to visit them and take what evidence we can. I am informed by Captain Irvine of the vessel, [that he] has been ordered to be present in London this afternoon so that he could not be here; but the Chief Officer of the vessel and some others were present and they can give some account of what happened. The evidence must necessarily be short but a good deal of time will be taken up in getting the bodies properly identified. Before concluding, I wish to express my profound sympathy with the relatives of the unfortunate people who have lost their lives.

The bodies which were recovered from sea were kept at the Naval Pier and received at the Market Mortuary in the afternoon of Sunday 27th February. Assistant Surgeon W.J.S. Maine's body had been picked up at sea immediately after the occurrence. Before being identified, his corpse was described as: 'No.16: dressed in military uniform with several medals including the MC.'

Witness statement of Captain [sic] Charles Edward Irving, RNR

I was the Captain of the *SS Maloja*. She belonged to the P&O Company. They [presumably the escorts or the leading ships of the convoy] left Gravesend at three o'clock on Saturday. We received our instructions, and followed them exactly. We passed Dover at 10.15. About ten minutes later, when to the west of Dover, there was a tremendous explosion in the aft end of the ship. I was looking ahead and the Chief Officer happened to be looking aft and he said, 'A mine!' I looked aft and saw boats and davits going up in the air. The poop was blown up. I ordered the engines to be stopped, the hands piped to stations and I then ordered the engines to be reversed to stop the 'way' of the ship to enable the boats to be lowered. Everybody in the ship was at their stations within one minute of the signal being sounded. I may tell you before the explosion at six o'clock in the morning all the boats were put out and made ready for immediate use with provisions. There were eighteen boats on the davit. There were eighteen boats on the boat-decks with all their lashings taken off, and all ready to float in the event of the ship being sunk. Before the ship arrived in the Downs, there was ample boat accommodation for some 1,200 people. The total

numbers of lives on board were 441 as near as I could estimate. In addition to having the boats ready, I had all the main scuttles closed with their dead lights (a steel plate) and all water tight doors closed on the main deck. In fact, every possible precaution was taken after receiving the Admiralty instructions to enter the channel.

After the people went to their stations, the ship started to list slightly. At first all the passengers were in the boats and the men ready to lower away immediately the ship stopped. I had put the helm hard-a-port to head inshore. When I considered that the ship was losing headway, I rang the telegraph to stop the engines, and was standing by to give the order to lower away the boats but the ship, to my dismay, only stopped what appears to be a few seconds and then rapidly began to pick up sternway. I at once went round to the telegraph and rang it to stop but the dial indicator in the engine room showed the ship going full speed astern. I saw that the crew were anxious to lower away the boats, and I gave the order on the port side not to lower the boats as the ship had too much sternway on her. At this time, the ship was listing heavily. I went to the engine room telephone. I could get no reply. I then dispatched three members of the crew to go as quickly as possible to the engine room to tell them to stop engines, at the same time telling the Chief Officer that I could not get the engines to stop. He went with all haste to the engine room to endeavour to have this carried out, but came back and reported to me that the engine room was filling with water. I then saw that it was more or less a forlorn hope of getting the boats away as the ship has eight or nine knots of sternway on her.

Whilst this was going on the ship was listing about 60 to 70 degrees. I then told the officers to do the best to get the boats away and man the rafts, which they were already doing. I should like to add that before, overnight, all the passengers were practiced by myself and staff in the use of lifebelts. Every passenger in the ship was told wherever they went in the ship – their meals, their cabin or on deck – that they were to carry a lifebelt with them, however inconvenient it was and that, at the time of the disaster, I think I'm right in saying that everyone on the ship had a lifebelt on. I attribute to these precautions the fact of so many lives being saved under the most awkward conditions.

At this stage, it was a case of everyone saving himself. Everybody appeared to me to be assisting each other, and from the time that the explosion took place till I landed at Dover I never heard a shriek from children or women, firemen or Lascars or anybody. The officers got some of the boats away from the starboard side but I did not see this done owing to the list of the ship, as I was on the port side of the bridge. But, with the ship going astern, it was a most marvellous thing they got boats away at all. By this time, the ship was representing the picture that the 'Daily Mail' produced of the sinking of the *Blucher*. Her masts were horizontal with the water, and the crow's-nest on the foremast was touching the water. I saw those people who were not in boats or rafts jump into the water. I walked down the port side of the ship and also got into the water, there being nothing more to be done. The vessel sank within five or six minutes

after that. I was told the vessel was afloat for twenty-five minutes. I cannot vouch for the time, as I did not see the clock. Everything possible was done to save life; every man was well drilled and at his post within one minute and everyone was calm. I think a great number of the lives of the natives were lost in the explosion itself as a result of their quarters being aft. There were lascars in the engine rooms and deck departments and about 65 native pursers.

Subsequent recollections of Ralph Harris, a naval officer from the 'SS Maloja'

So far, I can recall after all these years, the *SS Maloja*, to which I had just been appointed as a 'super' second officer, left Tilbury some time after noon on Saturday, 26 Feb. 1916, and anchored at the mouth of the Thames for the night. At that time, ships were not permitted to pass through the Straits of Dover after dark. While at anchor the commander Captain C.E. Irving RNR, held 'fire and boat stations', directed passengers to their boats, and instructed them in the donning of lifebelts. Besides these elementary precautions, all boats were lowered to the hurricane deck rail until such time as we should reach Port Said, which at the time was considered outside the danger area. As it turned out these precautions were invaluable.

About 8 a.m., we received permission to proceed and accordingly weighed anchor. A recent south westerly gale had left something of a sea running in which the minesweepers had been out all night and had not really completed the job. The authorities however were impatient to pass shipping through and gave us orders to proceed. As we passed Dover, the sweepers were still at work.

Having had breakfast, I returned to my cabin and began a letter to my father, which in the normal course would have gone off with the pilot. Suddenly there was a loud explosion, which came from aft and gave me the impression that a bomb from an aircraft had exploded on board. From the officers' deck, outside my cabin I glanced along the starboard side of the boat deck and upwards at masts and funnels to give me an indication of whether we or some other vessel had been damaged. All top hamper was intact. We had in fact been mined. At the time, we were between Dover and Folkestone.

As I stood there, I heard a 'ripple' in the ships plating approaching from aft. It moved towards the point where I was standing on the officer's deck and, increasing in intensity passed under my feet, shaking the deck on which I stood and moving forward to be lost in the fore part of the ship. I still hesitated – until the ship began to list, quite unmistakably, over to starboard, whereupon I immediately made for my boat (No.3, the second large boat from forward, not counting a small 'accident' boat). Realising that I had not got my lifebelt I hurried back for it, but by the time I reached the cabin I could hardly enter owing to the severe list. However, I managed it and was compelled to force my way past other members of the crew on duty nearby who were also making for their lifebelts stored on the officer's deck. When I regained my boat, passengers

and crew were already climbing into it, and in a very short time we had the boat holding the maximum number of people for safety while still in the falls.

As I was about to cast off the lashings to allow the boat to swing out, the other 'super' second officer made a jump for it and managed to scramble into the forward end. His boat was No.4 on the port side and out of action due to the heavy list to starboard. I felt I had someone I could trust and asked him to unhook the forward fall as soon as I touched the water. Besides there being something of a sea running, the vessel was moving astern at about 4 knots, because Captain Irving had put the engines to 'full astern' immediately after the explosion. When he had tried to stop the engines, he had been unable to obtain a reply on the telegraph and a quartermaster had been sent to the engine room but it was found to be half-full of water.

In the boat, we were fortunate to clear both our hooks simultaneously, not having automatic release gear, as soon as we touched the water the first time before the swell passed aft. Directly I had time to look round about me I found we had a mixed company of women, children, passengers and crew – these mostly Lascars and Pathans (firemen). Directly we touched the water and were free of the ship, the towering hull surged aft so that the bows were above us with the keel already showing as far aft as the bridge deck; she was almost on her side. The first task was to get away from the ship by means of oars and rudder and pull off before she shed some of her top hamper.

While our boats was still in the falls we could hear the roar and rattle of all that was moveable or capable of breaking away inside the ship as it slid starboard. The boat abaft us (No.5) had carried away at the forward fall, throwing everyone into the sea. A few occupants had hung on to the after fall until they had become immersed and it was our job to pick them up. In order to make room for them we had to put our equipment over the side except for a few oars. The crew, both Lascar and Pathan, put these to excellent use in carrying out my order to keep the boat's head to the south westerly swell running up Channel. They must have grown heartily fed up with what appeared to be a succession of repeated contradictory orders. 'Tanno jumma, las dawa!' (pull starboard, back port!), and within seconds the reverse, and so on until at length we were picked up by a minesweeper.

But before this, we took the survivors off another sinking boat, which caused our gunwale to float only an inch above the surface. It was then more essential than ever to keep the boat's head to the swell. Every conceivable space was occupied and it was a miracle that the Lascars and Pathans were able to make any effort at all to carry out my wishes. Some of those we rescued from the other boat had sore heads and backs as a result of the efforts made by others to pull.

It was a wonderful effort, which served to keep us afloat. Without it, the boat would have foundered and many would surely have been lost. The irony of the whole episode was that the ship had been lost through striking one of our own mines, which had been seen from the bridge and an effort made to avoid it. Tragically, however, it was drawn in by our starboard propeller. The officer in

charge of minesweepers had warned the authorities that the Channel was not yet safe but he was overruled. A vessel astern of us, the *Empress of Fort William* of Montreal, bound from South Shields to Dunkirk with coal, stopped to put out boats for our rescue. She too however was caught by a mine and sank 30 minutes later. In her case, all hands were saved but I understand she already had her boats in the water and there were no passengers on board.

With many other survivors from both ships, we reached the Lord Warden Hotel in Dover about 12.30 p.m. Here several were accommodated for the night and at other hotels in Dover, and also aboard the hospital ship *St. David* lying in the harbour. At about 5 p.m. Captain Irving asked if any officer wished to go to London that night as they were sending our native crew survivors up to the Asiatic Seamen's Home and they required someone to take charge of them as far as Victoria, the dock staff to take them on from there.

Living in Wimbledon at that time, I was only too pleased to have the opportunity of getting home. We travelled up by the ordinary night train which owing to war was not heated. Accordingly, we were given blankets. I reached home at 11.30 p.m. much to the surprise of my family who had been unable to understand my telegram from Dover: 'All well in Dover'. As I had joined the ship only 24 hours before she sailed I had not had the time to give my discharge book to the purser. I had this with me together with my certificate and other important papers. These I still have intact, except the certificate, for I afterwards obtained my Masters. The certificate was a mate's, which I had gained three day's previously. I have also kept the rough piece of paper on which I made a note of how many native crew were travelling up to Victoria with me that night; 65 Lascars, 3 firemen, 48 Portuguese (Goanese) catering staff - 116 in all. I suppose the balance of the native crew were accommodated in Dover for the night for there must have been many more fireman saved.

Reportage in the 3rd March 1916 edition of the local 'Dover Express'

On Sunday morning at 10.30, the inhabitants of Dover heard a loud report, like that of a heavy gun. Those who were in view of the sea saw a large P&O liner just to the west of Dover and a column of water and debris blow up into the air from her stern. The Dover Harbour tugs *Lady Brassey* and *Lady Crundall* at once steamed to the vessel's assistance followed by many trawlers, dredgers etc. The vessel, which was the largest boat of the P&O line, the *SS Maloja*, was at the time proceeding at full speed and directly the explosion occurred the engines were stopped and then put astern to stop the 'way' of the vessel, so that the boats could be lowered. Unfortunately the damage done by the explosion to the starboard quarter resulted in the engine room being flooded and before the engines could be stopped from going astern the engine room filled with water, and the vessel gathered stern 'away'.

This was a most unfortunate occurrence as, whilst the vessel was moving astern, the boats could not be lowered and the rescue work was attended with

great difficulty, it being impossible to go alongside to take people off. The vessel continued to go down by the stern and to list to the starboard until it lay on its side then slowly sank. Three or four of the boats got away, but the majority of those saved jumped overboard and were rescued from the water. The end of the vessel was watched with intense anxiety by the assembling crowds on shore. Twenty-four minutes from the explosion, the vessel sank.

The work of rescue proceeded for some time, and shortly before 11.30, the boats that had been so busy saving life began to return to the harbour. Many were taken out of the water nearly dead and these hurried on to the hospital ships *Dieppe* which took over a hundred and the *St. David* where everything was done to restore life and assist those suffering immersion. For some time it could not be ascertained if the loss of life had been considerable, but as the dead began to be brought ashore it seemed that there had been a terrible calamity. Those who were alive were kept in the hospital ships for some time and eventually were conveyed to the Lord Warden Hotel by Naval ambulances. The rescued were wearing all descriptions of clothing supplied by the hospital authorities in place of their own wet garments. The native crew were sent to the Sailors' Home.

Chief Constable Fox, to whom the task of taking charge of the dead was allotted, decided to use the Market Hall as a temporary mortuary, there being no other place available. To this building the dead were taken during Sunday afternoon, there being no less than forty-five housed there before the evening. They comprised men, women, and children. Amongst the men were several passengers including an officer in military uniform wearing the Military Cross [W.J.S. Maine] and many Lascar members of the crew. There were little children and a baby, whilst the women included in addition to passengers, two of the stewardesses and a native women. The bodies were all laid on straw in two long rows on the side of the Market Hall beneath the Museum, whilst as the bodies continued to increase, on Monday a third row was commenced.

The disaster was followed by a second one. Directly behind the *SS Maloja* was the steamer *Empress of Fort William* which at once steamed to the *Maloja's* assistance and was itself blown up. Fortunately, the crew of this vessel were getting the boats ready at the time and were able to save themselves without loss, their vessel sinking half an hour later.

The funeral ceremonies and interments of the victims of the sinking of the 'SS Maloja', and the tributes of the Dover people

There were several floral tributes amongst which were the following: one large wreath bearing the inscription 'From Geo. Hammond and Co. agents for the P&O Steam Navigation Company at Dover as a mark of sympathy to the relatives and friends of the victims of the unfortunate loss of the *SS Maloja*'; another was 'From two Dover boys, with deepest sympathy'; and another 'With the heartfelt sympathy of a little Dover girl'.

The remains of Assistant Surgeon W.M.J. [sic] Maine, I.A., were interred with military honours on Saturday afternoon at St. Mary's Cemetery in one of the graves set apart for the remainder of the victims to be interred on the following Monday. The Rev. S. Richards officiated. The band of the Royal Fusiliers attended. NCO's of the RAMC acted as bearers and at the conclusion of the service three volleys were fired over the grave by men of the Royal Fusiliers and the ceremony was concluded with the 'Last Post'.

The funeral of twenty of the Lascar crew of the *SS Maloja* and of a native nurse took place on Friday afternoon in the nonconformist portion of St. Mary's Cemetery. The transference of the remains from the Market Hall to the Cemetery was undertaken by the Military Authorities with fitting ceremonial. The coffins, wrapped in Union Jacks, were placed in transport wagons supplied by the regiments stationed at Dover, each followed by representatives of the forces who acted as bearers. These included contingents from the Royal Navy, the Canadian RGA, and the East Surrey Regiment, whilst a contingent of the Dover Anti-Aircraft Corps followed. The Market Place was kept clear by the police and military police while the procession was being marshalled, large crowds standing on the footway. The funeral procession headed by the band of the East Surrey Regiment proceeded via Castle Street, Maison Dieu Road, Park Avenue, Salisbury Road, and Frith Road to St. Mary's Cemetery, the route being lined with crowds. The graves were dug in the nonconformist portion of the Cemetery, close to Connaught Park.

One large grave held eighteen of the Indians, who were of the Mohammedans religion, whilst two Lascars and a nurse who were Catholics were buried close by in separate graves. Men of the RGA had dug the graves, there not being sufficient civilian labour otherwise. The eighteen Mohammedans were buried with the rites of that religion, and earlier in the morning, ceremonies took place in the Market. In the case of the three Catholics, the Rev. Father Grady officiated. Previous to the arrival of the coffins four Indians arrived, and one who carried a large copy of the Koran sat on the chalk and during the burial of the men read continually in a half chant. The interment of the eighteen Mohammedans took place as the coffins arrived, there being no pause as in the case of the English interments, and in all cases the head of the coffin was placed towards the east. It took just half an hour to place the bodies in the graves, the soldier bearers when they had placed the coffins in the graves forming up at 'Attention' facing the graves. There were three wreaths: 'With deepest sympathy from the Mayor and Mayoress'; 'In memoriam from Mrs H Douglas, 20 Leyburne Road Dover'; 'With deepest sympathy, from Major General and Mrs Campbell Hardy and the Misses Hardy'. For the Lascars, the funeral arrangements were carried out by Mr J Parsons of Beaconsfield Road, Dover

[Editor's note: Would a UK-based IMHS member be willing to provide photographs of the memorials to Surgeon Maine and the Indian lascars and firemen – assuming they still exist?]

Temp. Captain Noel James Millington Pettengell (a.k.a. Ginger Pettengell)
1st Battalion, 5th Mahratta Light Infantry

MC: LG 4 May 1944, page 44/2044, for Italy

Bar to MC: LG 12 Apr. 1945, p. 45/1944, for Italy (rank Temp. Major)

Date of birth: 5 Sept. 1918

Commissioned: 4 Aug. 1941

Service nbr.: IEC-778

War Substantive Lieutenant: 5 May 1942

Temporary Captain: 5 May 1942 (same date as above)

Acting Major: No date given

IAL Apr./1945: 2/Lieutenant, MC, 5th Mahratta Light Infantry

Military Cross - citation

1st Bn 5th Mahratta LI, 21st Indian Infy Bde, 8th Ind Div, 5th Corps

IEC-788 WS Lieut. (T/Capt) Noel James Millington Pettengell.

Class – Anglo Indian

Map: Italy 1:50,000 Sheet 177 I Lanciano.

At map ref. 293083 at 1700 hours on 13 Dec 1943, the enemy launched a heavy counter-attack against our forward positions. The enemy made use of mortar fire, tanks and infantry and in one place succeeded in penetrating 'C' Company's position. Captain Pettengell was in command of 'C' Company. Showing complete disregard for personal danger [he] moved about between his platoon areas, giving great encouragement to his men. Captain Pettengell also kept sending back valuable information to the Artillery, at times directing the fire himself to such good effect that the extreme accuracy of our fire caused the enemy tanks to withdraw.

The counter-attack was repelled. The enemy then launched a further counter-attack again with infantry supported by tanks and mortar fire. Yet again, it was due to the complete disregard for personal danger and the magnificently inspiring example shown and set by Captain Pettengell that 'C' Company was able to stand up to and beat off the enemy counter-attack.

(Recommended for an immediate DSO; awarded an immediate MC.)

Bar to Military Cross - citation

1st Bn 5th Mahratta LI, 21st Indian Infy Bde, 8th Ind Div, 13th Corps

IEC-778 WS Capt. (T/Maj.) Noel James Millington Pettengell, MC

Class - Anglo Indian

Map ref 1:25,000 99 III NE.

On 18 Oct. 1944, Major Pettengell's Company was ordered to attack Point 768 (108103) under cover of a smoke screen. Shortly after the advance began, the smoke screen failed, leaving the leading platoon in complete observation of the enemy. Immediately the platoon was subjected to very heavy mortar and artillery fire, which killed the platoon commander and wounded the platoon Havildar. Major Pettengell, having directed the two other platoons to take a more covered route, moved over the leading platoon, took command and led it on to the objective, the whole time being under heavy and accurate artillery and mortar fire.

Major Pettengell then took forward an NCO to an OP to give him orders to take a patrol forward on to the next Battalion objective. On the way Major Pettengell was wounded in the leg. Ignoring his wound, Major Pettengell crawled to the OP, gave orders to the NCO and although in great pain and under heavy mortar fire remained in the OP until he was sure that the patrol was well on the way to its objective. He then allowed himself to be carried to Company HQ to have his wound dressed.

It was Major Pettengell's example of superb courage and leadership and entire disregard of personal danger that enabled the Coy to capture its objective. (Recommended for and awarded an immediate MC.)

Major Pettengell raised the 17th Battalion, the Sikh Regiment, and commanded it from 1 Feb. to 1 Aug. 1948. Originally from Jubbulpur, he migrated to Australia in late 1948 and has since deceased. Responding to a letter of enquiry, Major Pettengell's widow, now in her 93rd year, very kindly provided some details of her late husband's life after leaving military service.

After the war, my husband was part of the Occupational Forces in Japan and on leaving to come to Australia his medals were stolen with other things from his cases on the wharf prior to his boarding ship. I tried to get the medals duplicated in England but without a police report they could do nothing. I returned his dress medals to the Regiment in Belgaum.

As I did not meet my husband until after the war, I cannot give you any information of his life in the army. Regarding his life after war, he came directly to Australia from Japan. He took up the position of Hon Secretary at the Peninsula Country Golf Club (PCGC) in Victoria just outside Melbourne. During his time there, two new 18-hole courses were constructed which he and Sloan Morpeth (who designed the courses) laid out and brought to completion. While he was at the PCGC, he also started to breed Rottweilers, a breed that was hardly known in Australia. He really pioneered the breed in Australia and this venture culminated in his writing a book on Rottweilers, which was first published by David & Charles in England and then in an enlarged edition by TFH Publications of America. The American version is still in print and still selling.

He continued his sporting life here; played golf off a 5 handicap, always had a few games with Sir Don Bradman when he came to stay at the Club. Played tennis with several of the Davis Cup players and always went duck shooting when the season came around. His sporting ability was well above average.

We had many trips to Europe during the 50 years we were married always including the Rottweiler Championship Show in Germany in our travels.

He was at the PCGC for about 12 years and whilst there we had a small farm with sheep and cattle and started the Rottweiler venture. When he retired, we came here, north of Melbourne, where we continued breeding for a further 10 years. We had forty acres close to the top of the mount, ideal for the dogs.

This is a small country town in a very beautiful area with superb gardens some of which are open to the public every weekend for charity. We have a very good life; lived a good deal of the time outdoors with our friends.

(signed) Mrs Yvonne Pettengell

BOOK REVIEWS

Edward S. Haynes & R.T.S. Chhina, *Medals and Decorations of Independent India*; Manohar Publishers, New Delhi 2008; 272 pages including ribbon chart, appendices, bibliography, index., case-bound, Rs. 2750 (circa £38.00), ISBN 978-81-7304-719-0

This meticulously researched and copiously illustrated book is a real eye-opener. It would be fair to say that, until now, a comprehensive understanding of the breadth and depth of the decorations and medals issued to military, police and civilian personnel in post 1947 India has been noticeable for its absence. This complex and fascinating subject has at last been addressed by two highly competent and experienced researchers, one a member and the other an officer of this Society, both with a deep understanding of the subject and sufficiently dedicated to invest a great deal of time in assembling a wealth of information into a well organized and lucid account of this intricate subject. The authors point out, not without reason, that their work will be of value not only to medal collectors but also to members of the defence establishment and the uniformed services of India, and to national policy makers. Looking over their shoulders at the many years spent in compiling this work, they reflect that 'we were examining India's military and civilian honours in the sort of systematic and rigorous fashion that this honours system has never heretofore enjoyed.'

Both periods of post-independence India are covered, that is to say the short lived Dominion from 1947 and the Republic from 1950 until today. The enigmatic awards created by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind during

the World War Two period are also examined in detail. This exemplifies the value of this book. The names of the nine awards created by the 'Free Indian Government' are given in Hindi and in English, and each one is well illustrated in colour alongside a detailed description of the award, its date of establishment, qualifications and eligibilities, the dimensions and colours of the ribbon, and a representative citation where relevant. Also included, and given the same thorough treatment, are the thirty-three awards granted by the United Nations for peacekeeping duties performed by Indian troops.

The attention given to awards that might be described as exceptional does not deter the authors from giving full sway to the numerous gallantry, service, and campaign medals created by the Government of India. They are all put into context by a most useful introduction that includes *inter al* a table comparing gallantry levels of post independence Indian awards to the equivalent British awards that preceded them, as well as several tables detailing the orders of precedence as they evolved over the years.

There is no doubt about it. This is an authoritative work that will remain the standard reference on an important subject, and it is bound to generate more thought and discussion which will be a compliment to the authors. Strongly recommended to members. [CJP]

Ashok Nath. *Izzat. Historical Records and Iconography of Indian Cavalry Regiments 1750-2007*; Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi, 2009; 828 pages, case-bound, £85 plus postage of approximately £22. Published in a limited edition of 500 copies. ISBN 978-81-902097-7-9.

This is a weighty tome by any standards (literally weighing in at 3kg or just over 6lbs – hence the high postage cost) by long-standing Society member Ashok Nath. Members of your committee had a chance to review sections of the book before publication and were pleased to give a reference which appears on the outer cover of the book.

“This magnum opus has been written by an acknowledged authority on the subject and will surely become the definitive work on the iconography and history of the cavalry regiments of the old Anglo-Indian Army. Also included is a comprehensive description of all the cavalry regiments of independent India and Pakistan and their fighting records. This well organised book reads easily and is packed with useful information – including descriptions of many hitherto obscure units. Sources are well noted and provide numerous leads to further research. The illustrations of badges are legion and of excellent quality. Strongly recommended for the serious student of the Sub-continent’s military history.”

This captures the essence of the book but there is so much more that one can say about it. Divided into three broad sections – 1750-1921, 1922-1947, and post 1947 – some regiments appear in all sections but under the title last used during the given period. For example, The Governor General's Body Guard appears in Section I, and again under that title in Section II, and then as President's Body Guard, India in Section III India and President's Body Guard, Pakistan in Section III Pakistan. Each section includes full size photographs, or in some cases sketches, of the badges and devices worn by the regiment, each one uniquely identified with a classification number – and one that will surely be taken into use by auction houses and badge dealers as the standard reference before too long. Another example is 27th Light Cavalry which had at least eight different titles between 1776 and 1901. By 1903 it had become 27th Light Cavalry and remained so until 1922 when it became 16th Light Cavalry. In Section I, therefore, it appears as 27th Light Cavalry, though all the earlier Madras titles are shown as well as badges, buttons and shoulder titles from those earlier regiments (where available). In Section II the regiment is listed under 16th Light Cavalry, as it is in Section III India.

In addition to the badges, each regimental entry covers: the date and place of raising and the name of the founder or first commanding officer; the lineage of the regiment from its date of raising; battle honours awarded; ethnic composition; uniform and facings; highest gallantry awards.

Within Section I there are sub-sections covering WW1 war-raised cavalry regiments (40th – 46th), The Bengal Light Cavalry and Bengal Irregular Cavalry, disbanded regiments of Madras, Bombay and the Punjab Frontier Force, the Contingents, the regiments raised between 1857 and 1859, and other miscellaneous regiments disbanded between 1750 and 1921 such as the Ramgarh Irregular Cavalry. Within Section II there is a sub-section on WW2 war-raised cavalry regiments (42nd to 48th, 75th and 76th) and some of the independent units.

There are some 2000 photographs and illustrations in the book, many of them extremely scarce which the author has collected since 1982. His list of sources and largely private collections consulted (there are a couple of official or museum sites listed) reads like a 'Who's Who' of the Indian military collecting fraternity and there are some titles in each regiment's bibliography that do not appear in Perkins' *Regiments*, though as we know Roger felt the need to 'draw the line' at some of the entries offered for his reference work.

The book is well laid out and, as we said in our reference, easy to follow. It has been, in the author's own words, 'a labour of love' and there will be many military historians in future years who will be grateful that such labour gave rise to this impressive work. The one concern of this reviewer is that, for

such a large and heavy book, a flat back binding has been used and this may suffer over time from the heavy usage that the book will almost undoubtedly receive. That should not detract from what can only be described as a magnificent contribution to the military history of the Sub-continent.

For details of how to obtain a copy, contact CAFHR, United Service Institution of India, Rao Tula Ram Marg (opposite Signals Enclave), Post Bag No 8, Vasant Vihar PO, New Delhi 110057, INDIA (cafhr@usiofindia.org). [ANMcC]

Stuart Ottowell, '*Chhe-Saat*' (reviewed in the Autumn 2008 edition of *Durbar*). The daughter of Stuart Ottowell, author of '*Chhe-Saat*', has written in to advise that copies of this strongly recommended 6-7th Rajput history are available directly from her address for £12.50 in the UK or £14.50 elsewhere (postage included). The author will gladly sign copies for IMHS members upon request. Please contact Meryl Balchin (Mrs) at Boares Garden, Braishfield, Romsey, Hampshire SO51 0PQ, UK (meryl@balchin99.fsnet.co.uk)

JULLUNDUR BRIGADE ASSOCIATION

Major General Peter Davies (a member of the IMHS) invites those interested in the history of the Jullundur Brigade and its activities in France in World War 1 to access the Association's new website <www.jullundurassociation.org> where they will find a brief history of the Brigade's actions, of the three primary regiments of the Brigade (see below), and of the Association which meets from time to time to maintain the comradeship of the Brigade's history.

Those Individuals who may wish to apply for membership of the Association should apply in writing or by email to the Association HQ as follows: Jullundur Brigade Association, City HQ Manchester, The Duke of Lancaster's Regiment, TA Centre, Ardwick Green, Manchester M12 6HD (rhqlancsmanchester@btinternet.com) stating rank, name, address and email address. There is no membership fee. Correspondence is

entirely by email and will entail a limited number of announcements, notices and other information. Email addresses of the members will not be divulged outside the requirements of the Association.

The three infantry regiments of the Jullundur Brigade in India and France were :

- 1st Battalion The Manchester Regiment (now the Duke of Lancaster's Regiment) of the United Kingdom Armed Forces;
- The 47th Sikhs (now the 5th Sikh Regiment) of the Indian Army;
- 59th Scinde Rifles (Frontier Force) (now the 1st Battalion [Scinde] Frontier Force Regiment) of the Pakistan Army.